MEDIEVAL EUROPE

LYNN THORNDIKE

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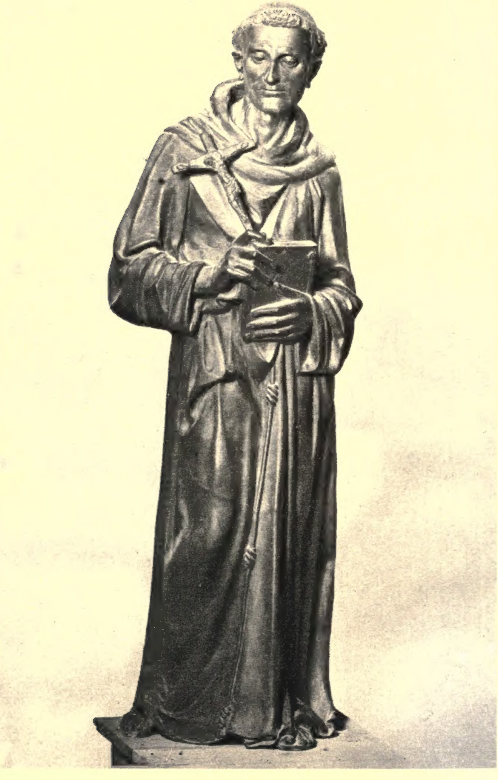

St. Francis of Assisi

MEDIEVAL EUROPE
ITS DEVELOPMENT & CIVILIZATION

BY
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LONDON
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TO MY FATHER
THE REV. EDWARD ROBERT THORNDIKE, D.D.
AND MY MOTHER
ABBIE BREWSTER LADD THORNDIKE

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is to trace the development of Europe and its civilization, from the decline of the Roman Empire to the opening of the sixteenth century, for the benefit of the student and the general reader. It is almost needless to say that such a work makes little claim to originality in method and still less in subject-matter, which it has shamelessly borrowed from numerous sources. Indeed, in a book of this sort it is more fitting to apologize for anything new that one says than for the following in old and beaten tracks. The author, of course, hopes that without making too radical departures he has introduced some improvement in selection and presentation of material, and that he has made few mistakes of fact and interpretation.

The Table of Contents indicates the general plan of the volume, which is to treat medieval Europe as a whole and to hang the story upon a single thread, rather than to recount as distinct narratives the respective histories of France, England, Germany, Italy, and other countries of *modern* Europe. French or English history may be studied as such in courses and books so entitled. Moreover, the modern interest in the national state has usually been carried too far in the study of the Middle Ages. Local division, not national unity and central government, is surely the striking feature through most of the medieval centuries.

Nor should one be misled by the influence of the German historical seminar or by Bryce's brilliant essay into making the Holy Roman Empire the central thread of medieval history. Far more important in actual life than the ideal of one Roman Empire were the feudal state and the self-centred town, the diversity and vigour of local law and custom.

But it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the pope and the clergy as unifying forces in medieval civilization. Consequently several chapters are devoted to the Christian Church, and some mention of it has been made in almost every chapter.

Inasmuch as emigrants from all countries and from all races of Europe have within the last century taken an active part in peopling and colonizing the 'newer' portions of the earth, it has seemed worth while to include the states and racial groups of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the richer medieval history of those western European lands whose institutions and culture have thus far had the greatest influence upon the world.

In conformity with present tendencies in historical writing, economic and social conditions are given due attention, and many minor details of military and political history are omitted. I have even ventured to lay the axe at the root of absolutism and to dispense with genealogical tables. Recent events sadly remind us that the age of wars is not past; but they have also demonstrated that an intensive study of Cæsar's *Commentaries* and the tactics of Hastings and Crécy is of little use even to the modern military specialist; while they have further reminded us that in the art of the past there are precious models and inspirations, whose loss is almost irreparable. Since man is a reasoning and emotional being, it is unfair to the past actors and uninteresting to the present readers of history merely to chronicle events without some indication of the ideas and ideals behind them as well as of the personalities that produced them. But discussion of economic and intellectual influences should not be carried so far as to reduce the narrative of events in political history to a mere skeleton. If wars and politics are to be discussed at all, they should be treated with sufficient fullness to ensure clearness and interest.

The background of physical geography is frequently referred to and described. In the maps the aim has been to omit confusing detail and to keep them in close accord with the text. As a rule all places mentioned in the text and no others are given in the accompanying maps. Considerable space has been devoted to the Roman Empire, its civilization and its decline, and to the early history of the Christian Church. These matters are essential preliminaries to the study of the Middle Ages. I have also dealt frequently with the history of European law and with the chief medieval forms of government.

As an undergraduate the author took honours in a course in English history without the thought occurring to him that the statements of the text-book or of the instructor concerning the Anglo-Saxon period rested on any less ample and solid foundation than did their accounts of the nineteenth century. History appeared a seamless robe instead of a worn garment full of holes and patches. True it is that a work on general history is chiefly intended to tell what we do know, and that its space does not permit detailed discussion of the sources. Yet one of the most important things for the student or reader of history to realize is the old lesson of Socrates that there are many things which we do not know and many more which we only half know. Therefore in the introductory chapter I have discussed history's task and obstacles, and throughout the volume have every now and then informed the reader briefly as to the quantity and quality of the source-material.

But a stern effort has been made to avoid fine print and footnotes, which in books of this kind are objectionable alike from the typographical, the literary, and the pedagogical standpoint. I hope that all quotations are so marked, but I have not felt it necessary to mention the name of the author in each case at the bottom of the page. In place of cross-references the reader is referred to the unusually full index. In the text I have rather made it a point to repeat the names of important men and places as often and in as many historical contexts as possible, in order that they may gradually grow familiar to the reader.

Of historical works and articles to which the present volume is indebted the list is too long to be included here. The attempt has been made—without yielding to new theories and hypotheses which have not yet been sufficiently tested—to embody the results of recent historical scholarship. Much use has been made of such works as Luchaire's six volumes on Innocent III, Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography*, Workman's *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, and the two volumes of the *Cambridge Medieval History* which have thus far appeared. Some passages in this book are the result of my own study of the sources, and will not be found covered in any other work of this nature.

Of previous historical manuals I have been most influenced by the brief but admirable *History of Western Europe* of my former teacher, James Harvey Robinson. Before entering Professor Robinson's course in the intellectual history of Europe, my interest in the history of literature and philosophy had been already aroused by C. T. Winchester and A. C. Armstrong. The parts of this volume dealing with the history of law owe much to the lectures of Munroe Smith. My colleagues, Professors H. N. Fowler, S. B. Platner, and J. L. Borgerhoff, have been so good as to read and criticize certain chapters falling within their respective special fields, and Miss Eleanor Ferris has very kindly read the proofs of the entire text. Professor J. T. Shotwell, under whose editorship the book is so fortunate as to appear and whom I also am happy to count as a former teacher, has read the text in manuscript, made a number of helpful suggestions, and in other ways aided me by his co-operation and encouragement. These scholars, however, should not be held responsible for any of the faults of the book, especially since in a few cases I have been so foolish as not to follow their advice. But I shall be fortunate indeed if others accord me as sympathetic a reading as theirs.

LYNN THORNDIKE

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FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

The names of those to whom the author is indebted for permission to use copyright photographs are printed in italic.

For mention of subjects in text see Index.

FIG. PAGE

1. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI *Frontispiece*

Born 1181, died 1226. This bronze by Donatello in the Church of St. Francis at Padua suggests the combination of strength with apostolic humility which characterized one of the most extraordinary personalities of the Middle Ages. Few men in any age have so vitally impressed and influenced their contemporaries. He revived the failing power of the Church through the example of his unworldly life; he roused the people from their condition of hopeless misery in which the cruel feudalism of the age had plunged them; he inspired art and literature with impulses which stirred the creative genius of men like Giotto and Dante, so that it has been said, 'Without Francis, no Dante.' St. Francis illumined the darkness about him, and he towers as a landmark in the Middle Ages, showing the emergence of the altruistic forces from which alone civilization is developed. *Photo Anderson.*

2. ROMAN AQUEDUCT 18

Relics of the great Claudian Aqueduct that brought water to Rome from the Sabine Mountains, some forty miles distant. It was begun in A.D. 52 by the Emperor Claudius. *Photo Brogi.*

3. ARCH OF CONSTANTINE 31

Near the Colosseum, erected by this Emperor after his defeat of Maxentius at the Saxa Rubra (near the Milvian Bridge) A.D. 312. The arch itself is of such fine proportions that it is probably a reconstruction of some triumphal arch of Trajan or the age of the Antonines. Some of the reliefs, moreover, evidently date from the era of fine Roman sculpture, and offer a striking contrast to the very inartistic representation of the battle at Saxa Rubra. See *Medieval Italy* (in this series), pp. xv, 4, 260. *Photo Brogi.*

FIG. PAGE

4. Attila and Leo I 32

For the dramatic meeting of Attila and Pope Leo, and its supposed results, see *Medieval Italy*, p. 100 *sq.*, and p. xvi. Raphael in this fresco (which is one of his celebrated *Stanze* frescoes in the Vatican) has transferred the scene of the meeting from the vicinity of the Lago di Garda to Rome. In the distance is visible a huge ruin somewhat like the Colosseum. The picture symbolizes the expulsion of the French from Italy during the pontificate of Julius II, after the battle of Ravenna in 1512. *Reproduction, by permission, of a heliotype in the "Rafael-werk," published by E. Arnold (Gutbier), Dresden.*

5. (i) Mosaic Portrait of Justinian 49

The Emperor holds a golden casket, full of jewels or money, an offering to the treasure of S. Vitale, in Ravenna, and is attended by the Archbishop Maximian, who, in 547, consecrated the church (begun by the Ostrogoth and Arian king, Theodoric). Another mosaic shows the Empress Theodora. *Photo Alinari.*

(ii) Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna 49

The domed interior of this little cruciform building is richly decorated with resplendent mosaics and golden stars on a blue ground. The middle sarcophagus is that of the Empress; the others are probably those of her husband Constantius III and her son Valentinian III. *Photo Alinari.*

6. S. Vitale 52

A portion of the interior, above the choir. The church is one of those erected or begun by Theodoric for his Arian bishops toward the end of his reign (526). The plan (like that of Justinian's church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople) was probably by some Eastern architect. It is a domed octagonal 'concentric' basilica, surrounded by seven *exedras* (like apsidal chapels, but of two storeys) and a large apse. It is decorated with splendid mosaics and carvings. *Photo Alinari.*

7. Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna 61

Built about 536, some twenty years after the reign of Theodoric, and shortly before Ravenna was captured for Justinian by his great general Belisarius (540). *Photo Alinari.*

8. Santa Sophia, Constantinople 80

Built (A.D. 532-7) by the Emperor Justinian and dedicated to the 'Sacred Wisdom' of God. Since 1453 it has been a Turkish mosque. It is the chief specimen existent of the 'Byzantine' style of architecture, but interiorly is much disfigured. *Photo Sebah.*

FIG. PAGE

9. MOSQUE OF OMAR 97

A 'Dome of the Rock,' built (A.D. 697) on the site of the Temple of Solomon. It is of the concentric Byzantine type. *Photo Brogi.*

10. (i) THE IRON CROWN 128

With which the Lombard and ' Italian ' kings, and later the ' Holy Roman Emperors,' were crowned at Pavia, or Milan, and afterward elsewhere. In 1530 the Emperor Charles V crowned himself with it at Bologna, and in 1809 it was used at Napoleon's coronation at Milan. It is preserved in the Cathedral Treasury at Monza. Legend asserts that the original—perhaps the simple iron circlet seen within the crown in the illustration—was formed of one of the nails of the Cross, brought from Jerusalem by the Empress Helena, or one of the three (or four) great nails used at the Crucifixion. *Photo G. Bianchi, Monza.*

(ii) THE SO-CALLED CROWN OF CHARLEMAGNE 128

This splendid crown is surmounted by an arched diadem on which is worked in pearls, *Chuonradus Dei gratia Imperator Augustus.* It is therefore probably the crown used at the coronation (1027) of Conrad II, and the probability has been strengthened by the discovery at Mainz, made on excavating a street not very long ago, of a collection of beautiful necklaces, brooches, etc., which are evidently those used at the coronation by Conrad's ambitious consort, Gisela. *Photo S. Schramm, Vienna.*

11. THEODELINDA'S HEN AND CHICKENS 145

Theodelinda was the queen of Agilulf, an early Lombard king (*c.* 600) contemporary with Gregory the First, who was on very friendly terms with these Lombard rulers and sent Theodelinda presents which, together with the Iron Crown and this curious silver-gilt Hen and Chickens, are preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, not far from Milan. The seven chickens possibly represent seven provinces of the Lombard kingdom. *Photo G. Bianchi, Monza.*

12. THE CROSS OF MUIREDACH AT MONASTERBOICE 160

The design of the so-called ' wheeled cross,' which does away with the ugly angularity of the symbol as commonly represented, is one of the great contributions of the Celt to early Christian art. It was probably based on an ancient solar emblem often found in pagan Irish sculpture. Ireland abounds in these beautiful crosses, and a few examples are also found in Scotland and Northern England. There are two at Monasterboice, County Louth. That which is illustrated in this book bears an inscription in Irish, ' A prayer for Muiredach, by whom this cross was made.' Muiredach was probably an abbot of that name who died A.D. 924. The cross measures 15 feet in height and 6 feet across the arms. The carvings represent subjects from Gospel history. *Photo W. Lawrence, Dublin.*

13. Monogram from the Book of Kells 177

This famous manuscript, probably the most richly decorated work of the kind in existence, is a copy of the Four Gospels dating, according to the most recent authorities, from about A.D. 850. It was preserved for many centuries in the Abbey of Kells, Co. Meath. Archbishop Ussher, who was commissioned by James I to collect antiquities relating to the British Church, acquired it among other rarities, and from him it passed in the year 1661 to the University Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The magnificent page here reproduced contains the monogram of Christ, **XP**, with an **I** for ' Christi,' and below, outside the artistic design, the words *autem* (indicated by a contraction) *generatio*. The words therefore are the beginning of Matthew i. 18. At the bottom of the long tail of the **X** is a queer satiric little drawing of rats biting the consecrated wafer of the Host, while cats look on quite unconcerned. The original page is as beautiful and harmonious in colouring as it is masterly in drawing and design.

14. Seville Cathedral 208

One of the vastest Gothic cathedrals in the world ; built (between 1402 and 1506) on the site of a great Moorish mosque founded in 1171. The dome has twice collapsed—in the sixteenth century and again in 1888. The total length is 380 feet and the breadth 250 feet. In area it is surpassed by St. Peter's, but is half as big again as St. Paul's. The campanile, which derives its name, *Giralda*, from the great bronze figure of Faith which serves, rather unsuitably, as a vane (*giraldillo*), consists, up to about 200 out of 300 feet, of the ancient minaret (the only surviving portion of the mosque). *Photo Anderson.*

15. St. Mark's, Venice 225

The plan of this five-domed basilica, the architecture of which is mainly Byzantine, was taken from the ancient church of the Holy Apostles, built at Constantinople by Justinian. On the site of St. Mark's stood the ancient (probably Byzantine) church of St. Theodore, which was partly demolished to make room for the chapel erected to receive the body of St. Mark when it was brought from Alexandria in 828. The present (also Byzantine) cathedral dates from about 1065—portions of the former edifices (partly destroyed by fire) having been incorporated in it. For the disappearance and supposed discovery of the body of the Saint see *Medieval Italy*, p. 422. *Photo Alinari.*

FIG. PAGE

16. The White Tower 256

This earliest and greatest feature of the Tower of London, of which it forms the keep, was built by Gundulf of Bec, afterward Bishop of Rochester, at the command of William the Conqueror. It is one of the oldest and grandest specimens of Norman military architecture still remaining, but it has never seen an enemy encamped under its walls, and the monarchy founded by its first lord has alone of all European dynasties survived the shocks of close on a thousand years of history. The exterior of the building was restored by Wren, and most of the window-openings are his work, but the interior is untouched. At the base of it are dungeons, and a fine crypt. St. John's Chapel, which forms part of the Keep, is the oldest church in London, and though much of its once rich decoration has vanished, it remains one of the most beautiful of Norman ecclesiastical buildings. *Photo London Stereoscopic Co. Ltd.*

17. The Castle of Montlhéry 273

Of the great castle of Montlhéry, between Paris and Étampes, all that remains to-day is the keep, with the adjoining stair-turret. The substructures of four other towers and of the main walls, and also of the three fortified terraces which separated the castle from the town below, are still plainly discernible, however, and, founding on these, the well-known artist and archæologist F. Hoffbauer has reconstituted the castle as it appeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The original fortress was built in the eleventh century by a younger son of the house of Montmorency. Under Philippe I it was the stronghold and retreat of the brigand Hugues de Crécy (see *France,* in this series, pp. 65, 90). From Larousse, *Histoire de France.*

18. Cappella Palatina, Palermo 304

This richly decorated 'chapel royal' of the Norman palace at Palermo was built about 1130 by the younger brother of Robert Guiscard, Count Roger, who in this year assumed the crown as first Norman king of Sicily (and put up a mosaic in another Palermo church representing himself being crowned by the Saviour in lieu of the recalcitrant Pope !). The architecture, as in other Norman churches of Sicily, is a very interesting mixture of Sicilian-Norman and Arabic, the round arch developing a point and sometimes almost the horseshoe form, while the columns are often evidently ancient Roman work. *Photo Alinari.*

19. Alhambra : The Court of Lions 321

The Alhambra was begun in 1248 by Mohammed el Ahmar, and added to by other Moorish Emirs. It was the last refuge of the Mohammedans in Spain, and was

FIG. PAGE

finally taken by the troops of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, the same year in which Columbus first sighted America. *Photo Anderson.*

20. SAN GIMIGNANO 352

Some eighteen miles north-west of Siena, is one of the best extant specimens of a medieval Italian town. It still possesses a dozen of its towers (which once, they say, numbered nearly fifty), which give it a very striking and picturesque aspect and have gained it the name of *la città delle belle torri*. *Photo Brogi.*

21. PALAZZO VECCHIO, FLORENCE 369

Until the later Medicis (*c.* 1540) called *il palazzo dei Priori* or *della Signoria*. The greater part was built between 1298 and 1314 from the designs of Arnolfo di Cambio, the architect of Santa Croce and of the Duomo. It was extended by Vasari and Buontalenti in the sixteenth century. The tower (the upper part of which dates from 1453) is 308 feet high. *Photo Brogi.*

22. THE BELFRY OF BRUGES 400

Or *Tour des Halles*, 353 feet high, was rebuilt after a conflagration in 1280. It rises over the north front of the Halles—an emporium or mart, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The octagonal part dates from 1482, and the topmost parapet from 1820. The bells of the *carillon* (chimes) are, as those of Ghent (Gand) and of Antwerp, very numerous and of remarkably fine tone. *Photo W. A. Mansell and Co.*

23. DANTE 417

Bronze bust. Naples, Museo Nazionale. The face perhaps copied from the Bargello mask, which is said to have been taken after death. In any case a very fine work and a most satisfactory representation of what one hopes the poet of the *Divina Commedia* looked like. The much-restored Bargello fresco, originally perhaps by Giotto, presents rather the lover of Beatrice and the writer of the *Vita Nuova*. *Photo Brogi.*

24. BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND CAMPANILE, PISA 434

This wonderful group of buildings gives a striking example of Italian Romanesque architecture of the Tuscan, or Pisan, species, in which the beautiful exterior arcade-work is a special characteristic. The buildings date from the twelfth century, but the 'Leaning Tower' was not completed till 1350, and the upper part of the Baptistery, finished in 1278, has still later Gothic additions. *Photo Brogi.*

25. NOTRE-DAME LA GRANDE, POITIERS 447

One of the oldest and finest specimens of French Romanesque of the Poitou (South-western) type, dating from the

FIG. PAGE

eleventh and twelfth centuries. The rich decoration of the façade affords one of the earliest examples of statuary used to illustrate Biblical narrative. *N.D. Photo.*

26. AMIENS CATHEDRAL 464

Built (1220–88) by Robert de Luzarches and others, after demolition of the old Romanesque church, is perhaps the noblest creation (the 'Parthenon,' as it has been called) of Gothic architecture, and certainly the finest specimen of French 'Lancet' Gothic. Its real character and its real grandeur are displayed chiefly by the superb nave and aisles of the main building, which is here hidden by the beautiful and impressive, but somewhat later, façade flanking towers. Perhaps no other building in the world shows such wondrous audacities. The walls, cut away by immense windows, and clustered shafts, outwardly propped by huge flying-buttresses, poise aloft to support the vast vaults, "like sails inflated and upheld by a continuous wind." "This soaring tendency," says M. Hourticq, "seems to fail when we view only the west front with its comparatively short, spireless towers, which only in details show the true characteristics of early French Gothic." Amiens supplied the model for several great cathedrals—of which that of Cologne is the greatest. *X Photo.*

27. HENRY VII CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY 481

Perhaps the most beautiful specimen of late English 'Perpendicular' architecture. It dates from toward the end of the fifteenth century until 1520. The pendulous vaulting of the roof with its fan tracery is especially fine. The King's tomb is a master work by Torrigiano, notorious as the rival of Michelangelo and for having disfigured for life the great sculptor's nose by a blow with his fist. *Photo W. A. Mansell and Co.*

28 *and* 29. A MEDIEVAL DUEL 512, 529

Reproductions of 'autographs' traced (in 1830) from miniatures in a manuscript, dating from about 1450. This MS. contains the ordinance of King Philip IV of France (Philippe le Bel) concerning judiciary duels. The contents of King Philip's ordinances (of 1306) are specified as follows in the first miniature, here reproduced: *Cy après sont les cérémonies et ordonnances qui se appartiennent à gaige de Bataille fait par querelle.* In this picture King Philip, amidst his prelates and nobles, is listening to an appeal for justice. In the last of the eleven miniatures is depicted the result of the duel. The nine intervening miniatures give various ceremonies preceding the duel, as well as a scene from the fight itself before the overthrow of the *defendant* by the *appellant.* The book from which our illustrations are reproduced is entitled *Cérémonies des Gages de Bataille selon les Constitutions du bon Roi Philippe de France* (Crapelet, Paris, 1830).

FIG. PAGE

30. SULTAN MOHAMMED II 560

Who took Constantinople in 1453. Painted by Gentile Bellini at Constantinople in 1480. Formerly in the collection of Sir Henry Layard at Venice, and recently bequeathed to our National Gallery. *Photo Alinari.*

31. BOTTICELLI'S *ADORATION* 577

With Medici portraits. A thankoffering made by Lorenzo the Magnificent for his escape from the daggers of the Pazzi conspirators in 1478. His grandfather, old Cosimo (*d.* 1464), is represented as making obeisance to the Child; his father, Piers the Gouty, kneels in the centre and turns toward his own brother, the dark and handsome Giovanni, who died early; standing behind the kneeling Giovanni, dressed in black, is Giuliano, Lorenzo's brother, who was killed by the conspirators; Lorenzo himself is on the left, near his horse. *Photo Alinari.*

32. SAVONAROLA 592

In one of the three cells in the Convent of S. Marco, at Florence, used by Savonarola there are relics of the great *Frate*, and there is also this portrait, attributed, not quite certainly, to his devoted follower, Baccio della Porta, who after the martyrdom of his master in 1498 took vows as a Dominican friar and was henceforth known as Fra Bartolomeo. The inscription means 'The portrait of Jerome of Ferrara, a prophet sent by God.' *Photo Alinari.*

33. CLEMENT VII AND CHARLES V 609

By Vasari, the painter and architect, and writer of the *Lives* of the principal Italian artists (1512–74). The picture is in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. Charles and Pope Clement (who was an illegitimate son of the Giuliano de' Medici mentioned under No. 31) met in 1530 at the famous Council of Bologna, where the Spanish-Austrian monarch "sealed, as it were, the death-warrant of Italian liberty by placing on his own head the famous Iron Crown of the Lombard kings and by condescending to accept, two days later, from the hands of Clement the golden coronal and the ridiculous title of *Imperator Romanorum*." See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 469. The Pope had been compelled to come to terms with Charles after the battle of Pavia (1525), in which Francis I of France was captured, and the terrible sack of Rome by Spaniards and Germans in 1527–8. These facts, although belonging to the Cinquecento and therefore later than the ordinarily accepted end of the Middle Ages, add interest to the figure of the great Emperor, Charles-Quint, to whom we are introduced in the last pages of this book. *Photo Brogi.*

MAPS AND PLANS

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MEDIEVAL EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF HISTORY

HISTORY has to do with the past of humanity. Every phase of man's life and every human interest of the present has its background and previous development which may be historically considered. We study the history of English literature, for example, or we may take courses at universities in the history of architecture, or in church history, or in the history of diplomacy, or in the history of education. These are specialized branches, devoted each to some one department of human affairs. History in the broad and general sense includes all these particular 'histories' and many others. It aims at understanding and picturing the entire life of the various races and groups of mankind at all times throughout the course of long ages.

We sometimes speak of the history of plants or other non-human beings—of natural history. But a subject like geology, although it deals with changes in the earth's crust, and surveys a period of appalling length stretching back for hundreds of thousands of years before the advent of human life upon this planet, is not history in the usual sense, since it is not directly concerned with mankind. In so far, nevertheless, as the earth's surface, being man's home, affects his destiny by its changes, geology and its branch geography are sciences useful to the historian. Geology often renders a special service to historical chronology by enabling one to tell the approximate age of human remains and monuments found embedded in different strata of the soil.

Vastness and Difficulty of History

It is evident that history has set itself a tremendous task in trying to understand and picture the entire past life of all men at all times in all places. Probably the attempt will never be completely successful. The great difficulty is that history is dependent for its knowledge of the men of the past upon those men themselves. Since they are dead and gone, we have to depend upon the writings, buildings, personal effects, works of art, and other monuments, memorials, and memories which they have left behind them. For many periods and regions such evidence is slight indeed. Another trouble is that former men were in many cases not interested in the same things that we are, and so do not tell us what we should like to know. They loved to dwell upon wars; we wish to hear of commerce and industry in times of peace. They chronicled the deeds of kings; we want to know the life of the people. They took it for granted that their audience would understand the state of civilization, since they lived in the midst of it. Instead of describing the personal appearance of the Roman general and statesman, Titus Flamininus, in his biography of that worthy, Plutarch referred his readers to a bronze statue of him at Rome opposite the Circus Maximus. But to-day the statue has disappeared, and the same is true of most of the manners and customs of the distant past, which were once too familiar for historians to think it worth while to mention them to their readers.

The story of the past as it has reached us is, indeed, in many respects like the ruin of some ancient amphitheatre or medieval monastery. Some sections are better preserved than others, some parts are gone entirely, others have been faultily restored by later writers who failed to catch the spirit of the original. In some places nothing is left but a shapeless core of vague statements or a few bare dates and facts. Elsewhere we get a vivid glimpse of the life of the past in its original colouring. Sometimes the story has improved with age, as ruins are sometimes beautified by becoming weatherbeaten or overgrown with moss. So the haze of romance, or the glamour of hero-worship, or the mere spell of antiquity, adds to the past a charm that is history's own.

Recent Progress in History

But to-day we are better equipped for the study of history than ever before, and are in a position to understand the men of any given past period better in some respects than they understood themselves. We can compare them with men of other lands and times of whom they knew nothing, and can discover the origin of some of their customs or explain the true meaning of some of their institutions. The great advances made in the natural and exact sciences in modern times have enabled man to comprehend both Nature and himself much more correctly than before.

For instance, it is but recently that it has been recognized how long man has inhabited this globe and how far back a considerable degree of civilization can be traced. Until the eighteenth or nineteenth century the Biblical account of human history was generally accepted in Christian lands, and it was reckoned accordingly that God created Adam, the first man, just about 4004 B.C. To-day skulls have been discovered which scientists assert belonged to human beings who lived from two to four hundred thousand years ago; and it is certain that flourishing civilizations already existed in the Nile and Euphrates valleys at the time when Adam was once supposed to have first opened his eyes upon a newly created world.

A distinction used to be made between prehistoric and historic men and periods. Historians were unable to make use of any except oral or written evidence. Where no such evidence was procurable, they spoke of the period as prehistoric and beyond the bounds of history. To-day learned investigators eagerly search out the material objects which men have left behind and draw many inferences from them concerning the life and character of their former owners. Over one hundred sites have been found in Northern Italy of villages where before the dawn of Roman history men lived on platforms built on piles in water, but with their streets and canals laid out in the same regular fashion as the later Roman military camps. The history of ancient Greece used to start about 750 B.C., and all before that was reckoned prehistoric, and no one knew whether to believe in the Trojan War of Homer or not. But not many years ago excavations were made in various spots in the ancient Greek world, with the result that the city of Troy of which Homer sang was actually unearthed, while in the island of Crete ruins of palaces were disclosed telling plainly of luxury, art, and commerce four thousand years ago. Modern investigators also pick out the survivals and relics of earlier periods in the languages and customs of later times. For example, the resemblance between the word for 'bride' and the verb meaning 'to steal away' in Indo-Germanic languages is taken as evidence of marriage by capture in early times, and another indication pointing in the same direction is the formality of prearranged abduction and mock pursuit in early German law. In Roman religion the disabilities of the priest or *flamen* of Jupiter, who might not ride on horseback, nor have knots in his clothing, nor touch beans and she-goats, nor trim his hair and nails with an iron instrument, point back to a primitive period of magic and taboo and to the Bronze Age before iron came into use.

The two sciences which especially investigate the so-called prehistoric period are archæology and anthropology. Archæologists devote themselves primarily to the discovery and interpretation of works of art and other material objects, but in the course of their investigations they often come upon inscriptions and other written records previously unknown. For instance, gold coins of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain in the early Middle Ages give us the names of several kings not mentioned elsewhere. Similarly, the anthropologists, who study man himself and are interested in observing, measuring, and classifying the various types of humanity, do not confine their attention to prehistoric skeletons, but in the numerous savage peoples still to-day existent in many parts of the world find a splendid opportunity to observe not only varying physical types, but all sorts of primitive customs, religious rites, and mental attitudes. Among such tribes they can compare varying gradations of civilization and savagery, which in other parts of the globe disappeared very likely many thousands of years since, and they may detect there the germs of some of our present-day institutions, or note in our society foolish survivals from those savage days. Thus anthropology and archæology are both departments of history in the broad sense.

Historical Categories

Human activity and hence history may be conveniently subdivided under five heads: political, economic, social, religious, and cultural. Political history, of course, covers wars and the affairs of kings and of other forms of government, also legal development. Economic history traces the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth in the past, the business of the world, its trade, industry, and agriculture. Social history deals with family life, classes, manners and customs, dress, diet, and the like. Subjects such as the rise of the Papacy, or the spread of Mohammedanism, or the Protestant Revolt, belong primarily to religious history. The history of culture includes the progress of art, literature, learning, and education, and traces those two supreme products of hand and mind, the fine arts and philosophy. It is evident that these categories are not mutually exclusive. Taxation, for instance, is both political and economic. Slavery is both a social and an economic institution. Almost any event would produce effects in more than one of these five fields. Human life is one, and all such divisions of it are more or less artificial, but they are also rather helpful. History is sometimes grouped with political science, economics, and sociology, and they are called social sciences in distinction from the natural and mathematical sciences and from linguistic studies. But history may equally well be associated with literature, philosophy, and art. The study of these is dependent upon history, nor can the latter amount to much if it takes no cognizance of the former. It is one of the 'humanities' as well as a social science.

History is not a mere record of events, but tries to understand the life of the past. The pilgrim seeking the way to the past must first of all, like Christian at the Cross, free himself from the burden of all his present prejudices and even principles. He must forget for the time being whether he is a socialist or a capitalist, an imperialist or a democrat, Protestant or Roman Catholic; he must ignore his nationality. To see the scenes of the past he must borrow the eyes of the past. What men did then will mean little to him unless he comprehends their motives, their ideas, and their emotions, and the circumstances in which they acted. One of the greatest benefits derivable from the study of history is this entering into the life and thought of other people in other times and places. Thereby we broaden our own outlook upon the world as truly as if we had travelled to foreign countries or learned to think and to express ourselves in another language than our own. History, indeed, alone makes it possible for us to travel in both time and space.

The student of history should, however, be critical as well as sympathetic. Truth is always his aim, a thorough understanding of the past as it really was. He must not believe everything that the men of the past tell him about themselves. He must get to know them well enough to tell when they are trying to deceive him or themselves. He must be aware of their failings and prejudices as well as of their motives and obstacles. He must not allow himself to be swept off his feet by excessive enthusiasm for some one man or ideal or institution of the past; he must always retain his sanity and preserve a cool, impartial, and open-minded attitude. He will be suspicious of sensational and miraculous stories and of dramatic *dénouements.* He will make allowance for the universal tendency of human nature to exaggeration and to make a good story whenever there is an opportunity.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Primary Sources and Secondary Works

To know the past truly, to appreciate the men of long ago fully, to grasp their spirit and point of view, we should read their own words in their own language, and see their own handiwork. In other words, we should go to the original sources, whence in the first instance all our knowledge of the past comes. But it is sometimes necessary to travel far and obtain a special permit to see an original document or monument, although modern art museums and the great printed collections of historical sources which have been published have greatly lightened the labours of the historian. In the latter he finds the manuscripts of olden chroniclers carefully edited, the handwriting and abbreviations deciphered, and printed in legible type with helpful footnotes. Even so the sources may still be in Latin or Arabic or some other language unknown to or difficult for the ordinary student. Furthermore, there are many passages in the original documents which only the trained specialist can correctly interpret. Then many primary sources are incomplete in character, or fragmentary, or full of errors which other sources correct. In short, from one document or monument we seldom obtain a full view of the past and often obtain a perverted view. Hence the historian who combines the fragments into an harmonious whole renders us a great service. The writings of modern historians concerning the past, produced after a study of the original sources, are called secondary works. But even the student beginning the study of history should not confine his attention to secondary works. A number of medieval original sources have been translated into English in whole or in selections, and are as available as the secondary works. Into these, at least, every student of history should dip, and supplement the picture of the past which the historians draw for him by his own vivid glimpses into the minds of the men of the past themselves.

The ordinary reader of history at the present time needs to be almost as critical as the specialist who investigates the very sources of historical knowledge for new facts, for there is much historical misinformation current in the talk and writing of to-day, in editorials and sermons and magazine articles, and even in pretentious volumes. The fact is that of late great progress has been made in historical investigation, and that not only have many details been corrected, but many old classifications and generalizations have gone by the board. The result is that any one who learned his history twenty or thirty years ago and has not kept up with the progress of the subject since is liable to have many false notions concerning both the past and the science of history itself. Consequently men learned in other fields—lawyers, natural scientists, teachers of literature and philosophy—often relate their studies of the past to a scheme of history which has been or is being rapidly discarded. One must be careful, then, where one gets one's historical information, and especially any sweeping generalizations. It is also unfortunate that readable histories are apt to be the least reliable, because they are generally written to sell by professional authors who know how to write entertainingly, but lack historical training and ideals. But after all history is not merely a branch of literature to be read with interest ; it is a social science to be studied with care. One may consult critical bibliographies, which add to the lists of books some statement of their scope and worth, and one may refer to the reviews of books in the historical journals. But the best thing to do is to cultivate a critical sense of one's own, to keep asking oneself how the author arrived at the conclusion which one is reading, to keep observing whether his tone seems fair and sane and his statement of details plausible and likely.

We have said that readable histories are often unreliable, but that does not prove that reliable histories are of necessity dry. History may be hard, but it ought to be interesting. Unless life itself is dull, unless the heroes and writers of the past were tiresome personalities, unless the most painstaking and inspired works of the leading artists are of no interest, history should not be tedious. Polybius, the most modern in spirit of the ancient Greek historians, spoke scornfully of the mere bookworm historian who lacked human experience and spent all his hours "reclining on his couch," studying documents from a neighbouring library and "comparing the mistakes of former historians without any fatigue to himself." To him the dignity of history seemed to require both literary genius and

> The man of many shifts, who wandered far and wide,
> And towns of many saw, and learned their mind;
> And suffered much in heart by land and sea,
> Passing through wars of men and grievous waves.

History is, after all, and always will be, despite dry-as-dust research and writing, the most human of sciences.

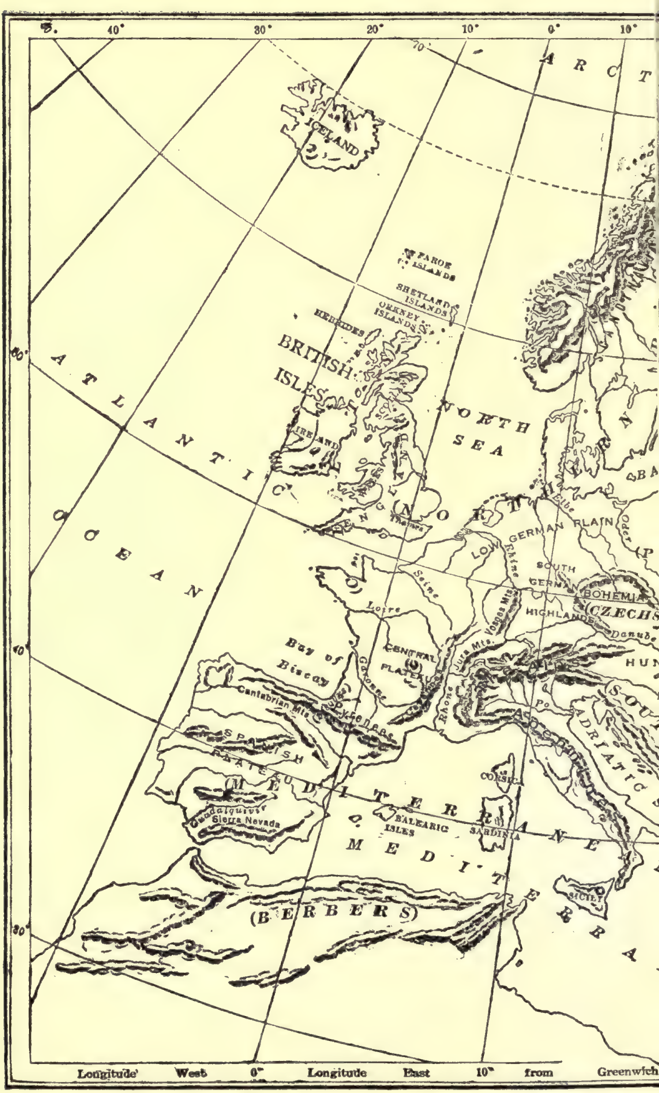
The Question of Race

Since history treats of all sorts of men in different times and varied places, three fundamental questions confront us at the start: how to classify mankind, how to distinguish different localities, and how to measure time. To these introductory queries anthropology, geography, and chronology give answers. It is now recognized, however, that it is no simple operation to divide men into distinct races. Various methods have been tried, and classifications have been made according to the colour of the skin, or the shade and curl of the hair, or the measurements of the skull—a handy method in the case of men of the past—or the language spoken. But these classifications run counter to one another. Entire peoples adopt a foreign language for their own, so that tribes who are physically alike are found to speak totally different languages, while utterly different physical types are found to have a common speech. Moreover, men have lived for so long upon the earth and have wandered so widely that probably all peoples found to-day represent racial mixtures. Also it has recently been asserted that the shape of the skull and other physical traits alter when the individual or tribe moves to a new and different environment and climate. The past, however, has probably seldom seen such rapid immigration and mixing and absorption of miscellaneous races and nationalities as has been witnessed, for instance, in the United States.

Because the Celtic, Teutonic, Slavic, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, and Persian tongues seem to belong to a single linguistic system, it used to be assumed that those peoples formed the white or Aryan or Caucasian race, and that they had once lived together in a common home whence they had spread through Europe and Western Asia. But it is now realized that there are marked racial differences between peoples speaking 'Aryan' or Indo-European languages, and that some Aryan-speaking peoples are akin in physical type to other peoples who do not speak an Aryan language at all. Language, in short, seems the only common bond between the 'Aryans.'

THE RACES OF EUROPE

The division of the peoples of Europe into races which is current at present is as follows: Three main European physical types are recognized and are named after their original habitat or the place where the type is at present to be found in its purest state. These are the Northern race, the Mediterranean race, and the Alpine race. All are white men, but the Northerners are fair and tall with long heads or skulls —a type found at its purest in the Scandinavian countries and on the north shore of Germany and the east coast of Great Britain facing those countries. The Mediterranean type is best seen in Spain and Southern Italy, and is short and dark, but long-headed like the Northerners. To this Mediterranean race, too, belong the Berbers of North Africa. The Alpine race comes midway between the other two in respect to stature and colour, but is broad-skulled, unlike either of them. The Celts and the Slavs are largely of this type, though its especial home is in the highlands of Europe that stretch east and west between the Mediterranean world and the North. In many countries one naturally sees fusions of these races, but there are to-day or were in the Middle Ages several peoples whose race, language, and customs defy attempts at classification, such as the Basques of the extreme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ORKNEY ISLANDS
HEBRIDES
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLAND
Thames
NORTHERN
Elbe
GERMAN PLAIN
LOW
Rhine
Oder
SOUTH GERMAN HIGHLANDS
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Danube
HUN
Seine
Loire
Vosges Mts.
Jura Mts.
ALPS
Po
Rhone
Bay of Biscay
CENTRAL PLATEAU
Garonne
Cantabrian Mts.
Pyrenees
SPANISH PLATEAU
Guadalquivir
Sierra Nevada
MEDITERRANEAN
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
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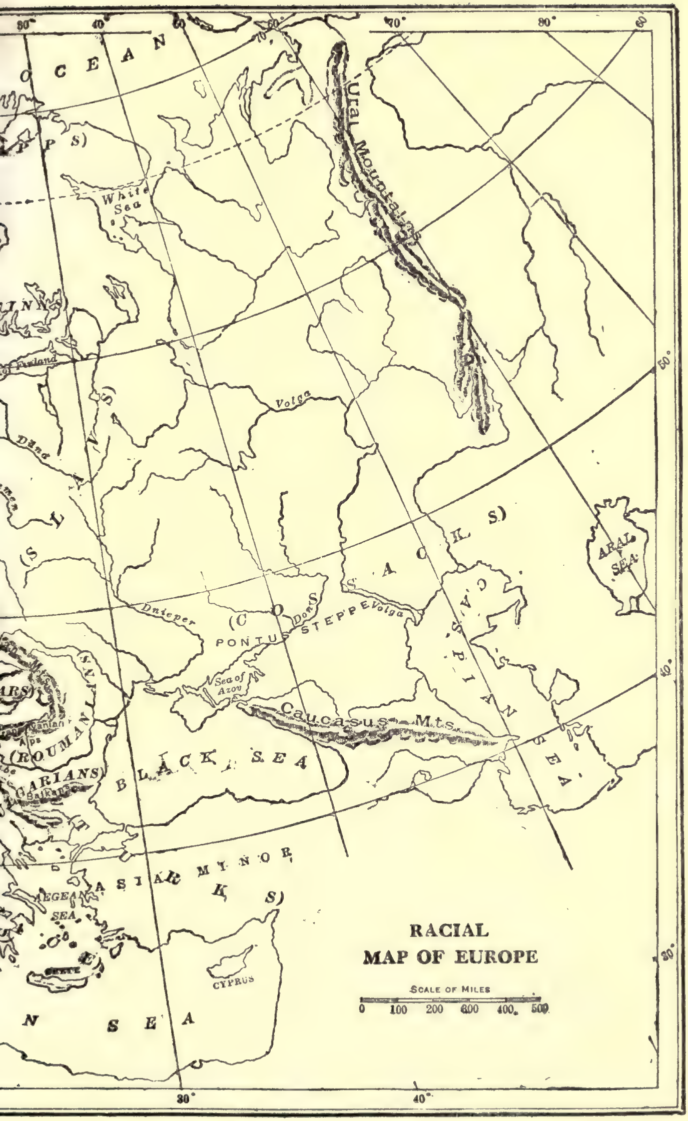
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White Sea
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Dvina
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ARAL SEA
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PONTUS STEPPE
Don
Volga
Dnieper
Sea of Azov
Caucasus Mts.
B L A C K S E A
(ROUMANIANS)
ARS)
Alps
ARIANS)
Balkans
A S I A M I N O R
K S)
AEGEAN SEA
CYPRUS
N S E A
30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

RACIAL
MAP OF EUROPE

Between pp. 10 and 11

south-west of France and north of Spain and the Picts of early Scotland. Among the peoples of Europe we further find an Asiatic racial factor, and see the effect of immigration and invasion from the Orient. Different authorities divide the Asiatic races somewhat diversely, and vary especially in their nomenclature. The main point to note here is that a number of European peoples, such as the Lapps, Finns, Turks, Magyars of Hungary, and the Bulgarians, represent a considerable infusion of blood from the Western Asiatic racial groups.

GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

The scene of medieval history is laid in Europe and in those regions of Asia and Africa adjoining the Mediterranean Sea. To follow the history intelligently it is essential to have some knowledge of the geography of this area. The reader should have in mind the main physical features of the continent of Europe, the great mountain ranges, the chief rivers and other bodies of water, and also the modern political map of Europe with its national boundaries and chief cities. The continent of Europe has a coast so deeply indented by arms of the sea that many parts are distinctly and definitely marked off from the main trunk. The British Isles form such a group. The Scandinavian peninsula is another clearly marked unit, although, on the other hand, the Baltic Sea forms a common centre and meeting-place for all the lands bordering upon it. To the south Greece, Italy, and Spain are peninsulas separated by mountain ranges from the rest of Europe, although here again the Mediterranean forms a channel of communication between them. The plain of Hungary is surrounded on three sides by the Carpathians, and four mountain chains enclose the upper basin of the Elbe River in a sort of parallelogram called Bohemia. The Alps are very abrupt on the Italian side, but slope gradually northward toward Germany, which divides into southern highlands and the North German plain. The latter is subdivided by the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder rivers. It merges indistinguishably into the Low Countries and Northern

France, and to the east into the vaster area of Russia, and thus is the chief feature of the main trunk of Europe.

Russia is intersected by a network of rivers, some flowing north to the White and the Baltic, others south to the Black and the Caspian Seas. In ancient times Russia was largely covered with swamps and forests, but there were fertile grass steppes then as now in the south. Between Eastern Europe and Western Asia there is no abrupt transition in climate, flora and fauna, or topography. The plains and mountains of the one fade into those of the other, but the boundary is roughly marked by the Ural Mountains.

In France west and north-west of the Alps come other lesser mountain ranges, the Cévennes, Jura, and Vosges; and west of these the basins of the Garonne, Loire, and Seine rivers, flowing through plains to the sea. From the Alps four important rivers, the Po, Danube, Rhine, and Rhone, flow in opposite directions into as many different seas, the Adriatic, Black, North, and Mediterranean. As from the Alps the land slopes off to the Baltic and North Seas and the English Channel, so on the farther side of those bodies of water—which once, by the way, were for the most part dry land—rise, after an interval of lowlands, the mountains of Norway, of the Shetlands and Iceland, of Scotland and North-western England and Wales. They face the Continent as the opposite tier of seats rises up in a stadium.

It is hardly possible to overestimate the effect of physical environment upon man's life, especially in earlier ages when tunnels and canals, steam and electricity, had not yet overcome and harnessed Nature. Once natural boundaries and obstacles could not be so easily disregarded, and trade routes, race migrations, and military campaigns alike had to follow certain lines. Also man's food and costume and dwelling and industries and artistic creations were dictated to him largely by the materials available in his immediate neighbourhood. Fear and appreciation of the forces in Nature long influenced religion. Even to-day, if we travel, we find different races and languages and customs and governments and religions in different lands, as well as mines in one region, olive groves in another, and sheep-grazing in a third. These differences are in part due to diversity of geographical conditions. And we still are unable to escape the effects of changes in the barometer upon our spirits. Indeed, recent experimental tests tend to confirm the general notion that physical and mental efficiency are greatest in a climate where the temperature is moderate and variable, and that a tropical climate weakens moral character as well as decreases the capacity for intellectual and manual labour.

IMPORTANCE OF DATES IN HISTORY

The question 'When?' is no less important to the student of history than 'Where?' To trace the progress of civilization and to understand historical relationships, it is necessary to know when things happened or existed. Every important event has its causes and results, and to learn them we must know what preceded and followed the event. Human society in any place at any time consists of many particular things and persons, events and customs. These go together, and what unites them is their simultaneous occurrence. They are a bundle of sticks which must be tied together with a date. Moreover, the effect of an event upon society depends greatly upon when it happened, for circumstances might be favourable at one time and not at another. It is true that many social conditions which have existed for a long period began and disappeared so gradually that it is impossible to date them precisely, and one must be content with such approximate expressions as 'the thirteenth century,' 'the early Roman Empire,' and 'the later Middle Ages.' Other events which undoubtedly did happen within some particular year we are also unable to date because of lack of reliable source-material. But the object of the historical student should be not so much to fix exact dates in his memory as to be able to place events in their proper sequence, to associate closely together all simultaneous happenings, and to cultivate a feeling for the lapse of time —to be able to realize, for instance, what five hundred years ago means.

Of course among the lowest savages chronology is a matter of slight utility, since their life develops little and there is nothing to record different from the past. But among civilized peoples, who are either progressing or declining, one has to turn back but a generation or two to find great changes. The life of some one old man still living to-day goes back to the days of the Crimean War. His grandfather could, perhaps, tell him stories of the period before railways and factories had come into existence. Three more such lives would take us back to the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers, and but two more would land us on the verge of the Middle Ages.

Different peoples have had different calendars and systems of chronology. For instance, in the Middle Ages the Mohammedan lunar year was more than eleven days shorter than the Christian solar year, so that thirty-three and a half years elapsed in Arabia and North Africa and Southern Spain while thirty-two and a half were passing in France and Germany. Even the Christians in the Middle Ages had leap-years a little oftener than we do, so that their reckoning was ten days ahead of time by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another difficulty in dealing with medieval dates is the varying usage as to when the year shall begin. Certain medieval annals say that Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 801 instead of 800 because they reckon Christmas Day as the first of the new year. On the other hand, his death is put in 813 instead of 814 by those who do not begin the new year until Easter. This book will follow the customary Christian chronology introduced by the monk Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, by which events are dated so many years before or after the year set for the birth of Christ. But various other eras were in use here and there in the Middle Ages. The Mohammedans began their era with the Hegira of Mohammed (A.D. 622); the Greeks and Russians employed the era of Constantinople, which dates its years from the creation of the world; and in Aragon and Castile until the fourteenth century Christians used the era of Spain or of the Cæsars, which made the initial year what we call 39 B.C.

THE MIDDLE AGES

The present volume will trace the history of Europe and of the parts of Asia and Africa adjacent to the Mediterranean and thus closely connected with Europe. It will trace the history of those lands from the decline of the Roman Empire and of classical civilization, from the entrance of new peoples upon the stage of European history, and from the beginnings of Christianity. It will carry that story to the discovery of the new continents of North and South America and of an all-sea route round South Africa to the Far East, to the eve of the revolt of the Protestants from the Church of Rome, and to the opening of the momentous and disastrous reign of Charles V of the House of Habsburg in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, and large portions of Italy. This period of more than a thousand years is usually called the Middle Ages on the supposition that it lies between ancient and modern times. Such a division of the history of the world gives many thousands of years to ancient history and a disproportionately brief duration to the other two periods. It is not our purpose here, however, to quarrel with this familiar convention, which was adopted at a time when ancient history had not yet been traced so far back in time. We may simply note that there is almost never a sharp break nor a total dissimilarity between periods which adjoin in time. Thus the Middle Ages inherited much from ancient times, and many features of our present civilization may be traced back several centuries into medieval history. This illustrates how one age dovetails into its successor, no sharp line being drawn between them, but some features of the old life continuing for some time after innovations have been made in other respects.

In medieval history we have the decline and then the recovery of civilization to note; we have various lands and peoples in different stages of civilization to study, and we shall have to distinguish progress in various departments of human activity. Consequently the history of the Middle

Ages will be here set forth partly in order of time, partly by regions, and partly in order of subjects; and the reader must bravely endeavour to keep abreast of all three. It may somewhat assist him to have some of the main topics, periods, and regions associated with the greatest men of the age, and this has been done where the men seemed great enough to justify it. But many of the greatest accomplishments of the Middle Ages were either anonymous or the work of countless labourers.

The Middle Ages deserve our attention, partly because they contributed much to our modern civilization and because our study of them helps to explain many existing conditions. Then grew up our modern languages, then began modern literatures and universities, then developed the Roman Catholic Church and the states of France and England, then were discovered the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing. But the Middle Ages also merit our study because they had institutions and ideas which are gone and which are strange to us, but the study of which serves to widen our experience, broaden our outlook, and deepen our sympathies and understanding.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE Roman Empire included all the lands bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea, which was for long the great thoroughfare of civilization. Speaking in a general way and allowing for local differences and irregularities, the climate of this basin and the vegetation of its coasts are uniform. That is to say, the coastal region north of the Sahara Desert resembles the southern coasts and peninsulas of Europe rather than the bulk of the African continent; and the French Mediterranean littoral is more like the coasts of Spain and Italy than it is like the rest of France. It is, indeed, easy to cross from Africa to Spain, or to Italy by way of Sicily, while the islands of Cyprus and Crete form stepping-stones from Egypt to Greece and from Syria to the Ægean Sea and west coast of Asia Minor. Owing to the narrowness of the Straits of Gibraltar and to their shallowness as well—since a sunken ridge stretches under water from Spain to Africa—neither tide nor cold ocean currents exert much influence in the Mediterranean. The air is sunny and the water warm, but it is very salt because of rapid evaporation. The tideless sea leaves the mouths of rivers obstructed by silt and unfit to serve as ports; and the coast-line changes with passing years. In ancient times it was difficult to put out to sea from a harbour without a favouring wind; on the other hand, small vessels could be drawn up on almost any sandy beach and left there without fear of their being carried off by the tide. Cæsar lost most of his fleet in one of his expeditions to Britain when he imprudently left his ships drawn up in this way on an exposed shore. Even the Mediterranean, however, can be stormy enough in winter, so that the ancients did little navigation at that time of year. Fishing is not a very important industry in the Mediterranean, but in ancient times the dyes obtained from the purple fisheries were highly prized.

The Roman Empire may be divided into three sections differing in their previous history and civilization—namely, the Oriental, the Greek or Hellenic, and the Roman-Barbarian. The Oriental section had a history going back at least four or five thousand years in the river-valley civilizations and despotisms of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates. Here are still found to-day magnificent monuments and ruins of stately edifices, an abundance of written records, and evidences of a carefully organized government and society, of artisans and mathematicians, of people with high standards of morality and a belief in a future life and last judgment, and provided with a calendar dividing the year into twelve months and three hundred and sixty-five days, of a city forty miles in circumference and trading in gems from India, silks from China, ivory and ostrich feathers from the heart of Africa—and all this hundreds or thousands of years before Rome had ceased to be a village, before Julius Cæsar had added an extra day each leap-year, before Roman jurisprudence had developed, and before Rome's censors and imperators had built a single road or erected one triumphal arch. This culture is also found at an early date in the islands of Cyprus and Crete. In the latter place, works of art have recently been excavated worthy of the Greek genius, but made many centuries before the history of Greece begins and at a time when the Orient was the industrial centre of the world. The Phœnicians spread this Oriental civilization to various points in the Mediterranean, notably to Carthage in North Africa. Most of Asia Minor is also to be counted within this Oriental section of the Empire.

Greek or Hellenic civilization—the Greeks called themselves 'Hellenes' and occupied more territory than is included in modern Greece—reached its height in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. The Hellenes were great

2. Roman Aqueduct

colonizers, and lived on the west coast of Asia Minor, in Sicily and Southern Italy, and in coast settlements scattered about the Black and Mediterranean Seas, as well as in Greece proper and the islands of the Ægean. Their culture owed much to the Orient, but they were freer politically and intellectually, since no long dynasties of rulers nor ancient hierarchies of priests dominated their life and thought. They were " free-born wanderers of the mountain air " or on the sea. They enjoyed the advantage of a better system of writing than those of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians. They developed art, especially sculpture, to a higher point, and even in architecture their simple temples are better proportioned, and their Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns and capitals more graceful. In their Aryan language, which invaders from the North had introduced among them, they expressed themselves more clearly and beautifully than Oriental languages and thought had permitted. It is to them that we look for the first ' classics ' in many varieties of literary production ; for instance, the epics of Homer, the lyrics of Sappho, the history of Herodotus, the tragedies of Æschylus, the comedies of Menander, the orations of Demosthenes, the pastorals of Theocritus.

Greek Philosophy

The thought of the Hellenes at first took the imaginative form of beautiful mythology, but then changed to rational speculation concerning the nature of the universe in which man lives and the right conduct of his life in it. Such reasoning has ever since been called ' philosophy,' the name the Greeks themselves gave to it, and is important to note, not only as a prominent feature of their civilization, but because of its great influence upon Christian writers both during the Roman Empire and throughout the Middle Ages. The Greek historians themselves narrated little but wars and the doings of generals and statesmen ; but the medieval historian, who never had heard of Themistocles or Agesilaus or Philopœmen, could give a brief outline of the views of all the Greek philosophers from Thales of Miletus, who foretold an eclipse of the sun and held that everything is made out of water, down through such names as Pythagoras, who asserted the importance of number and harmony in the universe, Democritus, who first taught that the world is made up of atoms, Socrates and Plato, to the late schools of thinkers called Stoics, Epicureans, and Neo-Platonists, of whom we shall have to speak again later.

Of all Greek philosophers Aristotle was to be the most influential in the Middle Ages. He had profited by the teaching of Plato, just as Plato had been the disciple of Socrates ; but his own teaching was very different from the Platonic philosophy. Plato was a poetical idealist ; Aristotle was more systematic and scientific. His *History of Animals* collected and classified a large amount of zoological data ; his *Poetics* discussed various forms of literature and is our first fundamental work of literary criticism and theory ; his *Politics* summarized the different forms of government existing in his day. More theoretical were his writings on physics, metaphysics, and ethics, but here too he dissented from Plato in many important respects. Several of his treatises were devoted to psychological subjects ; and in his works on logic he laid down sound rules which have been observed in the art of reasoning ever since.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Aristotle was for a time the tutor of a young conqueror who was to change the map and civilization of the eastern Mediterranean world. Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, 336–323 B.C., finishing the work which his father Philip had prepared and begun, conquered the world from the Balkans to Egypt and from the Greek peninsula to the frontier of India. Into this Oriental world, and especially into that portion of it which the Roman Empire later included, was now introduced Hellenic culture, which fused with what was left of the old cultures of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria into a civilization termed 'Hellenistic.' At Alexandria in Egypt, named after and founded by Alexander, was developed the largest library in the ancient world, a zoological park and gardens to encourage further investigations like Aristotle's *History of Animals*, and a learned society of librarians, editors, literary critics, men of letters, geographers and astronomers, botanists and physiologists and medical men. Antioch in Syria was a similar centre. Greek art, too, now left the peninsula, and the chief centres of sculpture were at cities in Asia Minor.

Alexander's empire was divided after his death into the three great monarchies of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, and many lesser states in Asia Minor and the Greek peninsula. Therefore, when Rome had united under her rule all Italy, including the declining Greek colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily, and had decisively defeated Carthage, her great opponent in Africa, she found it comparatively easy to bring the powers of the eastern Mediterranean one by one under her sway. But as Greek civilization had gone on spreading through Alexander's empire after it had ceased to be a political unit, so now it was adopted by the Romans, who indeed had borrowed much from it in Italy before they conquered the East. During the time of the Roman Empire and early centuries of the Christian era, Greek continued to be the written and learned language of the eastern half of the Mediterranean basin, and the science of the Hellenistic period was continued by such writers as Galen and Ptolemy, our chief sources for ancient medicine and astronomy respectively. It is worth remarking that both these scientists believed in astrology.

THE ROMAN-BARBARIAN NORTH-WEST

The third section of the Roman Empire included the Latin civilization of Italy and the barbarians whom Rome had conquered and added to the civilized ancient world. Geographically it embraced all that part of the Empire to the north or west of Macedon, Sicily, and Carthage. Orientals and Greeks had done something for these regions, but in the main their civilization was the work of Rome. It will be noted that this section included not only the coasts of the western Mediterranean, but also the valley of the Danube river, the Alps, the valley of the Rhine, and the entire interior of the Spanish peninsula and of what is now France. This brought Rome to the Atlantic Ocean; she did not halt there, but added the province of Britain beyond the English Channel. Italy had once been the western frontier of the ancient civilized world and the Latins had been far inferior in culture to the Greeks. But they had now adopted Greek mythology and Greek philosophy; copies of the masterpieces of Greek sculpture were to be seen in the houses of the rich Roman nobles; and the various forms of Greek literature were paralleled and imitated in Latin. Terence corresponded to Menander; Seneca to Æschylus; Cicero to Demosthenes; and Vergil to Homer. Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* tried to combine all the science of antiquity in a single encyclopædia. This Latin version of Greek culture the Romans spread among the barbarians whom they subdued. Thus we have already begun to pass from the history of the Mediterranean basin to the history of Western and Northern Europe.

THE CITY-STATE

There is a key to classical civilization and to the daily life of the Greeks and Latins which has not yet been mentioned, the ancient city-state. Our word 'politics' comes from the Greek word for a city, *polis*. This was the fundamental political, social, and religious unit among the Hellenes, the Latins, and several other ancient peoples. Such a state consisted normally of a walled town and a small surrounding area under its government. Peasants who lived outside the walls might perhaps be citizens, but they would have to go to town to vote and to obtain justice. One reason for the existence of such states was that the mountains or seas shut the Greeks off from one another in small compartments, or on islands, or on a distant shore as a colony amid an alien population. But geography was not the sole reason for the existence of the city-state. Its citizens believed that they were all related to one another, and that they were descended from a common divine ancestor whom they worshipped. Their fathers and grandfathers and great-great-grandfathers had lived in that same little town or plain or island as far back as they could remember. Consequently the citizens were well acquainted with one another; had the same customs and ways of doing things; and had no desire to admit strangers to share their life and citizenship. Each city-state had its own religion, its own legends and myths and gods and heroes, its own festivals and forms of worship, in which all the citizens participated, and which were presided over by the town magistrates. If one went to another city one found gods with different names and functions, and strange ceremonies on the wrong days. There was, therefore, no distinction between Church and State in Greece and Rome. The city-state was both. One's duty to the gods and one's affection for one's own kindred could best find expression in serving the State. In Sparta the city took boys away from the home at seven years of age, and henceforth they lived together in bands, training to be soldiers and statesmen. Each city naturally was a distinct economic unit, with an *agora* or market-place where the peasants and merchants sold their produce and wares. There was trade between different cities, but one also felt quite free to plunder the ship of anyone but a fellow-citizen.

Even more than to-day the city was the centre of art, literature, learning, and amusement, since there were no cheap ways of spreading these things to farm and home such as we possess in printing, photography, and phonographs. Partly for the same reason and partly because the climate encouraged meeting in the open air, the inhabitants—more especially the men—of the ancient city spent much of their time together out of doors, not merely engaging in athletics, but listening to public speakers, poets, and philosophers, enjoying a dramatic performance, or admiring statues and other works of art, which were exposed to the air rather than enclosed in museums. Also the exterior rather than the interior of a temple was adorned with frieze and colonnade, for only the priests and individual petitioners entered the small *cella* where were the images of the gods. Festivals and other large religious gatherings, such as athletic games and tragedies or comedies—all three of which were religious exercises—were held in the stadium, open-air theatre, or some other large open place. The streets of the town were, however, apt to be narrow, because the towns were limited in size by their enclosing walls and because there was little traffic except that of pedestrians.

In a prosperous city-state there were usually numerous slaves, who of course were not citizens, but whose toil enabled those who were citizens to devote more of their time to war, politics, and culture. Every citizen took an active personal share in the government, unless he lost his rights through the rise to power of a tyrant or an oligarchy, or through conquest of his city by some neighbouring town, which would either leave a garrison and governor of its own, or establish the rule of a few persons favourable to its sway. The ancients seldom practised representation in government; the citizen was supposed to vote and fight in person, and to plead his own case in court. But it was evidently impracticable for the inhabitants of one town to attend popular assemblies and law courts and religious festivals in another town many miles away. Therefore, either each city had to be left some government of its own, or, if its inhabitants were to be admitted to real citizenship in another town, they must be transplanted thither and their old walls and city destroyed. Syracuse often took this course with the other Greek cities of Sicily.

Rome itself was a city-state, and, although more liberal than the Greeks in bestowing its citizenship on others, its rule in Italy was essentially a league of cities. Moreover, Alexander the Great and his successors had founded scores of such cities throughout the eastern end of the Mediterranean world. Rome, through her colonies and municipalities, now spread the system in the West. Of course the cities now lost their precious privilege of fighting with one another, and the inhabitants were no longer so closely related. But many of the features of the city-state continued, and the town was the fundamental local unit throughout the Roman Empire. The municipality was now almost always organized with an aristocratic government, with *duumvirs*, who corresponded to the Roman consuls, and *decurions* or *curiales* (members of the *curia*), who resembled the Roman senators. But these rich men gave freely of their wealth and showed much civic pride in adorning their native city with handsome buildings, or undertaking the expense of public works like aqueducts, or endowing charitable foundations, or providing games and amusements. They gave to the city where modern philanthropists give to universities and foreign missions.

SUPERIMPOSITION OF IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

While the city-state organization thus lasted into the Roman Empire and continued for some time to display a healthy life, the superimposition of the Roman imperial system and law upon the Mediterranean world and Western Europe was a change of the greatest consequence. It is true that the Roman emperors borrowed many of their methods of government from the monarchs whom they conquered and whose lands they incorporated into the Empire, and that the Roman law, before it attained to its final perfection, added to the original ' civil law ' (*i.e.*, law of the citizens, or of the city) of the Romans themselves the best of the laws of the Mediterranean world. But the Romans knew how to combine into a smoothly working system these odds and ends which they had drawn from diverse sources. So they gave to the peoples over whom they ruled the advantage of one united government and of a single, harmonious body of law. This meant, on the whole, peace and justice for millions of human beings for hundreds of years. To reach this goal, however, a terrible price had to be paid.

Rome had won the supremacy in Italy and had then annexed most of the Mediterranean basin under the lead of her Senate of three hundred members, from whose families most of the annual magistrates and generals were elected and into whose ranks these officials usually went at the expiration of their term of office. The Roman people were normally docile and deferential, trained in strict obedience to their fathers and superiors, and accustomed to the military discipline of the army in which they all served. When Rome no longer had to struggle for existence and the world lay open before her to be conquered and despoiled, the ruling class, who had hitherto been distinguished for their ability, integrity, and devotion to the State, could not resist the temptation, but now devoted themselves to battening upon the poor Italians and other conquered peoples, and became corrupt and inefficient. The rank and file of the citizens were dissatisfied with their small share of the plunder, but could see no better way to increase it than by forwarding the ambition of some city official who would give them amusing shows and cheap food, or by serving under some military leader who would let them sack cities and gorge themselves with loot, and then, when their fighting days were over, settle them somewhere in a colony where each would be provided with a farm of his own. This delectable devastation could not go on indefinitely, however, especially since the ruling class became so inordinately ambitious and avaricious that they were not content to divide things decently with one another. The result was civil war, revolts of Italians, revolts of provincials, assassinations, massacres, until finally the exhausted combatants gladly welcomed the strong rule of one man, and until at last that one man came to see that it was bad policy to kill the geese that laid the golden eggs.

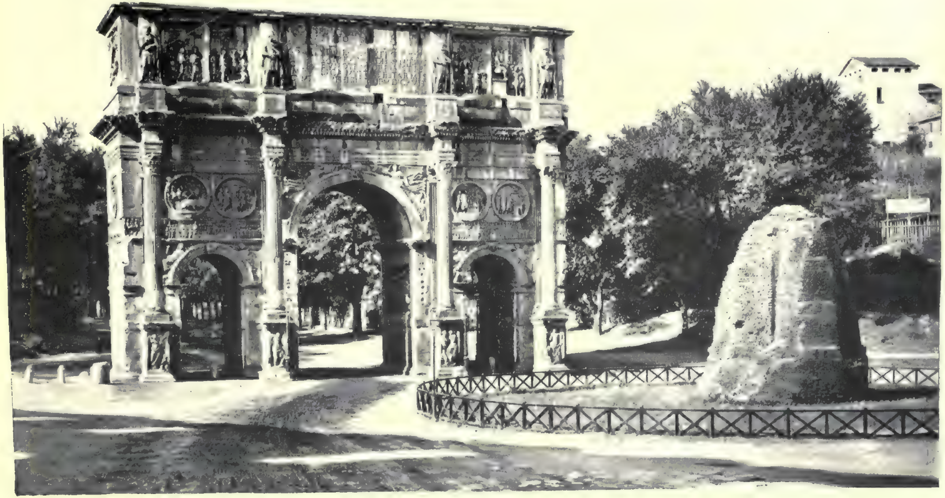
This consummation was practically completed under Augustus Cæsar, 31 B.C.–A.D. 14, whose rule marks the transition from Republic to Empire. He pretended to share his power with the Senate, but was commander-in-chief (*imperator*) of the entire army, appointed the governors of half the provinces, and had vast private estates scattered all over the Empire and bringing him in a princely income. These private possessions of his included all Egypt, whose fertile soil alone had once sufficed to support the pomp of

Pharaohs and of Ptolemies and to pay the cost of huge temples and pyramids. In the city of Rome he was protector of the common people and was constantly being elected to this or that office. The successors of Augustus kept increasing their own authority and lessening that of the Senate, until after about a hundred years the *imperator* had become indeed an emperor.

But whenever an emperor died there was liable to be a struggle for the throne between rival candidates, and in settling such disputes the army was apt to prove the decisive factor. The soldiers expected donations, if not a steady increase in pay, from each new incumbent. This was especially true of the Prætorian cohorts or imperial bodyguard at Rome ; but the legions from the distant frontier provinces sometimes took a hand too and supported the claims of their ambitious commanders. Normally, however, the legions were far away on the frontier or in camps in provinces which were as yet not thoroughly subdued. But those provinces which had ceased to rebel against Roman rule and which had adopted its civilization were left almost entirely free from the presence of troops, unless the local cities kept a few guards of their own as police against brigands in the mountains or pirates along the coast. Thus, in Gaul troops were to be found only near the Rhine frontier, and even in Britain the legions were not stationed in the south-east, but in the mountains of Wales and North-western England, where they formed a ring of camps protecting the peaceful province. An army of only about four hundred thousand soldiers served to assure peace to the entire Empire. They served for twenty or twenty-five years, at the expiration of which term they received the Roman citizenship if they did not possess it already, and allotments of land on which to pass their declining years in ease. Usually enough volunteers enlisted every year to keep the ranks filled. The best emperor was one who travelled about his Empire a great deal, strengthening the frontiers or making wise alliances with the peoples outside the Empire, hearing the complaints of his subjects against their governors and tax-collectors, world-citizenship and the brotherhood of man. The lawyers, however, would usually resort to the ideal principles of natural law only when there was no ordinary law in existence upon the case in question; and they did not refuse to recognize slavery as legal, although they did not think it sanctioned by the law of Nature. But as the Empire wore on, slaves were more humanely treated. Women also secured a much more favourable position before the law. The old arbitrary power of the head of the family over its members was greatly reduced; and, on the other hand, youth was protected by the law from losses and injuries sustained through its natural heedlessness and inexperience. The Romans, however, seem to have had no qualms about subjecting convicted criminals to cruel punishments, and torture was not unknown in extracting evidence, especially from slaves.

REMAINS OF ROMAN BUILDING

Next to their reputation as lawgivers the Romans are most justly famed as builders. Wherever they ruled we still find to-day massive remains of their activity in this respect. They seem to have delighted to show the majesty of their power and their faith in its permanence by extremely solid structures of the most durable materials, built with a proud disregard of expense and of Nature. They were not as artistic as the Greeks, but were abler builders and engineers. Their roads, though only a dozen feet or so in width, had deep foundations and covered thousands of miles. They went straight on regardless of hill and valley without swerving to right or left, and were so carefully and solidly constructed that they continued to serve commerce in the Middle Ages, and can still be traced in many places to-day. Their magnificent triumphal arches, covered with sculpture and inscription, were large enough to serve as medieval fortresses. Their vast public baths, which also served as social clubs and lecture halls, and their spacious basilicas, a sort of combination of a modern court-house and stock exchange, showed structural skill in their vast vaults of masonry, and decorative genius in column and mosaic. The aqueducts



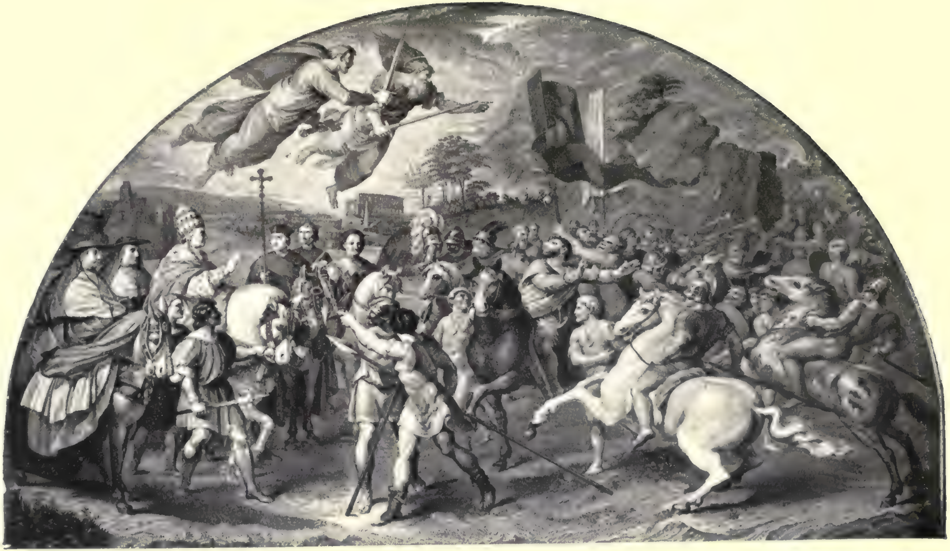
3. Arch of Constantine

which brought the water for city use were huge stone channels often borne on successions of arches varying in height according to the lie of the land ; and they spanned rivers by bridges made of a similar succession of round stone arches supported on great piers. Apparently every town of size had its arena or amphitheatre, a great oval surrounded by tiers of stone seats supported beneath and behind by successive arches through which tunnelled a perfect labyrinth of exits and entrances, while the external circumference consisted of two or more stories made up of rows of arches and ornamented with pilasters and columns. Here from eight thousand to fifty thousand persons could look on at the combats of wild beasts and gladiators. Such huge structures can still be seen to-day, not only in cities of Italy, France, and Germany, but amid desert surroundings in North Africa. Temples in the rectangular Greek style surrounded by colonnades, or round in ground plan and covered by a dome ; theatres with a stage wall and façade three hundred and thirty-eight feet long and one hundred and twenty-one feet high, one of which still stands to-day in the little town of Orange in Southern France ; forums full of the bases of pillars and statues long since fallen ; town gates, partly fortified and partly ornamental ; and towers, either for fortifications or for signalling purposes, are other specimens of the more frequent and imposing of Roman public remains, not to mention the ruins of once sumptuous private villas.

Economic Conditions

For the economic life of the Roman Empire our records and remains are much scantier than for its military history, its laws, or its architecture. Men of the governing and intellectual classes, the nobles and the writers of Rome, considered money-making a vulgar pursuit ; and while all of them were ready enough to follow it if they had to or if large profits were in sight, they did not like to write and talk about it. It is also true that their economic life was simple and undeveloped compared with that of our age ; that commerce, industry, advertising, and credit were not organized on so vast a scale, and consequently did not exert so great an influence on all other sides of man's existence; while other matters, such as the belief in demons, in supernatural forces, in souls of inanimate objects, in magic powers of animals and plants, in divination and witchcraft, which to-day have much less effect upon human conduct, at that time controlled men potently. But economic forces also affected their fate more than they realized, and hence deserve our attention.

The coming into existence of the Roman Empire made commerce freer and easier than before between the various countries composing it. Trade was facilitated by the fine roads and the widespread prevalence of peace. Yet, apart from the imperial post reserved exclusively for military and government purposes, the Romans had neither a letter nor a parcels post, and neither transportation nor express companies of any considerable size. We know little of ancient merchant vessels except that they were usually small and not especially seaworthy. Despite all this, there was a good deal of trade with distant India, and even some interchange of goods with China; and the balance of trade seems to have been against the Empire, which received from the East such costly wares as silks, spices, medicinal herbs, and gems. Wild beasts for the arena came from Central Africa, while Belgic Gaul was already known for its draught-horses. The table of the rich epicure at Rome often included dishes drawn from distant points of the Empire, such as oysters from Britain, fish from the Black Sea, game from Asia Minor and the Ægean Archipelago, hams from Gaul, fruit from North Africa, dates from Egypt, and nuts from Spain. Staple articles of trade all over the Empire were grain, timber, metals, skins, leather, wool, cattle, slaves, purple dye, wines, and olive oil. The products of the vine and olive tree played a great part in Mediterranean life. The first squeeze of the olive press gave oil fit for food, the second for ointment, the third for illumination, and what was left could be burned as fuel. In the early fourth century we have record in the city of Rome of 2300 places where olive oil was sold as against only 254 bakeries. Within the Empire the merchant usually



4. Attila and Leo I

accompanied his goods by land or sea and sold them himself in some distant port or inland town.

One might, however, buy a share in a ship or other commercial venture; and there were partnerships and business corporations, which were perhaps more often formed for purposes of banking or of taking over from the State the contract of collecting the taxes in this or that province. Book-keeping was a universal Roman practice, and we hear of large transactions made on credit. It is certain that many large fortunes were amassed, and that capital was abundant. There was, however, a prejudice against the professional money-lender; and the Emperor Augustus degraded a noble from the equestrian rank because he had borrowed money at a low rate of interest and then loaned it out again at a higher rate.

A greater proportion of the trade was in raw products, and less in manufactured articles than to-day. Millions of bushels of wheat were brought each year from Egypt and North Africa to supply the populace of Rome; marble columns and other building materials were transported for public works. But there were no great manufacturing establishments, such as exist to-day, where hundreds of machines turn out vast quantities of copies of the same article for distribution over the face of the earth. Articles were hand-made by individual workmen, who usually sold what they made each from his own tiny workshop, and whose entire set of utensils and stock-in-trade could usually be packed up in two or three big earthenware jars. Local retail merchants also had small shops; there was nothing resembling the modern department store. Articles were generally bargained for, not sold at a fixed price. In a city of any size each trade had its own street or quarter. Sometimes those engaged in the same trade banded together in a loose social and religious union; but the imperial government at first was quite unfavourable to such societies, and the Emperor Trajan even forbade one of his provincial governors to allow a city in Bithynia to organize a fire brigade for fear that it might prove a hotbed of sedition. A rich man might have an entire household of slaves working at the same trade, but still their labour was manual and so quite different from the modern factory system. A few military engines and building appliances seem to have been about the only machinery known to the Romans. It is sometimes said that the Romans possessed industrial processes which are lost to the world to-day. If this be true, it is precisely because their procedure in any trade was largely by rule of thumb, and represented a separate discovery, hit upon perhaps by chance, instead of by a rational use of applied science. Many workmen mixed religious ritual or magical ceremony and incantations with their material ingredients and actual manual and mechanical operations without realizing that the article thus made was entirely the result of the latter factors and not at all of the former. If a doubt sometimes entered their minds, they probably thought it safer to continue making the thing in the way it had always been made. Some places were noted for the manufacture of some one article, as Athens had been for its vases before the time of the Empire, and as Gaul became for its woollens and linens during the Empire. In such cases these products would be exported to other localities. But since under the Empire workmen could move about without danger and go wherever there was a demand for their services, the general rule was that most of the articles used by the inhabitants of a town were made in that town.

Historians disagree widely in their estimates of the population of the Empire—a matter difficult to determine. Rome was certainly a more populous city than to-day, as its vast extent and many ruinous quarters indicate, and there were at least half a dozen other cities each with a population of three hundred thousand or over. But of course lands like Gaul and Britain had a much smaller population than they support now, while Greece and Italy had become depopulated to a considerable extent by the time of the Empire. On the other hand, North Africa was more populous than it has been since. The East was undoubtedly the most thickly settled part of the Empire. In large cities like Rome and

Carthage there were buildings many stories high, and the narrow streets were crowded by the passing throng.

Leaving city for country, and commerce and industry for agriculture, we find the leading feature of the land system to be the large domain of the great landowner, cultivated by small tenants and by slaves. These slaves were sometimes large gangs owned by the landowner; sometimes smaller groups or individuals belonging to the more prosperous tenants. If the great landowner had too much land to attend to himself, he would lease it out in large tracts to contractors (*conductores*), who would sublet these to tenants or cultivate them by slave labour. Seldom or never did the person who actually tilled the soil own it. The emperor was the largest landowner of all. As war waned and conquest ceased, it became more difficult to get slaves, while tenants gave their landlords considerable trouble by roving about and not remaining permanently in one place. The tenant was, however, rather dependent upon his landlord, who usually had to provide him with ploughs, domestic animals, and other equipment at the commencement of his tenancy. The Romans spread new plants, trees, breeds of domestic animals, and perhaps better methods of cultivation into the lesser developed parts of the Empire, such as Britain.

It is perhaps worth while to enumerate some of the typical occupations in the Roman Empire. Politicians and soldiers, lawyers and financiers, priests and diviners, magicians and astronomers, orators and grammarians, poets and philosophers, mathematicians and medical men, musicians and athletes, merchants and business agents, sculptors and painters, jewellers and goldsmiths, druggists and dealers in aromatics and pigments and unguents, dyers and fullers, tanners and potters, workers with fire and metals, cooks and tavern-keepers, fishermen and fowlers and hunters, farmers and gardeners, shepherds and grooms, cowherds and swine-herds, pilots and sailors, divers and water-carriers, embalmers and undertakers and guards of sepulchres, weavers and workers in wool, makers of tunics and manufacturers of linen, miners, turners, shoemakers, millers, bakers, flower-sellers, and wine merchants—such were the workers in the Roman Empire.

Social life in the Empire has already been touched upon in several connexions. It remains to point out that eating, drinking, and love-making absorbed man more than to-day, for fewer artificial amusements and intellectual diversions were available to him then. "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die," summed up both precisely and completely the life of many an ancient. 'Clothes,' however, were also a very important matter to many, and the wearing of gems and purple linen, of chaplets and garlands, and the anointing of one's self with oil, pigments, aromatics, and unguents, seem to have provided a great source of satisfaction. As for health, medical practice was vastly inferior to that of our time, and was full of magic, and as a result disease was more rife. But outdoor life and the heartless practice of exposing unpromising infants perhaps exerted a counteracting influence in this respect. Society was, however, exceedingly susceptible to the ravages of plagues and pestilences. In estimating both ancient and medieval callousness to cruel customs like torture and gladiatorial combats we must take somewhat into account the fact that men were then more accustomed to physical pain, since they lacked many modern preventives, such as dentistry and anæsthetics.

Nowhere can a better notion of the society of the Roman Empire be obtained than from the pages of Plutarch, who wrote his famous *Lives of Illustrious Men* and his so-called *Moral Essays* about A.D. 100. The latter is really a large collection of essays on the most miscellaneous topics, giving us many glimpses of ancient science, religion, superstition, manners, and morals. The same is true of the biographies, where he not only sets before us in pairs for comparison the great names in Greek and Roman history, and tells of many facts for which we have no other sources, but also recounts anecdotes, quotes from his favourite authors, and often pauses to moralize and to supply us with precious detail concerning the civilization and customs of his own day as well as of the time of the man whose character and career he is unfolding.

Plutarch himself was a cultured and humane man, who often could not approve of the deeds of the great men of the past, and who shows us the higher standards of morality and altruism that were coming to prevail in the peaceful Empire, where, however, many vices and superstitions of antiquity were still perpetuated.

CHAPTER III

THE BARBARIAN WORLD OUTSIDE THE EMPIRE

ONE thinks of the Roman Empire as including the whole ancient civilized world, except distant China and India. But it should be remembered that, if the Romans had spread Greek culture to Western lands like Gaul and Britain, they had lost a large part of the empire of Alexander the Great, and that their frontier went no farther east than the Euphrates river and the Arabian desert. They were unable to conquer and hold the Tigris-Euphrates valley, once the most civilized and influential region on earth. Here they were successfully opposed, first, by the Parthian, and then, after A.D. 227, by the Persian kingdom. Of the vast continent of Africa they occupied only the Nile valley and the Mediterranean coast. The greater part of the area and many of the nations of modern Europe lie outside the Roman boundary. It did not include Russia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ireland; it included only a little of Scotland, the Netherlands, and the German Empire; and not all of Austria-Hungary. In these lands, as well as in the East, lived peoples whom Rome had failed to subdue, and who were destined some day to subdue her. By A.D. 117 she had reached the limit of her conquests; the question then became how long she would hold what she had. In distant Britain she had to build walls across the island to keep out the Picts and other barbarians of the northern highlands, while Celtic Ireland was left unconquered under the rule of the chiefs of many clans. Around the Baltic Sea and to the east of it dwelt Scandinavian and Finnish and Slavic tribes of whom the Romans knew next to nothing, and who were not to appear in history for some time to come. Nearer to the Roman frontier were the 'German barbarians,' extending from the North to the Black Sea. They were to deal the death-blow to ancient Rome.

THE EARLY GERMANS

Cæsar speaks briefly of the character and customs of these German barbarians in his account of his conquest of Gaul, but the chief, and indeed almost the sole, description of them which has come down to us from Roman times is the brief *Germania* of Tacitus, written in A.D. 98. Scholars have fought almost tooth and nail over the interpretation of a sentence or the wording of a phrase in this precious text. Every student of the Middle Ages should read for himself the dozen of its pages that deal with the traits and institutions of the Germans as a whole, and get a first-hand knowledge of this original source which forms the basis of all modern accounts of the early Germans. Although Tacitus was one of the ablest of Roman historians, one caution must be observed in reading him. In his other historical writings we find him bitter against many persons and things in Roman society and politics; this bias and discontent may make him too ready to see good in the Germans and their customs. When, for instance, he says that among the Germans freedmen are of slight account, except in those tribes where the king elevates them above freemen and even nobles, he is probably sneering at the imperial freedmen of Rome—who often held high governmental positions under the emperor—rather than accurately depicting German conditions. When he describes German funerals as exceedingly simple, he probably has it in mind to reprove Roman pomp and luxury, and ignores the elaborate games and feasting that often accompanied the funeral of a German chieftain.

Apart from Cæsar and Tacitus, our sources of information about the early Germans may be roughly summarized as follows: (1) primitive utensils, valuables, and other human remains, which are found most richly in excavations made in Scandinavia; (2) brief and usually unsatisfactory incidental allusions to the Germans in the works of Greek and Roman geographers, travellers, romancers, and historians, of whom the last simply recount the wars of Rome against the barbarians and tell little of the Germans themselves; (3) laws issued in Latin, after the break-up of the Roman Empire, by the German tribes who formed states in the West; (4) early German literature, such as the poem *Beowulf*, the mythological Eddas of Iceland, the skaldic poetry of Norway, the sagas or prose histories, and the *Nibelungenlied*. Unfortunately most of this literature was not written down until the twelfth century, and so must be used with caution as a source for the language, religion, and customs of the barbarian Germans of Roman times. The laws, too, though written down much sooner after the fall of Rome, are apt to show Teutonic customs considerably altered by lapse of time, Christian influence, contact with Roman civilization, and the altered circumstances under which the Germans were by then living. To sum up, our scanty sources about the early Germans are spread out over a period of some three thousand years, beginning with archæological finds dating fifteen hundred years or so before Christ, and ending with poems and stories not set down in writing until nearly twelve hundred years after Christ. In the middle of this long dark road the little beacon of Tacitus sends forth a welcome light.

The Germans belonged to the Northern European race and to the Aryan or Indo-European linguistic group. Their earliest home was, perhaps, the region about the west end of the Baltic Sea, where from about 1500 to 500 B.C. archæological evidence shows them to have been in the Bronze Age of civilization. Toward the close of this period they appear to have expanded south-east to the river Vistula and the Carpathian Mountains. They next came under the uplifting influence of the higher, Iron Age type of civilization characteristic of the Celts to the south-west. Meanwhile the Germans were also advancing in this south-western direction, until they reached the Rhine and the Main. A century before

Christ two peoples called the 'Cimbri' and 'Teutones' entered Gaul and soon threatened Italy; but were finally annihilated by Roman armies, the Teutones in Southern Gaul just as they were preparing to cross the Alps, and the Cimbri the following year just after they had crossed into Northern Italy. By Cæsar's time the Germans were again pressing into Gaul. He checked their progress and brought the territory from the Pyrenees to the Rhine under Roman rule. Through the time of the Empire the Rhine and the Danube, roughly speaking, continued to be the frontier between Romans and Germans.

Cæsar was impressed with the differences between the Gauls and the Germans, and Tacitus regarded the Germans as quite distinct from all other peoples, and probably an unmixed, indigenous race. His reason, however,—that no one would consent to live in such wild forests and filthy swamps and so cold a climate as theirs, unless he had been born there and knew no other clime,—scarcely recommends itself to the serious consideration of the modern student of ethnology. But their large, tall bodies, fierce blue eyes, and reddish hair all marked them off from the shorter and darker men of Mediterranean race. Skeletons—some of them seven feet long—have been found to bear out his assertion of their height, but they sometimes dyed their hair red, a fashion which came to be copied in Rome. Roman ladies imported a kind of soap from Germany for this purpose; the Emperor Caligula wore a German wig, dyed the hair of Gallic prisoners in his triumphal procession to make them look like Germans, and had a bodyguard of Germans who were personally devoted to him, and who, when they heard of his assassination, in a fit of grief and rage tried to avenge his death by killing every one in sight.

Warfare, plundering, and hunting were the favourite occupations, loafing, carousing, and gambling were the chief diversions, of the German freeman, who left the care of house, fields, and cattle to the women, old men, and others who could not fight, or to his slaves, if he was fortunate enough to own some. The hut was a rude affair of rough timber more or less plastered with mud. In winter, the Germans sometimes tried to keep warm in caves dug underground. Clothing was simple and made largely of skins of animals, which left much of the body uncovered. Cæsar says that they bathed in the rivers even in the depth of winter; but Tacitus makes them take warm baths in cold weather and sleep late in the morning. As Cæsar knew them, they lived mainly on milk, cheese, and flesh, and raised little grain. Swine and horses, as well as cattle, were used for food. Poultry and bees were kept, and a fermented drink called 'mead' was made from the honey. It is a moot point whether they had private or communal landownership. Cæsar and Tacitus imply that the community controlled the distribution of land; and it seems likely that the plots held by different individual swere ploughed and tilled together, while forest, swamp, and pasture land were not subdivided, but used by all in common. In the time of Tacitus their cultivation was not at all intensive, and they had plenty of spare land. They had no cities and little that could be called commerce or industry. Trade was mere barter except as merchants from the Roman Empire introduced coins. From the barbarians these traders got amber, furs, goose feathers, and slaves. Capital and interest were unknown to the Germans. Those who lived along the sea-coast had rude boats, but considerable nautical skill and a passionate love for sea voyages. They had almost no art, but were fond of ornaments of gold, and we can perhaps trace the germ of medieval heraldry and coats of arms in the remark of Tacitus that "their shields are distinguished by very carefully selected colours." He also mentions their "ancient songs," but they seem to have had no written literature except the brief runic inscriptions which are occasionally found, written in letters copied from those of Greece and Rome.

From the accounts of Cæsar and Tacitus one might judge that these barbarians were a thoughtful people, capable of reflection and argument. Thus, Cæsar says that they offer many reasons for their custom of re-distributing the land annually among the clans and kinship groups, which reasons he proceeds to enumerate. He also gives the reasons why they lay waste the land about them in all directions. Tacitus represents them as thinking it inconsistent with the sublimity of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls or to liken them to the human face and form. They are said to discuss important private matters and affairs of state at their drunken feasts, "because they think that at no other time is the mind more open to fair judgment or more inflamed to mighty deeds. . . . On the day following the matter is reconsidered, and a particular advantage is secured on each occasion. They take counsel when they are unable to practise deception; they decide when they cannot be misled."[1] One suspects, however, that Cæsar and Tacitus have put these reasons into the mouths of the Germans, and in any case they are incorrect explanations of the customs in question. From the later literature of the Germans themselves it has been inferred that they were shrewd and somewhat sceptical, and of a philosophical, moralizing, and epigrammatic turn of mind.

Religion of the Germans

We know little of the religious beliefs and practices of the Germans before their conversion to Christianity. Cæsar says that they worship only those gods whom they can see—namely, such forces in Nature as the sun, moon, and fire. Tacitus in one passage tells of their carrying into battle "images and standards taken from their sacred groves"; elsewhere he states that they make no images of their gods, whom they worship not in temples made by hands but in sacred groves. He applies the Roman names Mercury, Hercules, and Mars to the German gods Woden, Thor, and Tiu, whom they faintly suggest. He tells us that the Germans sometimes practised human sacrifice, and that they were addicted to many forms of divination, by bits of wood, by sacred horses, and by birds. From other sources we learn that they burned their dead and believed in a future life.

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[1] There is a similar passage in the Greek historian Herodotus about the Persians.

They worshipped their ancestors, and indications of fetish worship are seen in their sacred trees, whence are derived our Maypoles and Christmas trees. Their early religion was also marked by much magic ritual. Woden was their teacher in mystic writing, incantations, and the performance of marvels. For legends of their gods and heroes somewhat similar to Greek mythology, we have to turn to the Icelandic Eddas and German *Nibelungenlied,* which date in their present extant form from the twelfth century.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Although the women had to do manual labour in the fields as well as in the home, their social position was fairly high for an uncivilized people. Tacitus says that the girls were of the same vigour and stature as the young men, which suggests that they were neither overworked nor starved. They dressed with their arms and part of their breasts bare without losing the respect of the men. Marriages were not contracted at so early an age as is common among Southern and Oriental peoples, and monogamy prevailed. "Almost alone among barbarian peoples," writes Tacitus, "they are content with one wife each, except those few who, because of their high rank rather than out of lust, make several marriages. For no one there laughs at vice, nor is corrupting and being corrupted spoken of as the way of the world." In some tribes widows were forbidden to remarry, and their voluntary death met with the approval of tribal opinion. The women were sometimes at hand to encourage the warriors in battle, and the Germans feared captivity "far more intensely on account of their women than for themselves." Certain women were looked upon with awe as prophetesses.

THE FAMILY

Mothers nursed their own children, who grew up naked and sturdy, ignorant of the allurements of Roman amphitheatres and the luxury of the South. The father had the legal right to reject the newborn babe and leave it to die of exposure, a practice which was all too frequent among the cultured Greeks and Romans, but after he had once taken it to his bosom he could not kill it. Tacitus implies that the children were seldom exposed. When a son married or was allowed by the father to receive his arms from any other man in the popular assembly, and when a daughter married, the paternal authority over them ceased. The husband's power over the wife was not quite so great as that of the father over the children. In early days the wife was either stolen from another tribe or peacefully purchased from her kindred, if two persons within the same tribe married. In this latter case the wife's kinsmen did not entirely abandon their interest in her welfare, and could in some instances offer her legal protection.

As the last sentence suggests, in addition to the family the Germans had another larger social group, the *Sib*, or association of kinsmen. This institution was analogous to the *gens* of the Greeks and Romans. Possibly the *Sib* was older than the family, a relic of the time when a wandering life was led and before settlement on the land and the founding of separate households and homes took place. Members of the *Sib* fought side by side in battle, and stood by each other in lawsuits, providing security or compurgators, and receiving the *Wergeld* or damages for a slain member.[1] The *Sib* either itself acted as guardian of widows and orphans or appointed some individual so to act.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Both nobles and slaves were to be found among the early Germans. Some of the privileges and prerogatives of the nobility will be brought out later in the course of this chapter. The slave class was made up of captives in war, delinquent debtors, men who had gambled away their freedom or sold themselves into servitude to get something to eat and wear, the children of slaves, and slaves purchased from other tribes. The father of a family had the right to sell child or wife, if he were in dire need. By strict law the slave was a mere chattel; he could not contract a legal marriage and had no position before the law; his master was responsible for his acts and had the power of life and death over him. According to Tacitus, however, most of the servile population among the Germans had houses of their own, and paid their masters a portion of their produce, and were seldom beaten or punished; and so might better be called serfs than slaves.

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[1] For compurgators or oath-helpers see page 49; for *Wergeld* see page 50.

As war was the German's chief occupation, so the army was the oldest political organization and the bearing of arms the sign and test of freedom and of citizenship. Tacitus says that it is "not customary for any one to assume arms until the tribe has recognized his competency to use them." Some kinsman or chief equips the youth with his shield and spear in the presence of the whole army, or popular assembly, which amounts to the same thing. "Before this he was only a member of a household; hereafter he is a member of the tribe." This one sentence and this custom suggest a great deal. The son passes from the paternal authority at an early age to become a free warrior on an equality with his fellows. This is very different from the custom of Chinese society, for instance, where the son even after marriage lives on under his father's roof, where old men and their ideas or lack thereof control life, and where duty to the family takes precedence of business obligations or patriotism. It is also very different from early Roman usage, where the father retained his authority, regardless of whether his sons married or not, and could punish a son even after he had served as consul at the head of the army.

It was the duty and privilege of every freeman to attend the tribal assembly in arms, and the warrior who had left his shield behind him on the battlefield was not permitted to enter. The influence of religion is manifest in the holding of the assembly—at the time of either the new or the full moon—in an open place consecrated to the war god Tiu, where the hallowed ground was roped off and priests proclaimed silence and kept order. The freeman, however, was fond of asserting his independence by arriving late. Debate was regulated by age, rank, military prowess, eloquence, and power of persuasion. The mass of freemen present usually contented themselves with shouting their dissent in chorus or clashing their spears against their shields in unison as a token of approval. A council of chiefs discussed beforehand the matters to be submitted to the assembly. The assembly decided the question of peace or war, had criminal jurisdiction, chose the magistrates to act as judges in the localities, and was consulted on all other important matters. It seldom legislated in the modern sense of the word, because law among the early Germans was regarded as customary, sacred, eternal, and unchangeable. The object of government, they thought, was not to make new laws, but to maintain the good old customs. Neither was there any state taxation, because there was no coinage and few officials, and all government and warfare were attended to personally by the freemen without receiving pay. Tacitus says, however, that it was customary to make voluntary gifts of honour to the chiefs.

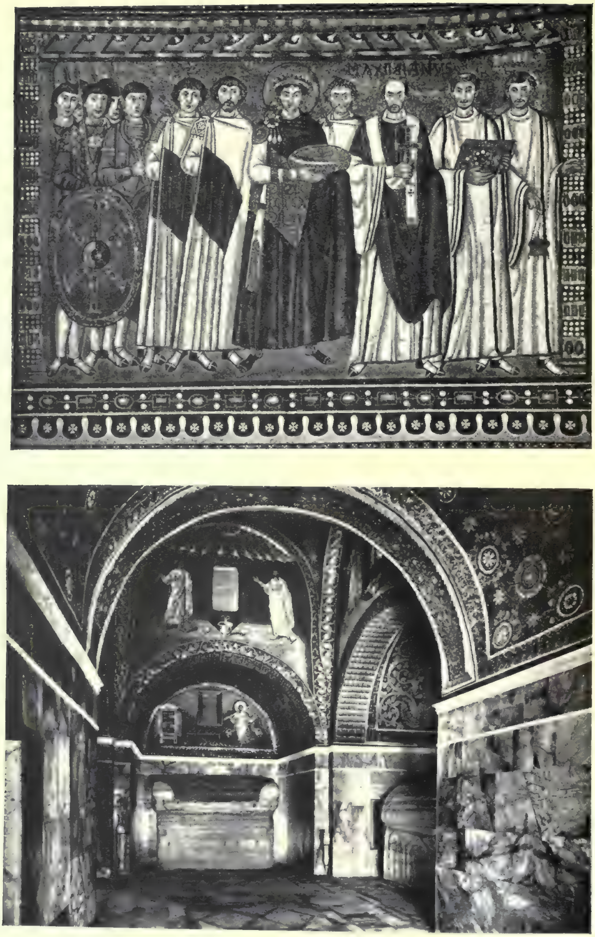
Cæsar states that the tribe chose a single leader only when about to engage in war; and some of the Teutonic peoples appear not to have had kings until they invaded the Roman Empire. Tacitus affirms that their kings are chosen for their ancestry; their generals, for their valour; that the power of the former is limited, and that the latter lead more by example than command, only the priests venturing to inflict such penalties as death, flogging, or imprisonment. The first part of this statement probably refers to the custom of electing the king from among the members of some one noble family. The king was liable to be deposed by the assembly or violently slain by some offended warrior or ambitious rival.

Besides the tribal army, the Germans had a smaller and more personal military organization, commonly known by its Latin name, *comitatus*, indicating a band of comrades (*comites*). Cæsar tells us that frequently in an assembly a chief would propose a raid upon some neighbouring tribe and ask for volunteers to join therein. It was easy to get them, because, as Tacitus says, "If their native state sinks into the lethargy of long peace and quiet, many of the noble youths voluntarily seek those tribes that are still carrying on war." Such young men would join the following of some distinguished chief and take an oath " to defend and protect him and give him all the glory of their brave deeds." To survive him in battle was a lasting infamy. He in return had to support them with the proceeds of plunder and war. In *Beowulf* the companions live in their lord's hall and his wife mends their clothes. The size and fighting ability of his *comitatus* brought fame and influence to its leader both in his own and in neighbouring tribes. The followers did not regard their position as dependent in any humiliating or restrictive sense, but felt themselves the social equals of their leader. There were, nevertheless, in the time of Tacitus grades among them, " assigned by the judgment of their leader," and " great rivalry . . . as to who shall rank first with the chief." But on the whole we see in the *comitatus* another illustration of the importance of youth, social equality, and voluntary organization among the early Germans.

EARLY GERMAN LAW

Although the Germans engaged so much in war, they were not a lawless people. They had their ancient customs and standards, which they tried to fix in their memories by alliterative or proverbial expressions. They had their folk-courts, local magistrates, and ' law-speakers,' but no police. A man's kindred were supposed to look after him, and see that he kept the peace. The individuals concerned in a case and the community as a whole had to bring wrongdoers to court, and to enforce rights or execute sentences after these had been determined in court. The law was very strict, and less fair than the law of the Roman Empire. One had to suffer for his act, regardless of whether his intention had been good or evil.

Legal procedure consisted chiefly of set forms of words and ceremonies employed by the litigants themselves to decide the controversy. These forms must be observed most scrupulously, and one was not permitted to repeat in order to rectify a mistake. A lawsuit normally opened


MAXIMIANVS

5. (i) Mosaic Portrait of Justinian
(ii) Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna

by the plaintiff's going with witnesses to the house of the defendant and formally summoning him to appear in court. At the court the plaintiff, holding a staff in his hand, made his complaint in set terms, and the defendant had to answer by denying each charge fully and explicitly or he would be regarded as admitting its truth. The court then straightway decided which of the two parties should be put to further proof. Their methods of proof were not the careful sifting of evidence, but by oath or by ordeal. The only sort of testimony that they desired was that of ceremonial witnesses to the effect that in the case in question the legal forms prescribed by custom, such as handing one a spear, glove, or sod, had been duly observed ; or the sworn assertions of the friends and kinsmen of each party that they believed him to be a credible person. Both oath and ordeal were religious tests. In taking an oath one invoked the gods and feared condign punishment from them if one perjured oneself. Sometimes one litigant was allowed to establish his side of the case by his solitary oath, but more often either the plaintiff or the defendant was required to produce a certain number of oath-helpers to swear with him. Ordeals, as we know them later, had been considerably altered by the Christian Church from their original form of appeals to the judgment of heathen deities. The two litigants might draw lots to determine who was in the right, or they might engage in single combat with the idea that God would give victory to the right. Or the one who had made the less favourable impression upon the court by his pleading might have the burden of proof put upon him in the form of undergoing the ordeal of fire or of water. He might be thrown into holy water, which was supposed to reject any guilty person, so that if he floated on its surface he was condemned, while if he sank he was believed to be innocent. Or he might have to plunge his hand into boiling water, or carry a red-hot bar for three paces or walk a short distance over hot ploughshares. The injured member was then bound up, and if after three days it was found to be healed, the decision was in his favour ; if otherwise, he was pronounced guilty. Still another ordeal consisted in trying to swallow a large morsel of bread or cheese without its sticking in the throat.

It has been said that there were no police to enforce this system of justice, but public opinion was behind it, and if any man refused to submit to it, he was liable to be outlawed—that is to say, he was put outside the peace of the tribe. No one in the tribe could protect or shelter him—in fact, it was the duty of all the tribe to hunt him down; he became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and his property was divided between his king and his kin. Women could not be outlawed because they were not directly under the protection of the law in the first place, but under the care of their fathers, husbands, or kindred. Outlawry was also the penalty for those crimes considered the most heinous.

Killing a man, however, was not then esteemed so serious an offence as now, and could usually be atoned for by paying the *Sib* of the dead man the amount of his *Wergeld*, which varied in value as he was a noble, freeman, or freedman. If one killed a slave, one simply paid his master damages. This practice of compensation largely replaced the older custom of feud by which the *Sib* of the dead man tried to get open revenge upon the slayer or any other member of his kinship group.

In general it may be affirmed that all free members of the tribe who were not still under paternal authority had equal rights before the law, except that nobles were protected by a larger *Wergeld* and that their oaths carried more weight in court. The Germans had no testamentary law because they made no wills. A man's property was inherited by his children or other relations according to rules fixed by custom. Their real-estate law was not at all complex because their agricultural life was as yet so simple. Of the law of partnership, sales, contracts, and other business relations they had still less knowledge. In short, their law was largely personal. Each tribe, of course, had its own customs or laws, which differed considerably from those of other peoples.

It should be added, however, that while German law, taken as a whole, was incomplete, crude, and harsh, compared with the fine humane system which had grown up in the Roman world, it was, on the other hand, much like the law with which the early Roman farmers had been contented in their little settlement on the Tiber. Indeed, the Germans were not so unlike the people within the Empire as they at first sight seemed. The Greeks and Latins themselves had been produced a thousand or more years before Christ by a fusion between the Mediterranean race and invaders of the Northern European race speaking Indo-European languages, for the Latin, Greek, and German tongues all belong to the same group. The future was to show what the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Germans would produce.

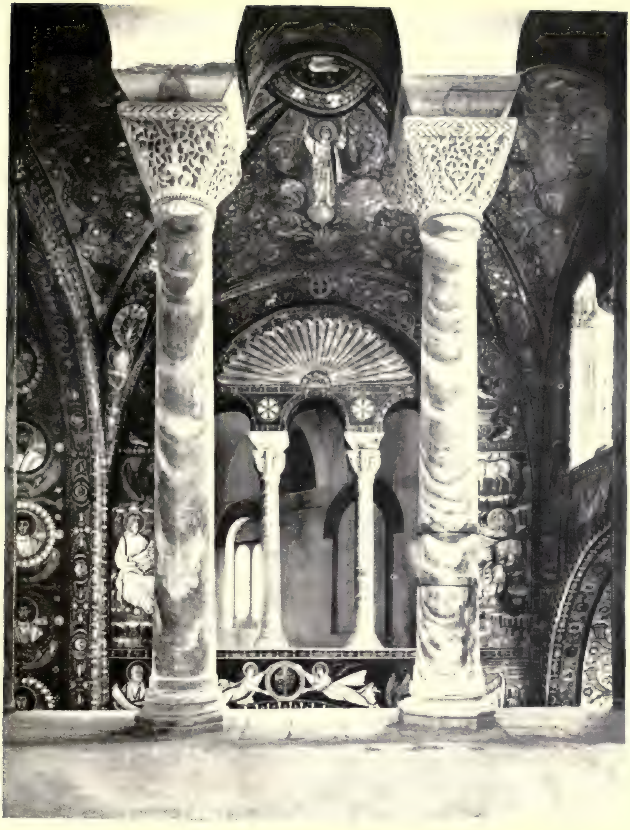
GERMANS SETTLED WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Already in A.D. 98 Tacitus saw in the Germans a greater menace to Rome than the Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards, or Gauls had been; and he feared "German liberty" more than the Parthian Kingdom. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) had to spend almost his entire reign away from Rome in a hard struggle against both the Parthians in the East and German tribes, the Marcomanni and Quadi, on the upper Danube. These latter, together with the Sarmatian Iazyges, who were probably not Germans, had overrun the Roman provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, and had reached the Adriatic Sea. Marcus Aurelius at last managed to bring the territory as far as the Danube again under Roman control, but in order to replenish the wasted population of Pannonia he settled there many thousands of the conquered barbarians. Their duty was to till the soil, which they were not allowed to leave, and to defend it against any further invasions that their kinsmen across the river might attempt. To such an extent did the successors of Marcus Aurelius allow or compel the barbarians to settle within the boundaries of the Empire that we are told that a century later "not a province was free from the presence of the barbarian settler." Of these many were Germans, who thus had already begun to fuse with the Romans.

The ancient Greeks had planted colonies along the northern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea and had traded with the inland tribes, whom they called Scythians, and whose country, the Pontus Steppe, lies open to inroads from Western Asia. Neither Alexander the Great nor the Romans had included these regions in their empires. But while the Romans were occupied in keeping the Cimbri and Teutones out of Italy, Mithradates, a handsome giant of Persian descent and Greek education, a great athlete and linguist, an able orator and general, but withal a cruel Oriental despot, was protecting the Greek cities of the Black Sea against the northern barbarians who threatened them, was building up an empire for himself about the Black Sea, and was spreading Greek civilization through it. In this respect, however, he could make only a beginning, since his empire included all sorts of races, languages, and religions, and peoples in every stage of civilization from tree-dwellers, pile-dwellers, and the pastoral stage upward. In a single city of his realm as many as seventy dialects were spoken. His promising beginning was soon terminated by wars with Rome which resulted in his downfall. Rome annexed some of his possessions on the southern coast of the Black Sea, but let the rest go, and the Greek cities soon succumbed to barbarian pressure. These barbarians were now spoken of as Sarmatians rather than Scythians.

THE GOTHS

About the beginning of the third century A.D. these Sarmatians were for the most part driven out by German Goths, who migrated from their earlier home on the Baltic to the Black Sea. The middle of the third century was a period of civil strife and misgovernment in the Roman Empire, which came near going to pieces as a result. The Goths took advantage of this state of affairs to cross the Danube and the Balkans, and to defeat and kill the Emperor Decius. They also ravaged the shores of the Black Sea with their fleets, completely devastated the Roman province of Bithynia, and, passing through the Dardanelles into the Ægean Sea, wrought havoc and ruin along its coasts. Meanwhile, in



6. S. VITALE

the West the Franks had crossed the Rhine into Gaul and then into Spain, and other Germans had invaded Italy itself, while Moorish tribes made trouble in North-western Africa. Finally the barbarians were defeated, but the emperors found it necessary to surround the city of Rome by walls once more, and to abandon Dacia, a large province on the north side of the lower Danube which had been added to the Empire at the beginning of the second century. The Goths thereupon spread into this abandoned province, and henceforth were found along the Danube as well as to the north of the Black Sea. They divided into two peoples, the East and West Goths, or Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

In the fourth century A.D. we see signs of the conversion of the Goths to Christianity. Those in what we call the Crimea were represented by a bishop at the Council of Nicæa in 325. The chief missionary was Ulfilas (311–381), an Arian or unorthodox Christian who worked among the West Goths in Dacia. His ancestors had been carried off by the Goths, and he himself was "in heart and by speech a Goth." He had his troubles, however, with the heathen king, Athanaric, and most of his converts moved with him into Roman territory. He is famous for his translation of the Bible into the Gothic vernacular, which gives us our earliest example of writing in a Germanic language. Three hundred years elapse before we have another specimen. The manuscripts of Ulfilas's Bible which have come down to us comprise a few chapters of the Old Testament and a large part of the Gospels and Epistles. The story goes that he refrained from translating such books as First and Second Samuel and First and Second Kings on the ground that the Goths were too fond of fighting already. Since the Goths as yet had neither books nor writing of their own, he had to invent an alphabet, using the Greek letters.

THE MOUNTED NOMADS OF TURKESTAN

We have spoken of the Pontus Steppe—in other words, the Russian plain to the north of the Black Sea—as lying open to inroads from Western Asia. We must now go on to describe the people who inhabited the basin of the Caspian and Aral Seas and the deserts of Turkestan. Here lived the mounted nomads of Altaian race. These Asiatics were of short stature, with small hands and feet, but strong bones, a comparatively long trunk, and a decided tendency to corpulence. Incessant horseback riding made their legs bowed and their gait waddling. Their faces were broad, especially their noses, mouths, and chins; also their noses were flat, their ears were large, their eyes were oblique and slit like those of a Chinaman, and were dark and sunken. Their cheek-bones were prominent, and what hair they had—for their beards were scanty—was coarse, stiff, and black.

The nature of the country accounts in large measure for the nomadic life of these Asiatics and for their never progressing to a higher stage of civilization. They live to-day much the same life as two thousand years ago. In the Caspian-Aral basin the evaporation exceeds the rainfall, the two seas have shrunk to less than their original limits, and the rivers of the region fail to reach the ocean. The temperature varies from 118° Fahrenheit in the shade to 31° below zero, and the wind that drives the sand about in summer whirls the snows to and fro in winter. Deserts of sand or gravel predominate, and only a very small fraction of the region is fit for agriculture. But in the south the salt steppes afford a good winter pasturage, though in summer they dry up and are uninhabitable from lack of water. Far to the north, however, are well-watered grass steppes on the edge of Siberia. These provide abundant summer pasture, but are under deep snow in winter. Evidently the nomad must drive his flocks and herds backward and forward each year, seeking his winter camp in the south when the snows begin to force him from the northern grass steppes, and moving northward again when summer heat has dried up the luxuriant and nourishing early spring growth of the salt steppes. He naturally spent most of his life on horseback. Cattle could only with difficulty endure the sort of life just described, so that he chiefly kept sheep and horses, and sometimes camels. He ate little of either meat or grain and vegetables, but lived mainly upon milk products. Each man kept a number of mares, for his favourite food and drink was the nutritious *kumiss*, or fermented mare's milk. Horse's blood also appeared on his restricted menu.

The Nomads' Mode of Life

When not on horseback, the nomads lived in tents, and wandered together in bands of a suitable size for a single camp and grazing area. A number of these camps together formed a clan, and there might be further union into tribes and peoples. Occasionally some great conqueror, called a *khagan* or *khan*, would arise at the head of a vast horde made up of various tribes and peoples. The life of the wife or wives of the nomad was very hard, and he was cruel to his slaves or to the wretched communities of subject serfs whom he forced to cultivate for him the few fertile spots that existed in the region over which he wandered. Family life was not nearly so pure as among the Germans. Nor was cleanliness at all esteemed. The newborn babe, it is true, was washed daily in the open air for the space of six weeks regardless of whether it was summer or winter ; but these forty-two baths had to last it for the rest of its life. The smoke in the tent, however, served as a disinfectant ; and the life that the nomad led soon trained him to endure hunger, thirst, and almost any hardship. His horses were even tougher than himself.

Had this disgusting race, which lacked any legal or political institutions as well as any vestiges of culture, remained in its own unattractive region, we might well pass it by. But the nomads did not limit themselves to stealing one another's herds or fighting among themselves for the best pasturage and winter camping-stations. They were continually plundering and devastating the adjoining regions, or enslaving the neighbouring peoples and reducing them, too, to a low state of civilization. On their swift and hardy horses they could cover hundreds of miles in a few days, and either take the enemy by surprise, or overwhelm him by the fury of their onslaught, or evade him and reduce to a wilderness the country he was trying to defend. It was as difficult to stand against them as to fly before them. Moreover, at intervals in the course of history, owing either to changes of climate that lessened their pasturage and decimated their herds, or to overpopulation, or to defeat incurred in their struggles among themselves, a great horde would entirely detach itself from its native habitat and sweep onward in a wild career of conquest, altering the face of the earth by its depredations, and the map of the world by transplanting whole peoples, whom the nomads forced either to join them or to flee before them. They were a menace to China, India, and Persia; but we are especially concerned with their inroads into Europe. Such, perhaps, had been the origin of the Scythians and Sarmatians, whom we have already mentioned; such were the Tartar or Mongolian invasions of the thirteenth century, when most of Russia submitted to the Great Khan. The Turks, too, are of this stock. Before the Turks and Tartars made their conquests, we shall hear in the earlier Middle Ages of Bulgars, Avars, and Magyars, who, on their first appearance at least, all represent the same sort of inroads from Asia into Europe. And such mounted nomads were the people with whom we have now to deal, and who about A.D. 372 burst like a cyclone into the region between the Volga and the Don rivers and filled the neighbouring Goths with unreasoning terror and aversion. These nomads were the Huns.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ABOUT A.D. 372 the Roman Empire was not in a condition to enable it to resist the oncoming tide of barbarian invasion. It no longer possessed either the superior force necessary to keep the invaders out, or the civilizing capacity requisite to absorb and elevate their barbarism. Exactly why and how came to pass this decline of the great Roman Empire, which had seemed to knit together so satisfactorily most of the civilized lands of antiquity, is a problem not easy to solve, especially with the scanty sources at our disposal. Numerous attempts have been made to solve the mystery, and the fall of Rome has been variously attributed to mosquitoes and malaria, to the drain of precious metals to the Far East, and to exhaustion of the soil. Probably the fundamental reason was that the Roman Empire was founded on the ruins of states and civilizations that had already declined, like Egypt, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Carthage, and the Hellenic cities of the Greek peninsula, Sicily, and Southern Italy. The Empire was a patchwork of outworn nationalities or despotisms and of bygone cultures which had not been able to save themselves from Rome's attacks and which had little to give to reinvigorate the new whole. The Roman Empire, then, possessed little new life of its own; it was the last stage in the ancient history of the Mediterranean basin.

Greece and Italy, the very heart of the Empire, had shown unmistakable symptoms of decay even before the Roman Empire, strictly speaking, had begun. Not only had the Hellenes lost their cherished liberty and political independence, not only had the republican form of government and popular assemblies proved a failure at Rome, but in both Italy and Greece depopulation and alarming economic decline were painfully evident during the two centuries before the Christian era. Moreover, first the Greeks and then the Italians had displayed an increasing distaste for military service and an increasing fondness for lives of ease and luxury. It is significant that after the first century of the Christian era Italy furnished no more emperors; Rome's rulers henceforth came from the provinces.

To her new acquisitions in the North and West, Rome, as we have seen, spread the benefits of classical civilization. This had raised those provinces to a higher state of culture than their former tribal life, but it had not led them as yet to create any new art or literature, or any new industrial methods or political institutions of their own. They merely dropped to a greater or less extent their previous ways and adopted to the best of their ability the arts and letters and institutions of the Greeks and Romans. This change, together with the continued prosperity of Eastern lands, such as Egypt and Asia Minor, where there were still plenty of inhabitants and wealth, if not any new ideas, made the early Empire appear flourishing and successful, especially as peace prevailed.

PASSING OF THE ANCIENT CITY-STATE AND ITS DISTINCTIVE CULTURE

But in reality scarcely had the Romans achieved their work of extending through the western half of their Empire that classical culture which had originated among the gifted Hellenes, when that classical culture began to dry up at the roots. In an earlier chapter we noted the city-state as the key to classical civilization and described the flourishing urban life of the early Empire. We may now trace the decline of that civilization in connexion with the decay of the ancient city.

Perhaps first of all came the decay of civic religion. Once all inhabitants of a city had joined in the same religious beliefs and acts of worship, and the supreme religious duty of every citizen had been to serve his city. Now the changed external conditions of life and the growth of philosophy had made educated men sceptical concerning the gods, the myths, the religious rites and ceremonies of their forefathers. Of the late schools of Greek philosophy the Epicureans had attacked religion as an evil, and had advised each man to search intelligently after his own happiness. The opposite school of the Stoics made some effort to save the old myths by warning men not to take these tales about the gods too literally; but they had somewhat the same ideal of "the self-centred sage" as the followers of Epicurus, and thought that the good and wise man should not be affected by evils about him.

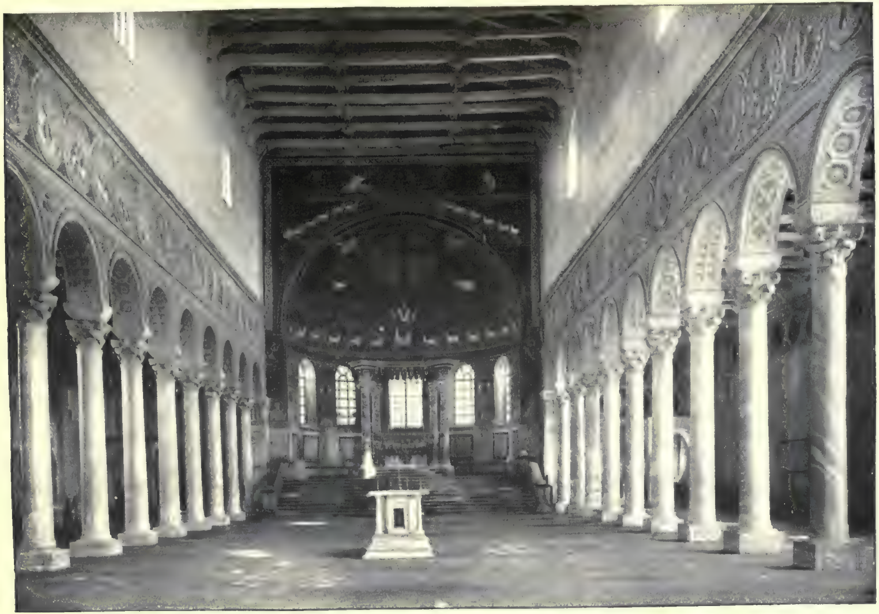
New Ideals of the Stoic Philosophers

The Stoics, however, laid stress on something other than selfish happiness, and emphasized, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, the existence of one law of Nature to which all men should conform. But this, too, was contrary to civic religion and substituted for narrow patriotism the brotherhood of man and a world-religion. Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor from A.D. 161 to 180 as well as Stoic philosopher, turned his thoughts in his famous *Meditations*, not to some particular city such as Athens, called by the poet "dear city of Cecrops" after its legendary founder, but to the "dear city of Zeus"; that is, to the whole world about him. "All things harmonize with me which are in harmony with thee, O Universe," he wrote; "all things are fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature; from thee are all things, in thee are all things, unto thee are all things." This was a noble conception, but for the time being it meant the death of that city religion which was the basis of so much in classical civilization and the root in especial of Greek and Roman patriotism.

It is true that the state was now an empire, not one city; but after all it had grown from one city and was now not much more than a collection of cities. Anyway, the worship of the emperor, though more universal than a local city cult, did not prove an adequate State religion. It exerted a marked influence in some respects, particularly upon Roman art; but in the long run it did not satisfy the religious inclinations of the inhabitants of the Empire any more than the old city worships now did.

Spread of Oriental Religions

Under the Empire many Oriental cults were spread abroad in both East and West, which exerted upon many people an attraction greatly superior to the hold that the outworn formalities of the municipal worship had upon them. These Eastern religions were not State worships. They aimed at salvation of the individual rather than the prosperity of a social or political group, such as the tribe or town. In many cases they were open to any one, even to slave as well as to foreigner, instead of being restricted to a limited number of citizens. They offered to their initiates as a compensation for external ills a feeling of inner satisfaction and the hope of a better life after death. The ordinary civic religion, although it stimulated a devout patriotism, does not seem to have controlled man's private life very successfully, or at least had ceased to do so by the time of the Empire. There was much sensuality and sexual excess in ancient society. Now there seems to have been a reaction against this; men felt sinful and desired to find some means of purification from their guilt. The Oriental worships offered men, upon the basis of a revelation supposedly divine and authoritative, a personal redeemer by whose aid and by following whose example and previous experience, as recounted in some sacred legend, they too could, through symbolic rites and sacramental mysteries and acts of penance, become purified from sin and evil, enjoy moments of emotional ecstasy even in this life, and after death win an immortal union with a deity outside and above our present world. The Egyptian cult of Isis had its baptisms and fasts, its liturgy and prayer-book, its well-organized priesthood with tonsure and vestments, and its Mother-Goddess who had herself been through sufferings, and who longed to relieve



7. Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna

suffering humanity. In the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius she appears to the hero in a miraculous vision and says, "Lo, Lucius, I am come, moved by thy supplication, I, Nature's mother, mistress of all the elements, the first-begotten offspring of the ages. . . . I am come in pity for thy woes." Other widely disseminated cults besides that of Isis were those of the Great Mother from Phrygia, of Baal from Syria, and of Mithra from Persia.

Along with such exalted aims these religions preserved many primitive rites and some notions of a questionable or even distinctly immoral and superstitious character. But it is somewhat difficult to judge them fairly, because most of the information which has come to us concerning them is from the writings of early Christians, who were bitterly opposed to them and regarded them as indecent parodies upon the Christian faith, invented by the Devil. And it is evident that in a number of respects they roughly resembled Christianity, which, of course, was one of the many religions that spread from the East over the Roman world, and which for a long time had to struggle with the others for supremacy. To its rise we shall presently devote a separate chapter.

The spread of these cults meant the break-up of civic religion. Their legends were different from those of classical mythology. In place of Greek intellectual freedom they imposed an authoritative revelation. Civic service was replaced by mystic sacraments. Affairs of the present world were liable to be neglected, and the attention centred upon things of the spirit or the world to come. The tendency was to retire to a desert and live as a hermit rather than go to the frontier as a soldier or rear a large family of children. The early Christians were regarded as unsocial and dangerous by the people of the ancient cities and by the Roman government.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE TEND TOWARD MYSTICISM AND MAGIC

Gradually, under the increasing pressure of the Oriental religions, philosophy lost much of its former sanity, and rational investigation of nature ceased. Religious mysticism was the main interest of that philosophy which was called 'Neo-Platonism' because it professed to be based upon Plato's doctrines, and of which Plotinus (about A.D. 204–269), born in Egypt, may be regarded as the founder. The chief problem of this philosophy was not the study of nature, nor the conduct of man in this world, but how the human soul might return to God—a goal which the Neo-Platonists often sought to attain by asceticism or mortifying the flesh, by ceremonies of purification, and sometimes by magic and incantations. Their One Supreme Being, they believed, transcended all attempts at description, and was outside and far above the world of nature—a transcendent God. The great Christian writer Augustine, in the fifth century, admits that he was led to a more spiritual and monotheistic idea of God by reading Plotinus. The followers of Plotinus, however, feeling the need of mediators between man and so lofty and distant a God, or else desiring to retain some of their old religious beliefs, stated the existence of a host of intermediate spiritual beings between the supreme deity and the human soul, and of a multitude of demonic forces in the stars, the air, and nature generally. These mediators and demons could be propitiated by sacrifice and ceremony or coerced by magic and incantations.

Religion in ancient and medieval times was the chief inspiration of art and literature, and we have seen that classical art and literature centred in the city. Hence, when the city-state and civic religion declined, art and literature deteriorated too. Moreover, the efforts of men who were neither Greeks nor Latins by birth to write in those tongues resulted in a natural falling-off in purity of style and diction, while they failed to introduce much new subject-matter. Public taste, too, had degenerated, and where Athens had supplied large audiences for the tragedies of Æschylus and Euripides, the people of the Roman Empire preferred pantomime, as the people of to-day prefer moving pictures. Seneca's tragedies in the first century of our era were probably written to be read rather than acted, and after him no dramas are extant from the time of the Roman Empire. Here we have a good illustration of how the decline of religion affected literature. Many had attended the performance of a drama by Æschylus, just as many listen to a sermon to-day, not because they especially enjoyed or even thoroughly comprehended it, but because it was part of a religious festival which every one was expected to attend. By the time of the Empire they felt under no such obligation, and as far as amusement was concerned, preferred the exciting combats of the arena or races in the circus. Whatever the reasons, what is called ‘ classicism ’ in literature and art had for the most part disappeared before the end of the second century. There are, it is true, several writers—from the African, Apuleius, a vivid romancer and mystic with a style of unfailing zest, in the second century, to the sober historian and soldier, Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century—whose tone and matter interest intensely the student of history ; but students of the classics usually regard such writers as of minor importance from their standpoint. Such authors are seldom read in university courses in Latin and Greek, and the great period of Latin literature is considered to end with Juvenal and Tacitus. Building upon a large and magnificent scale continued as late as Constantine in the fourth century, for the imperial idea was more of an inspiration to art than to letters, and dying antiquity reared impressive monuments in its last moments. But we see that the Hellenic genius in sculpture is gone, when we compare, among the friezes and medallions that adorn the Arch of Constantine, the crude carvings executed by contemporary artists with the sculptures which were transferred to this structure from older buildings.

END OF MUNICIPAL PROSPERITY

The material prosperity, indicated by the costly buildings in the municipalities of the early Empire, in time ceased. As early as Trajan (A.D. 98–117) we find the central imperial government sending its agents to manage the affairs of towns whose finances were in a bad state. This imperial interference kept growing until the cities had little self-government left.

By the fourth century the chief function of the *curiales*, or members of the governing class of the town, had come to be the collection of taxes, for which the emperor held them personally responsible. But the towns had so decreased in prosperity, or else the taxes had so increased, that it was very hard for the *curiales* to squeeze the required amount out of their fellow-townsmen and the landholders of the immediate neighbourhood. In this case they had to make up any deficit from their own pockets. This tended to ruin a class of men who had once been the richest in the town, and they often tried to escape from their office, but instead the emperor made it hereditary.

This decline in prosperity of the cities was due in part to the civil wars and barbarian inroads of the third century, but also to the fact that the prosperity of the ancient city was founded largely upon slave labour, and that with the cessation of Roman conquests it became increasingly difficult to obtain slaves. Moreover, many slaves were given their freedom as the Empire progressed. This should have produced a large working middle class, one would think, which would have revived the languishing industry and commerce of the Empire. But unfortunately the population of the Empire as a whole, as in the cases of Greece and Italy earlier, began to decrease seriously. A great plague which swept over the Empire during the reign of Marcus Aurelius reduced the population terribly for the time being, and afterward the ancient stocks apparently did not possess enough vitality to repair its ravages. It was perhaps this simple lack of men and life and energy that did most to terminate the Roman Empire and classical civilization. Unless it could be stopped it meant, of course, that many towns would become depopulated and that municipal life would give way to a scattered agricultural society. This was what finally happened after the barbarian invasions.

Settlement of Barbarians within the Empire

A clear indication of the depopulation of the Empire is seen in the repeated settlement, from the reign of Marcus

Aurelius on, of large numbers of barbarians within the Roman frontiers. These barbarians were given waste lands or depopulated areas to till, and formed a half-subject peasant class. Naturally they were not admitted to the towns in the first instance, for they knew nothing of business and industry, and were unfitted to participate in city life. But neither could their children go to the city to learn a trade, since the Imperial government forced them to till the soil as their fathers had done. Thus the cities went on declining, the barbarian settlers remained ignorant peasants and came little into contact with classical civilization, and no new middle class developed.

Rome's early conquests had been largely due to the dense population of Italy at that time which furnished her with plenty of soldiers ; for men had to fight to exist, and it was natural for them to overflow the crowded peninsula and conquer other territories. But then, as we have seen, came depopulation and a decline of military spirit in Italy. The provinces, however, for a time supplied soldiers enough. But in the later centuries of the Empire with the general falling-off in population came a decline in fighting spirit on the part of the provincials, and finally the emperors had to recruit their armies mainly from among the Germans.

With the ancient city doomed, with classical religion and art and literature dying out, with the old races disappearing and barbarians taking their places both as peasants and as soldiers, there still remained the Roman Imperial system and law to hold the weakened Empire together ; and for a long time the Imperial government struggled persistently on and succeeded in staving off the day of destruction. But the members of the governing class sometimes felt the almost hopeless nature of their task, and it is with a heartfelt sigh of relief that we find some of them laying their burdens down.

Dio Cassius, who wrote the history of Rome in the third century, belonged to the senatorial class and held many administrative positions under the dynasty of the Severi. In the last book of his history he excuses himself for not giving a detailed account of the recent reign of Alexander

Severus, "for the reason that for a long time I did not sojourn at Rome. After going from Asia to Bithynia I fell sick, and from there I hurried to my duties as head of Africa. On returning to Italy I was almost immediately sent to govern in Dalmatia, and from there into Upper Pannonia. After that I came back to Rome, and on reaching Campania at once set out for home." Then, after narrating the murder of Ulpian, the famous jurist, by the Prætorian Guard, of whom he was prefect, and the Persian conquest of the Parthian kingdom and subsequent war upon Rome, Dio continues: "The troops are so distinguished by wantonness and arrogance and freedom from reproof that those in Mesopotamia dared to kill their commander. . . . And the Prætorians found fault with me before Ulpian because I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong hand; and they demanded my surrender for fear that some one might compel them to submit to a *régime* similar to that of the Pannonian troops. Alexander, however, paid no attention to them, but promoted me in various ways, appointing me to be consul for the second time as his colleague, and taking upon himself personally the responsibility of meeting the expenditures of my office. As the malcontents evinced displeasure at this, he became afraid that they might kill me, if they saw me in the insignia of my office, and he bade me spend the period of my consulship in Italy somewhere outside of Rome. Later, however, I came both to Rome and to Campania to visit him. After spending a few days in his company, during which the soldiers saw me without offering to do me any harm, I started for home, being released on account of the trouble with my feet. So I expect to spend all the rest of my life in my own country, as the Divine Presence revealed to me most clearly at the time I was in Bithynia. Once in a dream there I thought I saw myself commanded by It to write at the close of my work the following verses:

"Hector was led of Zeus far out of the range of the missiles,
Out of the dust and the slaying of men, out of blood and of uproar."

We meet the same attitude a century later in another work by a man of senatorial rank, but this time by Julius Firmicus Maternus, a pleader in the law courts rather than a commander of the legions. But as Dio Cassius wrote a history to divert his mind from its other cares, so Firmicus Maternus composed an astrological work for his friend Lollianus or Mavortius, who was still higher up than he in the governmental hierarchy. Firmicus states that he had formerly "resisted with unbending confidence and firmness" factious and wicked and avaricious men "who by the terror of lawsuits seemed formidable to the unfortunate"; and that "with liberal mind despising forensic gains, to men in trouble . . . I displayed a pure and faithful defence in the courts of law." But by this upright conduct he had incurred much enmity and danger, and he is glad at last to retire from this hard world, where Socrates and Plato suffered while Alcibiades and Sulla prospered, and from the sordid atmosphere of law courts and forum, in order to spend his leisure with the divine men of old of Egypt and Babylon, and to purify his spirit by contemplation of the everlasting stars and of the supreme God who works through them.

DIOCLETIAN'S EFFORTS TO SAVE THE EMPIRE

During the civil strife and barbarian inroads of the third century the Empire for a time fell into anarchy, but before the century was over the Imperial government seemed more strongly established than ever. This was largely due to the reorganization effected by Diocletian (A.D. 284–305). He increased the power of the emperor, making him an absolute ruler in every respect, whom his courtiers and subjects were to treat as a god and whose court was characterized by most elaborate ceremonial and etiquette. His predecessor Aurelian had already closely associated the cult of the emperor with the worship of the Unconquered Sun, whose earthly representative the emperor now asserted himself to be. Diocletian also endeavoured to establish a regular and unbroken succession to the throne, in order to avoid civil strife. Further, he divided the Empire into many more provinces than before, greatly increased the number of governors and officials, to all of whom high-sounding titles were given, put the army under leaders separate from the provincial governors, and established an elaborate system of espionage over all his subordinates. He also tried to regulate economic conditions and issued an edict to keep prices down. From this time forth, indeed, the Imperial government itself took charge of an increasing number of State industries. Whether the State killed private business by so much paternal interference, or whether the State interfered because private business was dying already, is a problem that our sources do not suffice to solve.

The chief flaw in Diocletian's 'system,' as it has been called, was that he subdivided functions too much, and especially that he divided the Imperial office itself between two *Augusti* and two Cæsars, the latter of whom were to succeed the former when their term of ten years expired. But here again he perhaps did the best that could be done and was forced to accept an inevitable tendency of the Empire to split into two parts, the East and the West, if not to go to pieces entirely. Apparently a ruler with all the attributes and trappings and sanctity of the Imperial office was now needed simultaneously in East and West to control the situation. During a period of nearly two hundred years after the introduction of Diocletian's system there were less than thirty years when there was not more than one emperor. But the elaborate officialdom introduced by Diocletian was very expensive to maintain. Heavy taxation was necessary to support two *Augusti* and two Cæsars, each with a splendid court and a large army, the four Prætorian prefects, the *vicarii* or heads of the ten or a dozen dioceses into which the Empire was divided, and the hundred-odd *consulares* and *præsides*, who, under the superintendence of the prefects and vicars, ruled the smaller provinces which formed subdivisions of the diocese, and all of whom drew large salaries and kept numerous clerks and assistants. All this made a burden almost too much for the diminished population of the Empire to bear.

THE EPOCH-MAKING REIGN OF CONSTANTINE

Constantine, who became the sole emperor for a time in the first half of the fourth century, took two very important steps. He rebuilt and fortified the city of Byzantium, situated where Europe and Asia meet at the entrance to the Black Sea, and henceforth named Constantinople in his honour, and he made it the centre of his Empire. Thus Italy and Western Europe were relegated to a secondary place in the later Roman Empire. Secondly, Constantine first raised the Christians to equal privileges with other religions in the Empire, then favoured them, and finally on his deathbed was himself baptized. Just what his motives were and how sincere was his conversion has been disputed by historians, but his act was in a sense a confession of weakness. The emperors had tried various expedients—such as Aurelian's association of himself with the Unconquered Sun—to make the worship of the emperor more of a living force which would sustain their government and ensure them popular support. Now the Emperor adopted an unworldly religion which his predecessors had striven to extirpate, and thereby recognized that Christianity had become, or was to become, a power superior to the Roman State or to classical civilization. Constantine's successors in the Imperial office were almost all Christians, and Christianity became the State religion. Presently no other form of worship was allowed.

A collection of the laws issued by Constantine and his successors has come to us, named the Theodosian Code after its compiler, the Christian emperor Theodosius II, in the fifth century. This mass of Imperial legislation reveals the efforts of the government to check the decline of the Empire, and at the same time the adoption of policies which probably had the unfortunate result of hastening that decline. Some of the laws conflict with others; the policy of the emperors evidently fluctuated, and perhaps the conditions with which they had to deal changed too. For instance, at one time private individuals are allowed to quarry marble; at another time the right is reserved to the State. Some sweeping commands probably were never executed thoroughly; other laws are merely the sanctioning of already existing conditions. But on the whole the reader of the laws gets the impression that things are going very badly in the Roman world, and that all the scolding and threats of the emperors cannot prevent it. In 364 they have to order that no new buildings shall be constructed at Rome until the ruins of the ancient buildings have been repaired; the year following they forbid their subordinates to despoil out-of-the-way towns of their marbles and columns in order to adorn this or that metropolis. In 389 private landowners who tap the public aqueducts to irrigate their farms are threatened with confiscation of their land. Some workers are forced by penalties to pursue the same trades as their fathers; others are encouraged in their callings by immunities and exemption from taxes. Skilled labour seems to be getting scarce. It is also difficult for the government to procure enough ships to bring provisions to the populaces of Rome and Constantinople, or the workmen necessary for a number of other public enterprises. The toilers in the State mines and quarries often run away. So difficult has it become to keep the governing class in the municipalities at their disagreeable task of tax-collecting that evildoers are sometimes forced to join a *curia* by way of punishment, while five gold pieces are offered as a reward to any one who drags a runaway *decurion* back to his office. Life in the country has become as burdensome as in the town, since as early as the reign of Constantine a law shows us that the tenants or *coloni* are now bound to the soil like the later medieval serfs; that the landowner on whose estate a *colonus* belonging to another is discovered must not only restore the fugitive to his rightful master, but pay damages for the time that the said *colonus* has worked for him; and that *coloni* who "are meditating flight" may be put in chains and "compelled by such condemnation as a slave deserves to perform the tasks that a freeman should." The burden of taxation became so great, and the petty tyranny exercised by the host of officials whom the bureaucracy of Diocletian and his successors necessitated became in many cases so oppressive, that at about the time the Huns were appearing on the scene the emperors established in the cities new officials called *defensores*, or 'protectors,' who were to defend their subjects from their own other officials. Numerous laws were also passed to protect the peasants against oppressive exactions. Finally we may note that the *Codex Theodosianus* marks a decline in the Roman law compared with the writings of the jurists of the second and third centuries, to which it is inferior both in language and in thought, both as literature and as law.

CHAPTER V

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 378–511 A.D.

AT the time the Huns invaded Europe the Roman emperors were Valentinian I (364–375) and his brother Valens (364–378). Their father, a peasant rope-seller in Pannonia, had risen from the ranks in the legions to the command first in Africa and then in Britain. Valentinian by his military ability went on to win the Imperial throne, and then made his less able brother his associate in the East. Valentinian found the western half of the Empire in great disorder and invaded in many places by barbarians. Most of his reign he spent in expelling the Alemanni and other Germans from Gaul and in strengthening the Rhine frontier. Meanwhile he dispatched Theodosius, a trusted lieutenant, first north into Britain and then south to Africa to restore order. In the last year of his life Valentinian recovered the provinces of Pannonia and Mœsia, situated along the Danube, from neighbouring barbarians who had been devastating them. With stern face and imposing presence, often angry and sometimes cruel, Valentinian was the last strong emperor that the West was to have. Even he had all he could do to keep the Germans out of the Empire, and wherever he was not personally present misgovernment prevailed among his corrupt and oppressive subordinates. Henceforth, with the advent of the Huns, conditions were sure to grow steadily worse.

THE BATTLE OF ADRIANOPLE, A.D. 378

The first appearance of the Huns struck the Germans with repugnance and terror. No one seemed able to stand before them. They rapidly conquered the Alani, who were probably not Germans, and most of the East Goths, who were Germanic; then they pressed on westward. Most of the West Goths decided to take refuge from the dreaded foe within the Roman Empire. They asked permission to settle south of the Danube, promising not to plunder and to aid the Emperor in defending the frontier. They were allowed to cross the river, but then the Imperial officials failed to supply them with food until they could grow crops for themselves, and in other ways ill-treated them. In consequence they began to ravage the country-side, and before long crossed the Balkan Mountains and entered Thrace, leaving the Danube frontier behind them open to any one who cared to follow. Valens, who already had experienced quite enough trouble for one reign from would-be assassins and usurpers, conspiracies and rebellions, and wars with Persia in the East, was now called upon to face this new danger. Before he arrived, there had been considerable indecisive fighting with the Goths, whose numbers by now had been further swelled by bands of Alani and Huns, who now, however, fought as their allies, and to whose hideous appearance and coarse manners the Goths seem to have quickly reconciled themselves. With the arrival of Valens a pitched battle was fought, in which the Emperor himself, his leading generals, and the greater part of his army were slain. The Goths, however, were unable to take either the city of Adrianople, near which the defeat had occurred, or the capital, Constantinople, against which they next marched. But their victory left them permanently within the Empire, where in the Balkan peninsula they, and other barbarians who sooner or later followed in behind them, formed a wedge separating the eastern and western halves of the Empire. Therefore, it has long been the custom to date the beginning of successful barbarian invasions or migrations of the peoples from the battle of Adrianople in 378.

Reigns of Gratian and Theodosius the Great

Gratian, a boy in his teens, had become emperor in the West on the death of his father, Valentinian; on the death of his uncle, Valens, he named as his associate in the East Theodosius, son of the general who had fought for his father. Huns, Ostrogoths, and Alani came westward, but Gratian satisfied them for the time by abandoning to them Upper Mœsia and Pannonia, provinces which his father had just recovered. Meanwhile Theodosius prevented the victorious Visigoths from penetrating farther into the Empire or from devastating on too vast a scale by fighting with them now and then, in which encounters he was sometimes worsted; but more by allowing them to occupy under their own rulers and law as much of Lower Mœsia and Thrace as they wished, by paying them an annual tribute, and by employing many of them as his own soldiers. He was called 'the friend of the Goths.' Indeed, it now became not at all unusual for the emperors to employ Huns as well as Germans in their armies; Gratian favoured the Alani among his troops. These barbarians did not merely enlist as individuals; they were hired in bodies and fought in their native organizations under their own kings. Theodosius' two chief generals were Arbogast, a Frank, and Stilicho, a Vandal; and the Imperial family even intermarried with such barbarian chieftains.

Barbarian troops were not so favoured by the civilian populace as they were by the emperors, and especially not when such troops were quartered upon citizens. A famous incident will illustrate this and some other important points. Theodosius had placed a German garrison in Thessalonica, one of the largest cities in the Balkan peninsula and the same as the modern Saloniki. When the barbarian leader imprisoned a charioteer who was a great favourite in the races of the circus, the mob of the city rose in rebellion and killed the commandant. The news of this riot threw Theodosius into a terrible rage, and he allowed his soldiers to slaughter some seven thousand of the populace. Yet he had often shown mercy to defeated enemies, and was an orthodox Christian who did so much for the Church as to win the appellation 'the Great.' On this occasion the Church was to show that it dared reprove even an emperor when he sinned. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, warned Theodosius that he would refuse to perform the sacrament of the mass in his presence until he atoned for his crime, and the Emperor soon did penance before him. Thus the story of Thessalonica illustrates the relations between Bishop and Emperor, Church and State, as well as the attitude of Greek citizens to German soldiers and the attitude of the Emperor to them both. We also see the populace of an ancient city become mere spectators at chariot races instead of themselves serving in the army. The Emperor favoured his barbaric soldiery above such degenerate Hellenes and Romans, but before the Bishop even Theodosius bent the knee. He scented the future. While the ancient city and its life passed away, these two forces were to survive—namely, barbarian soldiers and the Christian Church. But the chief bishop of the latter was to be at Rome instead of at Milan.

During the reign of Theodosius in the East, things went badly in the West. Gratian came to neglect his State duties and then was assassinated. For some years thereafter his younger brother, Valentinian II, ruled in Italy, but Gaul and Britain were controlled by a usurper. Finally Theodosius found time to come west and settle the matter in Valentinian's favour, while his Frankish general, Arbogast, drove out the German invaders who had once more been crossing the Rhine. But not long after Theodosius had returned to Constantinople, Valentinian II was strangled and a new emperor, Eugenius, was set up by Arbogast, who had turned traitor. Theodosius came west again with his other barbarian lieutenant, Stilicho; Visigoths under their leader Alaric fought with him against Franks and Alemanni in the service of Eugenius; Eugenius and Arbogast were defeated and killed, but Theodosius himself died at Milan in 395.

Arcadius and Honorius

Theodosius left two sons, Arcadius, aged seventeen, and Honorius, aged eleven, to succeed him in the East and West respectively. Both were incompetent weaklings. Stilicho remained in the West as Honorius' guardian and tried also to interfere in the East. When Gratian had made Theodosius his colleague in the East, he had allotted most of the Balkan peninsula to him; Stilicho held that this territory should now revert to the western half. The court of Arcadius was hostile to the Vandal general, however, and he also had enemies in the West. Barbarians within and without the Empire were now everywhere rebelling, invading, and devastating. In North-western Africa a Moorish prince tried to rule independently, and farther east Roman Africa was subject to Libyan inroads. The Huns not only appeared in Thrace, but, bursting through the gates of the Caucasus near the Caspian Sea, penetrated to Syria and Asia Minor. Asia Minor was also being devastated by some native tribes, the Isaurians. In Constantinople the Gothic troops, on their return from the West after the death of Theodosius, murdered the Roman regent, but were later massacred or driven from the city. Stilicho had to give the Vandals and Alani lands just north-east of Italy in Noricum; presently he had to defeat a host of them who invaded Italy together with Ostrogoths and the Quadi; they then withdrew from Italy and wandered about over Gaul. Burgundians and Alemanni also established themselves west of the Rhine. The troops in Britain set up an emperor of their own named Constantine, who crossed over to Gaul and left Britain henceforth to defend itself if it could. Soon both this usurper and the Alani, Vandals, and Suevi had forced the passes of the Pyrenees and entered Spain.

But most dangerous of all the barbarians at this time were the Visigoths in the Balkan peninsula under their leader Alaric. After the death of Theodosius, Alaric had failed to get the generalship which Theodosius had promised for his assistance in the West, and the Imperial government also stopped paying the Goths tribute. Thereupon the Goths ravaged the vicinity of Constantinople and then went south into Macedonia and Epirus. Stilicho had come out against them with troops that the death of Theodosius had left in Italy, but the government at Constantinople told him to return to Italy and to send their troops back to Constantinople, where, as we have seen, they revolted against the government. Meanwhile Alaric captured Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta—all famous Grecian cities. Since the Eastern emperor still did nothing, Stilicho came from Italy again, but contented himself with making a treaty with Alaric, and in consequence was now declared a public enemy by the government at Constantinople. Alaric went on devastating until Arcadius gave him the generalship and money he desired, and perhaps persuaded him to direct his future ravages toward Italy rather than Greece or Constantinople. That at least is what he did. In both 402 and 403 he invaded Italy and fought with Stilicho; in 408 he came again, but was bought off by four thousand pounds of gold.

In 408, too, Arcadius died, leaving a seven-year-old son, Theodosius II, but the rule of the East was already really in the hands of the Prætorian prefect Anthemius, who governed well from 404 to 414, repelling the Huns and other invaders and mending the frontiers of the Danube and in Illyria. After the battle of Adrianople it had rather seemed as if the eastern half of the Empire would fall first, but the barbarians had been unable to take the strong city of Constantinople, and the eastern half of the Empire seems to have been better able to buy them off. They turned instead, therefore, against Rome.

SACK OF ROME BY ALARIC, A.D. 410

In the same year, 408, in the West the foolish Honorius executed Stilicho on a charge of high treason. As a consequence Alaric again entered Italy, and was joined in great numbers both by the Imperial German troops, who were discontented with Stilicho's fate, and by runaway slaves. Honorius took refuge in Ravenna, the home henceforth of the Western Imperial court. It was a city close to the Adriatic coast just north of the Apennines, where, protected by surrounding swamps and with access to the sea and so to Constantinople, one could watch the main roads leading to the Alps and to Rome. Alaric did not try to take Ravenna, but marched on Rome. Constantinople, open to the sea, could not easily be cut off from supplies; but Rome, dependent on Africa for grain and located many miles from the coast, could be starved out by blockading the Tiber. Since Honorius sent no aid, the Senate had to pay Alaric a huge sum to raise the siege. He lingered in Italy, however, and, when after long negotiations Honorius failed to come to terms with him, he marched on Rome again and forced the Senate to select a new emperor, Attalus. Attalus, however, was unable to secure Africa and its grain supply, so Alaric deposed him. His negotiations with Honorius were again a failure, and he marched upon Rome a third time. The siege led to famine as before, and one night a city gate was treacherously opened to the besiegers. For three days Alaric's army plundered the great metropolis; then departed with their spoil for the south of Italy, whence they intended to embark for the wheat-fields of Sicily and Africa. A storm, however, destroyed their fleet, and before the year 410 was over Alaric died. Slaves turned a river from its bed, buried the dead monarch there, restored the waters to their course, and then were executed, that none but German warriors might know the secret of the grave of the Goth who was the first, since the Gauls had burned it just eight centuries before, to sack the city that had so long ruled the world.

The Visigoths, under Ataulf, Alaric's successor, roamed about Italy for a while longer, but in 412 entered Gaul. Here Ataulf helped Constantius, one of Honorius' generals, by defeating a usurper whom the Franks, Burgundians, and Alani had set up; but then he was unable to come to terms with Honorius and so set up Attalus again as emperor. It is remarkable how even the barbarians felt that some one must be emperor, and kept putting up their own candidates. Constantius soon cut off Ataulf's supplies and forced him to retreat to Spain, where at Barcelona one of his own followers assassinated him. The Goths then tried to cross from Spain to Africa, but the same misfortune befell their fleet as in Southern Italy. They therefore made peace with Honorius, were provided with grain, and proceeded to reconquer much of Spain from the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi,—who had recently overrun it. For this service they were rewarded with lands in South-western Gaul with Toulouse as their capital and what amounted to an independent kingdom. About the same time the Burgundians established a kingdom in territory granted to them on the Rhone.

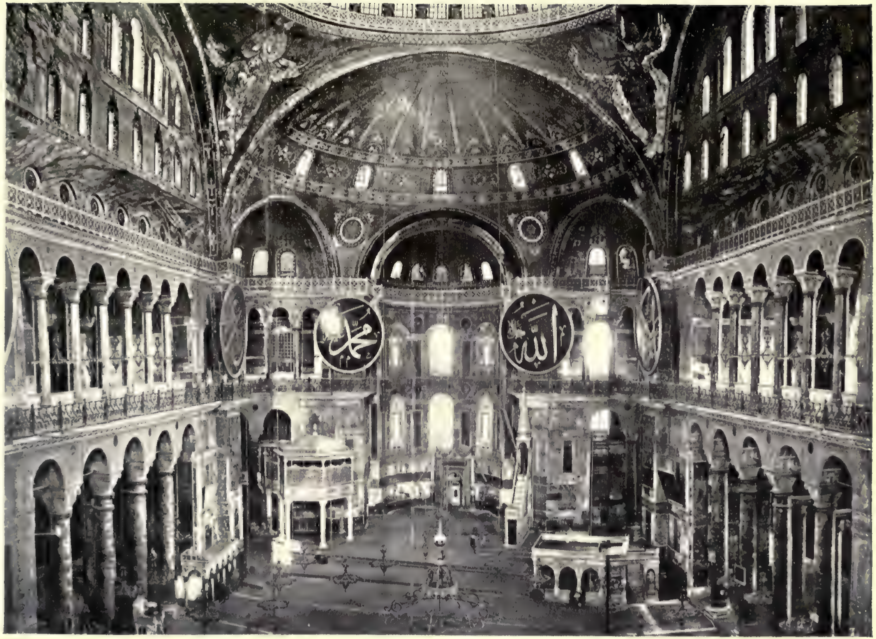
GALLA PLACIDIA

It may be worth while to pause for a paragraph to consider the period of invasions from a woman's experience, especially since the ladies of the Imperial family are frequently mentioned in the pages of the Greek historians of this time. Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, had a career that was both influential and full of adventure. She was at Rome when Alaric first besieged it, and she agreed with the Senate at that time in executing Stilicho's widow on the charge of conspiracy with Alaric. When Alaric set up Attalus as anti-emperor, he kept Galla with him as a hostage, and his successor Ataulf carried her off to Gaul, where in 414 at Narbonne he married her. Their son died in infancy, and his father was killed soon after. His first successor, who reigned only a week, humiliated the widowed empress by making her walk before his horse for twelve miles. The next year, when the Goths made their peace with Honorius, she was restored to her brother's court. He forced her to marry his general, Constantius, who became his colleague in 421. This Constantius III died that same year, however, and Placidia was again left a widow with a young son Valentinian and a daughter Honoria. For a time she seemed to overshadow her weak brother Honorius, but in 423 she and her children were banished to Constantinople. Honorius died before the year was out, however, and Theodosius II sent his aunt, Placidia, and cousin, Valentinian III, back to Italy with an army to secure them the throne against a rival whom their enemies had set up. Placidia ruled for her son until he came of age. Even then he proved of little account, like his cousin at Constantinople, whose learned and orthodox and ascetic court was dominated by either his wife or his sister, although he has perpetuated his name in the Theodosian Code. In 437 Valentinian married Theodosius' daughter.

Galla Placidia, and her nephew Theodosius, died in 450, five years before the death of Valentinian. Her mausoleum at Ravenna, though small, is a notable example of early Christian architecture. It is in the shape of a Latin cross with a low tower rising over the crossing. Within this tower is a dome covered, like the arched ceilings of the arms of the cross, with beautiful mosaics in blue and gold. In the three short arms rest the empty sarcophagi of the emperors Constantius III and Valentinian III, and the empress Galla Placidia.

THE VANDALS IN AFRICA

Meanwhile the barbarians had been continuing their invasions. The Vandals, who remained in Spain after the West Goths had returned to Gaul, moved southward and by 425 were attacking the African coast. In 429 they began a wholesale invasion of Roman North Africa under their new king, Gaiseric, who was to have a long reign until 477. A civil war between Boniface, Count of Africa, and the court of Ravenna afforded them a good opening. Boniface and Ravenna soon reunited against them, and an army was also sent from Constantinople, but to no avail. The Vandals, however, found the taking of walled towns slow work, especially as they were accustomed to fight on horseback; and in 435 they made a peace by which they were to hold Mauretania and part of Numidia as tributary allies of Rome. But the Vandals had by this time built up a navy of small, swift vessels which soon gained the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, and part of Sicily, and committed acts of piracy all over the Mediterranean. Thus the Empire became everywhere infested with barbarians, by sea as well as by land. In 439 Gaiseric pounced unexpectedly upon Carthage. A fleet which the Eastern emperor sent to the rescue accomplished little, and in 442 the Western emperor came to terms with the Vandal and recognized his complete independence. Gaiseric, however, dated the beginning of his reign and also of the legal year from the day when he captured Carthage. When Valentinian III was assassinated in 455, Gaiseric



8. SANTA SOPHIA (CONSTANTINOPLE)

sailed to Italy, took Rome without resistance, sacked it for two weeks, and carried off the imperial widow and her two daughters.

In Gaul during the reign of Valentinian III the chief representative of the Empire was Aëtius, a statesman and general of Roman birth, but who had a great capacity for enlisting Huns in his service, perhaps because he had earlier spent some time among them as a hostage. He prevented the Visigoths in South-western Gaul and the Franks in the north-eastern part from increasing their conquests, and conducted an aggressive campaign against the barbarians in Rhætia and Noricum. Aëtius had at first opposed the accession of Placidia and her son, and although he had been forgiven and received into their service, she seems to have still distrusted him. His command in Gaul was now given to Boniface, whom the Vandals had by this time driven out of Africa, and who had sided with Placidia of old against Honorius and sent her money when she was in exile at Constantinople, although of late he too had been for a time in rebellion. But Boniface soon died, and Aëtius, who had taken refuge among the Huns, came back with an army of them and forced Placidia to restore him to power. He then continued to make his power felt in Gaul, reducing the strength of the Burgundians by crushing defeats and keeping the West Goths within some bounds. He was unable, however, to help the inhabitants of Britain against the Picts and Scots, who, they piteously complained, were driving them into the sea.

ATTILA

For some time the Huns had been receiving tribute from the Empire as well as serving in Aëtius' armies as mercenaries. They also of late had been consolidating their power and building up a great military despotism over all tribes and races to the north of the Danube and the Black Sea. At its head was Attila, a typical Hun in appearance, and destitute of education and culture, though possessed of abundant energy and cunning. He had succeeded to the throne in 433 with his brother, whom he killed in 444. During the decade from 440 to 450 the Huns gave the Eastern Empire much trouble, devastating from the Danube almost to the walls of Constantinople, and forcing Theodosius II to triple the tribute paid them. They took scores of towns and forts as far south as Thermopylæ, and demanded that a strip of land five days' journey in breadth be left waste to the south of the Danube. In 450 the new emperor at Constantinople, Marcian, refused to pay the tribute, but the next year Attila, instead of making war upon Marcian, began his first onslaught upon the Western Empire and led a huge host westward into Gaul. Aëtius now had to fight against the Huns instead of having them as his soldiers, but he was joined by Theodoric, King of the West Goths, against whom he had often contended in the past. Orléans, situated on the northernmost bend of the Loire, is a strategic point whose possessor can enter almost any section of Gaul or France. Theodoric and Aëtius, coming from south-west and south-east, reached it before the Huns, who advanced from Metz, which they had just sacked. Attila withdrew eastward again, and a few miles from Troyes was fought the great battle of the Catalaunian Fields, sometimes called Châlons. It was indecisive, but at least a limit had been set to Attila's hitherto unbroken series of victories. Moreover, he continued to retreat, and the following year (452) he decided to invade Italy, where there were no Goths to oppose him. He ravaged the north, sacking such cities as Pavia and Milan, but then was met by an embassy of three persons from the emperor and Senate at Rome, and soon afterward withdrew northward once more. One of the ambassadors was Pope Leo I. The next year Attila died and his empire went rapidly to pieces.

END OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST

Sensational events followed one another fast at this time. In 454 Valentinian III, with his own sword, killed Aëtius, much as his father, Honorius, had ordered the death of Stilicho in his day. In 455 Valentinian in his turn was publicly assassinated, and no one punished his slayers. In the same year occurred the sack of Rome by the Vandals already mentioned. Meanwhile Britain began to suffer from new invaders—marauding bands of Jutes, Angles, and Saxons from the coasts of Germany and Denmark—who were gradually to conquer and occupy most of England. With the murder of Valentinian the dynasty of Theodosius the Great ceased to rule, and in the West emperors were put up and pulled down with confusing rapidity. The real power was in the hands of Ricimer, a man of German descent, who seems to have resolved not to share the fate of Stilicho and Aëtius, and hence killed his emperors first. Finally, however, he himself died a natural death in 472. In the East the emperors maintained themselves more successfully against the leaders of the soldiery, though when the able emperor Marcian died in 457, a barbarian named Aspar succeeded in making emperor his steward, Leo; but Leo proved too strong for Aspar, whom he caused to be killed in 471, and Leo handed on the crown in 474 to his son-in-law, Zeno, an Isaurian from Asia Minor, who reigned until 491. Constantinople also demonstrated its superiority by twice nominating rulers for the West. But Nepos, the second of these, was not acceptable to the barbarian mercenaries, who drove him out of Italy in 475. Their leader Orestes is then said to have made an emperor of his handsome fourteen-year-old son, who bore the auspicious and historic name Romulus. In any case, in 476 the soldiers turned against Orestes, who had not rewarded them with the grants of land they desired, and he was overthrown by another barbarian, Odoacer. Odoacer was willing to admit a vague sort of overlordship by the Eastern emperor, and to receive such titles as 'patrician' from him; the Senate and consuls and much of the administrative system introduced by Diocletian still went on in Italy. But the emperor at Constantinople had practically no authority in the West. Britain, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa had already passed quite out of his control, and Italy now became to all intents and purposes an independent kingdom. From 476 to 800 there was no other Roman emperor than the one reigning at Constantinople. Since Constantinople was not Rome, nor its inhabitants in any true sense Romans—though they so called themselves—we may speak of the Empire as now at an end.

The Eastern, Greek, or Byzantine Empire

It is true that the Roman law and governmental system, and for a time the use of Latin as the official language, continued at Constantinople. But it will be clearer henceforth to speak of this half or less of what had once been the great Roman Empire by a distinctive name, and to call it the 'Eastern' or 'Greek' or 'Byzantine Empire.' The last adjective, which comes from Byzantium, the former name for Constantinople, and is especially applied to the art and literature of this Empire during the Middle Ages, is the most distinctive. For we have already spoken of the Eastern Empire before 476, and the adjective 'Greek' would not distinguish the culture from that of earlier Greece. The expression 'Later Roman Empire' has been used of this survival of Roman rule in the East, but is a confusing phrase, since such expressions as 'the early Empire' and 'the later Empire' are used of the Roman Empire before 476 to distinguish its early period of peace and prosperity from the later centuries of decline and invasion. We shall therefore henceforth speak of the government at Constantinople as the 'Byzantine Empire.'

The Balkan peninsula much of the time was hardly more under the control of the Byzantine emperor than was Western Europe. The East Goths or Ostrogoths were now the chief disturbing element there, although Bulgars, Huns, and Slavs also gave trouble at times. Various lands were assigned to the Goths and they devastated many others. When the walls of Constantinople were damaged by an earthquake, they would have broken into the city but for the emperor's Isaurians, and they vainly attempted to cross over into Asia Minor. At last, in 488, the emperor persuaded Theodoric, who by this time had become king of all the East Goths, to march against Odoacer, and Constantinople was delivered from them as it had been eighty years before from the West Goths and twenty-eight years before from Attila. Other barbarians, however, soon took the place of the Ostrogoths in the Balkan peninsula. It required four or five years for Theodoric to conquer Italy. He got rid of Odoacer, who had endured a siege of three years behind the walls of Ravenna, only by promising to divide the rule of Italy with him and then murdering him at a friendly banquet.

THE FRANKS

Last in our chronological and narrative survey of the period of invasions, beginning with the advent of the Huns and the battle of Adrianople, we have to note the expansion of the Frankish people to the death of Clovis in 511. There were two branches of the Franks, the Salians, dwelling along the North Sea, and the Ripuarians, who lived along the Rhine. Both had expanded across the Roman frontier even before the battle of Adrianople, but had been defeated. The Ripuarians were driven back across the river, while the Salians were allowed to remain as allies of the Empire in the extreme north-east of Gaul. By the beginning of the fifth century they ceased to recognize Rome's authority, and the Ripuarians, too, came west of the Rhine once more. Aëtius checked the advance of the Salians for a time, but they had soon spread as far south as the River Somme, and made Tournai their capital. The Ripuarians gradually wrenched from the Empire the important cities of Cologne, Bonn, Aix-la-Chapelle, Juliers, Treves, and their surrounding country.

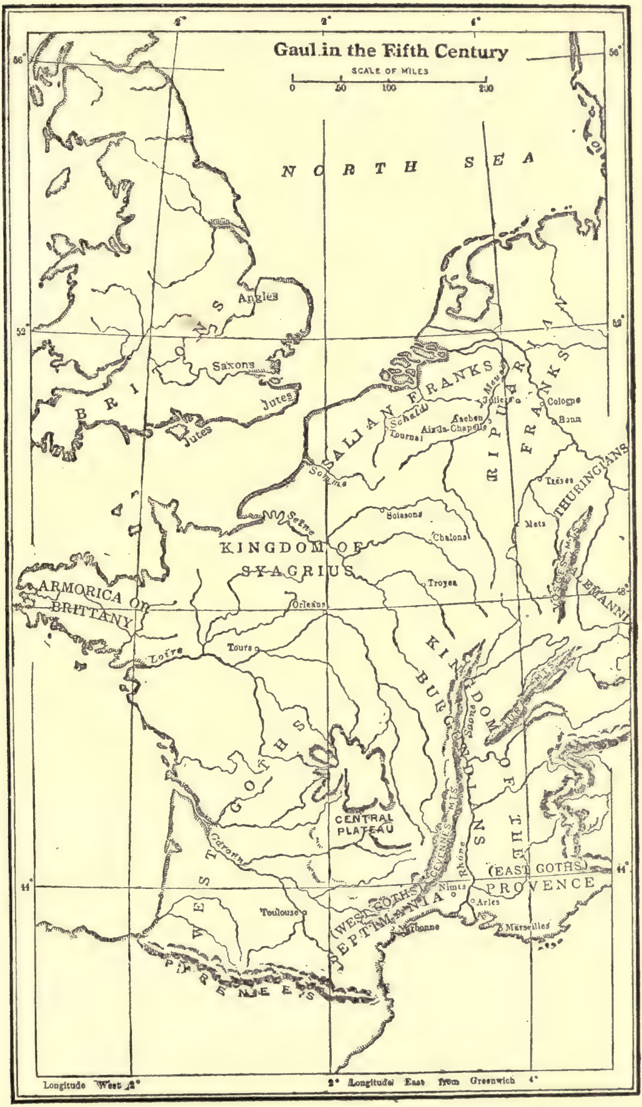
South of the Ripuarians on the Rhine came the Thuringians and then the Alemanni, who occupied Alsace, the region between the Vosges Mountains and the Rhine, and extended eastward through the Black Forest to the Lake of Constance. Farther south, in the upper Saône and Rhone valleys and in Savoy on the west slopes of the Alps, were the Burgundians. What the French call *le massif central,* an elevated and barren region whose eastern boundary is formed by the Cévennes Mountains, occupies a considerable portion of South-central France and separates both South-eastern and South-western France and the Mediterranean littoral from the interior. The Visigoths had at first been west of this central plateau, but had now also expanded south of it and occupied most of the Mediterranean coast region. To the north their kingdom reached the Loire. The remainder of Gaul, between the rivers Loire and Somme, had not yet been conquered by the German invaders. A certain Syagrius had inherited it in 464 from his father Ægidius, a lieutenant of the Roman emperor at that time, and was known as the 'Roman King of Soissons,' where he had his capital rather than at Paris.

CONQUESTS BY THE FRANKS UNDER CLOVIS

In 486 Syagrius was defeated—and later secretly put to death—by the Salian Franks under the lead of Clovis (481–511), a name equivalent to the modern Louis, who then gradually took the walled towns of the region until his dominion reached the Loire. This was for Clovis but the beginning of a career of conquest. He brought the Thuringians under his sway; he drove the Alemanni out of Alsace and up the Rhine into the Rhætian Alps; he defeated the Burgundians. In 507 he killed with his own hand the King of the West Goths and forced that people back into Spain, except for a strip of land extending south of the central plateau from the Pyrenees to the Alps. Indeed, of this the West Goths in Spain kept only Septimania, which extended from the Pyrenees to the city of Nîmes, while Provence, which extended from the Alps to the city of Arles, was added to Italy by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who had come to its relief. Clovis murdered the other kings among the Salian Franks and was also accepted by the Ripuarians as their sole ruler. At his death he ruled all Gaul except the Mediterranean coast and Rhone valley, and by 536 his sons had added the Kingdom of Burgundy and Provence to the Frankish possessions.

GENERAL CHARACTER AND EFFECTS OF THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

As one contemplates all the usurpations and assassinations, all the war and destruction of the confused period of


Gaul in the Fifth Century

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
200
NORTH SEA
BRITONS
Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Jutes
SALIAN FRANKS
RIPUARIAN FRANKS
Scheld
Meuse
Tournai
Aachen
Aix-la-Chapelle
Juliers
Cologne
Bonn
Somme
Trèves
THURINGIANS
Seine
Soissons
Chalons
Metz
KINGDOM OF SYAGRIUS
Troyes
VOSGES MTS.
ALEMANNI
ARMORICA OR BRITTANY
Orleans
Tours
Loire
KINGDOM OF THE BURGUNDIANS
JURA MTS.
Saone
WEST GOTHS
CENTRAL PLATEAU
Garonne
CEVENNES MTS.
Rhone
(EAST GOTHS)
PROVENCE
Nimes
Arles
Toulouse
(WEST GOTHS)
SEPTIMANIA
Narbonne
Marseilles
PYRENEES
56°
52°
48°
44°
2°
4°
Longitude West 2°
2° Longitude East from Greenwich 4°

over a century's duration, of which only a few leading facts have been given in this chapter, and of which our original sources do not tell a tenth part, one almost wonders, not merely that the declining Empire struggled on in the West as long as it did and that at Constantinople it was to continue its course for several more centuries, but that any peasants remained alive after so much devastation, that any fields were in cultivation, that any cities were still in existence. But the number of invaders in any one expedition does not seem to have been very large, and the invading barbarians usually acted without system or policy. When forced to leave one place, they went to another, but even their leaders seem seldom to have had any settled plans, and least of all any intention of destroying the Roman Empire. Two writers of the time tell of men who preferred to flee to the barbarians and live under their rule rather than endure the misery and oppression which was their lot within the Empire; but the German chieftains had no objection to receiving offices and titles from the emperor or lands within the Roman frontiers. They wanted grain and gold, or lands to live on and a chance to fight frequently. They fought as readily and fiercely with one another as with the Imperial armies, and were willing to fight for the Empire if they were well paid. A skilful Imperial diplomat by a not too great expenditure could play them off against one another with success for a long time. Moreover, while the invaders ravaged the countryside easily enough, they found it hard to besiege or storm the walled towns. When they did take one, they soon passed on with their plunder, since it was some time before they reconciled themselves to city life. We are told that the districts through which the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals swept on their way across Gaul to Spain were prosperous again within a generation. But unfortunately there were parts of the Empire to which invading armies did not leave that length of time for recovery, and what one section suffered in life and property the rest of the Empire had to make up for in part by increased taxes.

Whatever the actual amount of damage that can be directly attributed to the invaders, it is certain that the decline of ancient civilization went on apace, and that the age was one of great misery for the Roman world. Lawlessness and brigandage were a natural result of the invasions and disorder. Tombs were robbed, parents sold their children into slavery, slaves ran away from their masters and were probably guilty of worse acts of rapine and cruelty than the barbarians. In 458 the legislation of the Emperor Majorian tells the same story as the earlier Theodosian Code, of things going wrong generally, of oppression and corruption by officials, of wretchedness of the people. To check depopulation Majorian forbids women to become nuns before forty, and commands childless widows to remarry within five years or forfeit half their property. The burden of taxation is revealed when the Emperor cancels arrears of tribute that are eleven years overdue but feels obliged to increase the land tax for the future. The only class in society who remained at all prosperous were the wealthy aristocrats, the great landowners, who had enough influence with the government to secure themselves from oppression or even to oppress others with impunity, whose large estates only a large band of invaders could venture to attack, and whose retinue of servile tenants and dependents was now being constantly reinforced by poor citizens, who in these hard, disturbed, and cruel times found it impossible to maintain their independence in either town or country. In this landed aristocracy the barbarian invaders formed an increasing element, since they everywhere demanded and took lands for themselves. Yet we meet with luxury and extravagance amid this economic and social decline, and costly games and festivals were still provided for the populace in the large cities.

Something of ancient art, literature, and learning still continued, or perhaps it would be better to say, still continued to decline. The landed aristocracy of the senatorial and official class prided themselves upon their culture, and were addicted to writing one another letters, poems, and panegyrics. Athens still possessed a university even after

Alaric had taken the city. No new attitudes, spirit, or ideas refreshed the works of this age, however, except in the Christian writings, of which we shall learn later, and in the Christian art of secluded Ravenna. Nor did the writers succeed in retaining the spirit of the classical period. Instead they indulged in mere rhetoric, combining words in unusual and striking ways, but also in a rather unnatural and bombastic fashion, and making all sorts of quaint and recondite allusion to the rich background of literature, mythology, and history that lay so far behind them. In the West, Gaul was the region where Roman culture had the strongest hold in the fifth century.

SALVIAN'S PICTURE OF HIS AGE

A vivid picture is drawn for us of the wreck and ruin of the ancient world by Salvian, a Christian priest of the time. He holds that the Roman world richly deserves the manifold calamities that have befallen it, because of the immoral lives of the majority of Christians, who are not a whit better than the barbarians, although the latter are ignorant pagans or heretics who cannot be expected to have as high standards as the orthodox and cultured Christians of the Empire. He asserts that, even while cities are being besieged by the barbarians, Christians of long standing get drunk within the walls, and that "honoured Christians who are decrepit with age" continue slaves to gluttony and lasciviousness when their cities are on the very verge of being sacked. The barbarous Goths are models of chastity compared with the lustful Christians of Aquitania, and the Vandals did away with the public prostitutes of Roman Carthage. "Nothing is left to us of the peace and prosperity of our ancestors except the crimes that have ruined that prosperity." Salvian's moral indignation is perhaps somewhat forced; his language is very rhetorical; and his sweeping charges of universal immorality are probably exaggerated, and partly due to his prejudice against circuses and theatres, which Christian society had generally retained from the pagan past. But he seems well informed, and sometimes speaks with the assurance of personal experience, and many of his statements are corroborated from other sources. He tells us how fathers, in order to get a little protection for themselves, give up their property to the great and powerful, so that their sons lose their inheritance and have no lands. Yet the government still holds them liable to taxation. These and many others who have fled from their lands to escape invaders or tax-collectors have no course left but to become the *coloni* of rich landowners, losing their liberty as well as their property and becoming transformed from men into swine as if by the wand of Circe. He himself, after the sack of cities, has seen nude corpses of both sexes lying about everywhere and torn by birds and dogs. And his rage rises to a white heat against certain nobles of Treves who, after the city had been burned and sacked thrice, could still ask the emperors for circuses. "Where would you hold these public spectacles?" he asks. "Over the graves and ashes, the bones and blood of the dead?" In another passage he gives us briefly the conclusion of the whole matter: "The whole Roman world is in misery and yet is luxurious. . . . It is dying and it laughs."

CHAPTER VI

"THE CITY OF GOD"

THE City of God is the usual English translation for the title of the most influential book written in the fifth century and one which was the favourite reading of Christians for many succeeding centuries. The entrance of Alaric's barbaric soldiery into Rome, the 'Eternal City,' in 410 made a tremendous impression. Rome had at last fallen! Above all cities of the Empire it had remained a stronghold of paganism. The Senate had maintained the old rites until the reign of Gratian (375–383), who had refused to hold the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, had stopped payment for pagan sacrifices and ceremonies from the Imperial treasury, and had taken away the time-honoured privileges and revenues of the Roman priesthoods. Now, within less than thirty years since Gratian had removed from the Senate-house the altar and statue of Victory that had stood there as long as the Empire itself, the most humiliating of defeats had come upon the city. To those who still adhered to the Roman religion and the old ways, this seemed the crowning calamity in the series of misfortunes which the adoption of Christianity as the State religion had brought upon them and their cause. Such pagans attributed the fall of Rome to the fact that the government and many citizens had abandoned the worship of the ancient Roman gods, had neglected those efficacious rites and spurned that divine guidance under which the city had risen through victory after victory to the height of its power and had transformed itself into a world-empire.

Such complaints found an answer from the great Church father, Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in North Africa. From 413 to 426 he laboured on his long and elaborate reply. Four years after finishing it, he died in Hippo while that city was resisting a siege by the Vandals. Augustine had shared the secular life of his times before he became a Christian and a priest, and he was well acquainted with many of the leading men of the age. He had studied in the schools of rhetoric and had taught that subject at Milan ; he was well versed in Latin culture ; he had dabbled in his youth in Manichæism, astrology, and Neo-Platonism, reading Plotinus in Latin translation, not in the original Greek, but being repelled at that time from the Christian Scriptures by the rude Latin of the copies which he tried to read. His life before he became a Christian had not been beyond reproach, as he had an illegitimate son and more than one mistress. We know so much about him chiefly because he talked so much about himself, being, like Petrarch and Rousseau later, one of those who have penned *Confessions* for the world's eye. In 388 he returned from Italy to Africa, and three years later was ordained a priest at Hippo without having passed through any of the minor orders. He introduced into Africa the practice of having all the clergy of a town live together as monks, although he did not write the rule followed by the later Augustinian Order. In 396 he was made bishop. *The City of God* is only one of his numerous writings.

The City of God is divided into twenty-two books, but these do not correspond to sharply defined logical divisions of the thought, as the contents are not very well arranged, and there are many digressions. But the main points for us are as follows. The book opens with the assertion that Christianity is not responsible for the sack of Rome and that, on the contrary, its horrors were softened and worse atrocities were prevented by Christian influence upon the Goths. Soon leaving this unpleasant memory, however, Augustine launches forth into Roman history, which, he asserts, shows by many previous disasters that the old gods had not saved Rome from misfortune. Augustine persuaded a Spanish disciple of his, Orosius, to write a very distorted history of the world to bring out the same point. Augustine further makes many criticisms of the Roman gods and their worship, describing the vicious

Roman stage, the immorality of the gods themselves as set forth in classical mythology and of the rites used in their worship, ridiculing Roman theology for its multiplicity of deities and infinite subdivision of functions among them, denying the belief in oracles and pagan methods of divination, engaging in a passing tilt with the astrologers of his day, and, finally, affirming that all the deities and divine forces believed in by the non-Christian world are ‘ demons ’ only in the sense of being evil spirits, fallen angels, and servants of Satan. Having thus disposed of paganism, he declares that one Christian God controls all states and all human endeavour. It was He, not any gods snatched by Æneas from the flames of a Troy which they could not save, who had raised Rome to power because of the moral and devoted lives of her early patriots. Her decline in turn was due to the decay of those pristine virtues, not to the introduction of Christianity, since even before the birth of Christ the Roman Republic had gone to ruin. Augustine also insists that Christians do not favour peace at any price, and that the principles of Christianity, if practised generally by both people and officials, would save the State. But he has not yet answered the natural query, Why has God allowed the barbarians to sack Rome now that it has become Christian ? He can only say that such an earthly disaster is no death-blow to the true Christian, and turn his readers' attention from the earthly to the heavenly city, from the city of Rome to the city of God, just as we saw the Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, turn his mind from the dear city of Cecrops to the dear city of Zeus.

The city of God is not merely heaven, the abode of the Trinity and angels, to which those who have been saved by divine grace may look forward from among the woes of this world as their eternal home. It also has an existence here on earth in the spiritual life of true believers. Augustine traces its history from creation down through Abel and the story of the Jews, God's chosen people, to the coming of Jesus, the preaching of the Gospel, and the spread of Christianity. The Church, in short, is the city of God.

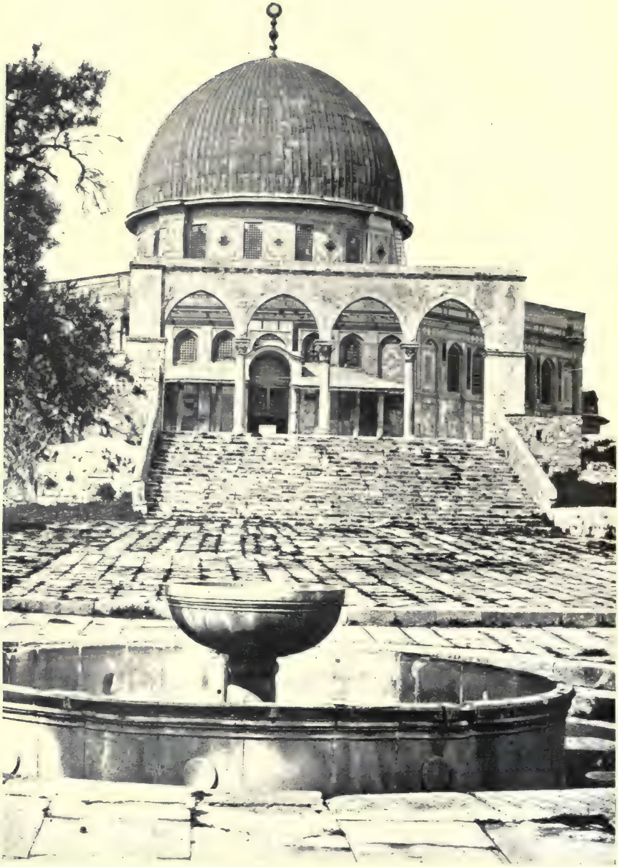
Teachings of Christianity

Christianity began in Palestine among the Jewish people, who, however, had by this time been subjected to the Hellenistic culture which spread through Alexander's empire. So close was the relationship between Christianity and Judaism that the Hebraic religious literature of the Old Testament was incorporated in one Bible together with the Greek New Testament, which was of Christian authorship and which was believed to fulfil the prophecies of the Old Testament. To the Hebraic conception of one supreme and personal God, who had created the universe out of nothing and who guided the affairs of men, was now added the Gospel story. It told of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who had been born in this world of a woman, had led a sinless life, had left many social and moral teachings, had worked numerous miracles, had then been crucified by the Jewish priests and Roman governor, but had demonstrated his divinity by rising from the tomb and ascending to heaven and by the workings of the Holy Spirit ever since in his followers. They were held to high standards of morality, were to try to lead pure lives themselves and to engage in loving service of their fellow-men. In return they were promised forgiveness of their past sins, a comforting personal communion with the Holy Spirit, and after death an eternal life of bliss with God.

The teachings of the New Testament marked an advance upon those of the Old Testament, where Mosaic law and chronicles savour in parts of an age of crude superstition and bloodshed—just as its psalms and prophets at times reach high planes of moral fervour and religious sentiment. The Christian teachings were by no means, however, entirely new or strange to the age in which they were put forth. A gospel of " peace on earth and good-will toward men " was in harmony with the peaceful and humane Roman Empire from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius. Already four hundred years before Christ the Greek tragic poet Euripides had written many tender or moral passages which are suggestive in thought and sometimes even in phraseology of the New

Testament. Many philosophers had already come to a belief in one God, whom, however, they did not venture to describe as a person. The Stoics advanced the idea of one law of nature and of the brotherhood of man, even including slaves. Plutarch, though still immersed in pagan religions and old superstitions, shows us a distinct advance in the early Empire over the moral standards of the older Greeks and Romans, and Juvenal, another non-Christian writer of Rome, tells us that "fools seek revenge, philosophers forgive." Nor were the teachings of philosophy confined to the educated and intellectual classes, for we hear of philosophers who preached to the mob in the streets or who rolled over naked in the snow to show the privates in the Imperial army that cold has no terrors for the good man. The actual daily life of most people was, however, far from realizing the ideals of the philosophers—people seldom have lived up to their ideals in any age—and the Apostle Paul had to warn his Christian converts repeatedly and painstakingly against worship of idols and illicit sexual intercourse. Not philosophy alone, but other religions had been moving in much the same general direction as Christianity. We have already noted in the spread of other Oriental cults in the Empire the emphasis upon personal relation with the deity, forgiveness of sins, a redeemer, and a resurrection or after-life. Thus the way was prepared for the spread of Christianity by other movements, either earlier or contemporaneous with it.

What especially distinguished Christianity from the other cults was the remarkable personality of its founder, sketched so vividly in the four Gospels against the familiar background of daily human experience. For one thing, for example, he was a most unconventional person who brushed aside the cobwebs of conservatism. He broke the Jewish Sabbath, talked with a woman of Samaria, feasted with tax-collectors and sinners, forgave an adulteress, justified Mary Magdalene for buying costly ointment with which to anoint his feet instead of giving the money to the poor, and, in place of the negative injunctions of the Hebrew Ten Commandments, with their "Thou shalt not," preached a positive gospel of love.



9. Mosque of Omar

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

During the first and second centuries the Christians seem to have come mainly from the poorer and lower classes of society. Christ had said "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Rich men, on the other hand, were warned that they would have difficulty in entering the kingdom of God and were advised to dispose of their property first and to give unto the poor. The disciples were sent forth penniless to preach the Gospel—an ideal of apostolic poverty which was to have great influence throughout the Middle Ages. The first Christian communities shared their goods in common and awaited expectantly the end of this world and the coming of a better. Even when they gave up the notion that the second coming of Christ was close at hand and returned to a more normal mode of life, they still reckoned things spiritual as of more importance than ordinary human interests and activities, and the prospect of eternal life in the next world as of more moment than citizenship in the Roman Empire. Ignatius, one of the earliest Christian writers, even went so far as to assert that "nothing visible is good." This tendency was accentuated by the persecution to which the Christians were often subjected by the outside world, and by the fact that they lived in an atmosphere of miracle, prophecy, and martyrdom. Various apostles and wandering missionaries like Paul had founded numerous scattered Churches, of whose local organization at first we know little, except that they had officials called overseers or *episcopi* or bishops, elders or *presbyters* or priests, and deacons. From these are derived the present names of such Churches as the Episcopalian and Presbyterian. At first Christian sentiment seems to have favoured great liberty in 'prophesying'; that is, in preaching by any one who was so moved by the Holy Spirit. One early Christian declared that the truth or falsity of a prophet should be inferred not from what he said, but from the godliness or selfishness of his life.

Besides hymn and prayer, preaching and prophecy, certain sacred ceremonies and symbols played a large part in early Christianity. Such were the sign of the Cross, the name of Jesus, and the mysteries or sacraments of baptism with water and the Lord's Supper or Eucharist of bread and wine. By these sacraments divine grace and life were believed to be communicated to the believer. Baptism was believed to cleanse from sin, and many Christians, including later some of the Christian emperors, postponed it until the very end of life in order that all their sins might be blotted out. The proper time for baptism, however, was when one entered the Christian life. Three of the four Gospels represent Jesus at the Last Supper with His disciples before He was crucified as blessing and breaking the bread and giving it to them with the words, "This is my body," and as then giving them the wine, saying, "This is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins." This ceremony was continued by the early Christian communities, and the idea came to prevail that the words of Christ were to be taken literally, that the bread and wine were His body and blood, by partaking of which the human body became joined with the divine Christ.

GROWTH OF HERESY

The founding of scattered communities by different wandering missionaries, and the freedom at first permitted to 'prophets' of airing their supposedly divine revelations, naturally produced much local variance in belief and practice, especially since Christians in different places sometimes retained customs and notions from the previous religion of their particular locality. As a result heresies sprang up and apocryphal scriptures were composed which the Church as a whole has rejected. One or two prominent early heresies may be mentioned by way of illustration. Montanism is named from Montanus, an ecstatic prophet in Asia Minor about A.D. 150, whose life was very strict and ascetic and who emphasized unduly the Christian reaction against ancient learning and civilization. Gnosticism, on the other hand, was a heresy of the second century which adopted the cosmology and astrology of the ancients and interpreted Christian story in the light of them. Many men of that day were inclined to take the Gospel story as a sort of allegory rather than as history, or to hold that God had never really become man, but that Christ was a kind of phantom or celestial image. The most dangerous heresy during the period of the Roman Empire was Arianism, which, the orthodox held, relegated Christ to a secondary place compared with God the Father. Arianism in the fourth century had a strong hold in the East, and most of the barbarian invaders of the fifth century were Arians.

To prevent heresy Church unity and organization developed. The bishop became the chief local authority, and one was elected by the members of the Christian community in each city. By the middle of the third century the Christian Cyprian, in his *Unity of the Church,* declares that there is only one Catholic Church, and that no one outside it can be saved even though he suffer a martyr's death " for confessing the name of Christ." For " he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother." In order to keep the various bishops in agreement two customs grew up. One was to have the bishops of a given area meet together; Cyprian, for instance, during the ten years that he was Bishop of Carthage called a number of such meetings or local Church councils. Another method was to look to some one Christian community as a model or authority in doctrine and as an umpire in disputes. The Church at Rome seems from an early date to have been thus looked up to; the sees of Alexandria and Antioch perhaps came next in importance. The bishops in such places were known as metropolitans or archbishops.

PAGAN HOSTILITY TO CHRISTIANS

The early Christians were very unfavourably regarded by Roman society. It is hard for us to realize that Christians, who have always prided themselves upon their lofty moral standards and regarded other faiths and rites as superstitions, were themselves considered grossly immoral and superstitious by the pagan world. Yet Suetonius spoke of "Christians, a class of men of a new and vicious superstition"; and Tacitus remarked their "moral enormities" and their "hatred of the human race," and asserted that "they were criminals who deserved the most severe punishment." The pagan mob believed them guilty of such practices as incest and devouring children. Such horrible stories circulated about them probably because they seemed to the pagans a people with strange, peculiar, and mysterious ways, who held aloof from popular festivals and much of the life of the ancient city and had their own private meetings. We find the same attitude toward the Jews in the Middle Ages, when they were often attacked by Christian mobs and when similar stories were current among Christians concerning them.

One might expect the Roman government with its good law courts to have soon discovered that there was little truth in these charges against the Christians and to have protected them against mob violence. And so to a certain extent it did. But the government had further reasons of its own for being suspicious of the Christians and for punishing them. Christianity had originated in Judæa, and not long thereafter the Jews had revolted against the rule of Rome, and had refused to submit even when Jerusalem was besieged in A.D. 70. Rather than surrender they ate human flesh, and killed themselves and burned the city as the Romans stormed it. Jerusalem till this time had been the chief centre of Christianity, and the allusions in the Book of Revelation to Babylon, the great harlot, and to "the image of the beast" probably apply to Rome and to worship of the emperor. At any rate, Christians refused to worship the emperor or to join in other civic rites, and so the government could hardly do anything else than regard them as obstinate rebels. Origen, the great Alexandrian Church father in the first half of the third century, admitted the truth of the charge "that Christians decline public offices," and declared those persons "enemies of our faith who require us to bear arms for the commonwealth and to slay men." Moreover, the organizations of Christians in Churches and their frequent meetings violated the laws of the emperors against associations, which we have seen one emperor so careful to enforce that he even forbade the establishment of a volunteer fire brigade lest it should lead to sedition. Consequently the usual penalty for confessing oneself a Christian was death, sometimes in the arena or with torture. Such was the letter of the law, but since the Christians did not actually attack the government, most emperors did not try to ferret them out and to annihilate them by wholesale persecution, but punished any one who was publicly charged with being a Christian and who did not free himself from the accusation by worshipping the statue of the emperor or images of the gods. But anonymous accusations were usually disregarded, and any one who falsely accused another of being a Christian was liable to severe punishment himself.

Meanwhile the Christians kept increasing in numbers in pursuance of the injunction of Jesus, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." By the third century there were erudite Christian writers to reply to the attacks which cultured pagans now thought it worth while to make upon Christianity. The emperors, too, awoke to the fact that the Christians were increasing rapidly in numbers, wealth, and power, and from the middle of the third century tried to crush them by systematic persecution. Many Christians suffered martyrdom and more recanted; some did neither, but purchased from corrupt officials certificates that they had performed pagan sacrifice when they really had not; but the Church as a whole successfully weathered the storm. We possess an edict of 311 in which the Emperor Galerius says that he has decided to tolerate even the Christians because persecuting them does no good. Finally with Constantine Christianity triumphed, and soon began in its turn to persecute all pagans and heretics.

CHRISTIANITY THE STATE RELIGION

At Constantine's call the first general or œcumenical council of all Christian Churches met at Nicæa, near Constantinople, in 325 and decided against Arianism. There now had come to be a regular series of offices through which the clergy usually had to pass—namely, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, and bishop. For there was now a clear distinction in the Church between mere believers, the laymen or laity, and those who officiated in the churches, the clergy. The clergy were given many privileges by the Christian successors of Constantine, as their edicts in the Theodosian Code show. They were in large measure personally exempted from State duties and taxes, and in most criminal and some civil cases were to be tried by their own bishops rather than by the Imperial courts. Before Christianity had been recognized by the State, it was often the practice for the laity as well as the clergy to settle their disputes privately before their bishop instead of in the public courts, and the emperors now allowed the bishops to continue this jurisdiction to a certain extent. The emperors would not permit rich men to escape paying taxes by becoming clergymen, but they did allow the Church as a corporation to receive bequests, and themselves endowed it freely. Such Church lands were subject to taxation, but this did not prevent the Church and many individual bishops from growing very wealthy, and by the fifth century the Church is estimated to have become the greatest landholder in the Empire.

Persistence of Paganism

Although a century had elapsed between the time when Constantine presided at the Council of Nicæa and the publication of *The City of God*, and although many edicts against paganism had been issued in the interim by Christian emperors, Augustine's book itself shows us that the pagan religions had not yet disappeared. Close friends, members of the same family, even husband and wife, might still be, one pagan, the other Christian. It is hard to tell whether some of the extant writings of this period were penned by a Christian or not. There were men who "looked on Christ and the sun as almost equally good symbols of the Supreme," and others who regarded astrology as the truth behind all religions. Synesius of Cyrene, previously a Neo-Platonist, suddenly became a Christian bishop at the beginning of the fifth century, apparently without surrendering his belief that man could read the future in dreams and in the stars, and certainly without giving up either his wife or his Neo-Platonism.

Growth of the Papacy

When the emperors legalized and favoured Christianity and legislated against heresy, one might fear that they would make themselves heads of the Church. Constantine had been responsible for the calling of the first general council, and he came to be known in the East as one of the apostles. A Western Christian apologist during the reigns of Constantine's sons—the same Firmicus whose book on astrology we have already quoted—addresses them as "most sacred emperors," setting them above the rest of mankind and closely associating them with the celestial bodies and "the Supreme God," at the same time that he urges them to eradicate pagan cults. In 429 the Patriarch of Alexandria called the emperor the "image of God on earth." But the emperors in the West seem for the most part to have preferred to leave religious matters to the Church itself to settle, and in the East the emperors often failed to control the strife of religious parties when they did try to interfere. Councils were now held with increasing frequency, and at the same time the Bishop of Rome appears to have increased in importance and power. One would naturally expect, especially after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, that the leading early Christian community would develop at Rome, the centre and the greatest city of the Empire. Moreover, it was believed from an early date that both Peter and Paul had suffered martyrdom there. In the Gospels Jesus often addresses Peter as the leader among the disciples, and in one passage says: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church. . . . And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1] The Bishops of Rome have therefore argued that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome and that they are his successors as chief of the apostles and as head of the Church.

The pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus tells of a fight at a papal election in 366 as a result of which one hundred and thirty-seven persons were killed; but adds that the office was worth waiting for, since it brought with it a large income which enabled the bishop to dress elegantly and to ride in a carriage and to give banquets that outshone those of the emperor. Damasus, the very pope elected on that occasion, is the first to give us a definite statement of the papal claims and of the doctrine of the Roman Church. From his successor, Siricius, comes the first extant papal decretal or order issued to the Church at large. Since the popes consistently opposed Arianism, whereas the attitude of many Eastern bishops was wavering, when the orthodox Theodosian dynasty came into power the papal influence continued to increase.

The last Western emperor of that family in 445 issued an edict ordering other Churches to recognize as supreme the authority of the apostolic see at Rome, and justifying that supremacy by Rome's connexion with Peter, by the majesty of the city itself, and by a decree of the Council of Sardika a century before. The Bishop of Rome at this time was Leo the Great (440–461), who is often regarded as the first to try to raise that office to something like the power of later times. He not only claimed to be the sole head of the Church, but by his participation in the embassy to Attila left a precedent for the political activity of his successors. During the fifth century several quarrels between the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople prevented any single see in the East from acquiring an authority comparable with that of Rome in the West, and gave the Papacy a chance to assert its supremacy by interfering in those quarrels.

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[1] Matthew xvi, 18, 19; but two chapters later (Matthew xviii, 17, 18) the same powers are given to the disciples and the Church in general. See also John xx, 22, 23.

Leo especially was inclined to make his influence so felt, as we may see illustrated in the story of two Church councils.

An abbot condemned for heresy by the Patriarch of Constantinople appealed both to the Eastern emperor and to the pope. It is to be noted that the Western emperor had no part in the affair. Contrary to Leo's wish the Eastern emperor called a council at Ephesus under the presidency of the Patriarch of Alexandria. Leo, however, wrote out his decision in favour of the Patriarch of Constantinople and sent it to the council by his three representatives. The council did not deign even to read Leo's *Tome*, but deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and further treated him with such violence that he soon died from the effects, while one of the papal legates who protested against the council's action was lucky to escape with his life. Leo had no intention of allowing such proceedings to pass unchallenged ; he induced the members of the Imperial house in the West to write to Constantinople in his support ; and finally secured another council at Chalcedon, near Constantinople, to reconsider the action of "the Robber Council," as Leo termed the recent assembly at Ephesus. Now the Patriarch of Alexandria who had presided at Ephesus was driven from his see, and the questions in dispute were settled on the basis of Leo's *Tome*. Leo, however, was very much offended by the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which he regarded as an attempt to raise the see of Constantinople to an equality with that of Rome.

Schisms in the East

This canon may be taken as marking a growing breach between the Eastern Church and the Western, which was increased in 482 when the Emperor Zeno issued a letter called the *Henoticon*. It was intended to provide a common meeting-ground for all the religious factions in the East ; but it was not at all acceptable to the pope at Rome, who finally excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople and thus instituted a schism of over thirty years' duration. In the East itself, moreover, Christian Egypt was already tending toward the formation of a distinct Coptic Church, and the Nestorians, treated as heretics in the Empire, built up a strong Church of their own in the Persian kingdom, whence they were soon to spread as missionaries to the Far East.

Meanwhile there had ceased to be an emperor in the West, and the pope was freed from the danger that a ruler at Rome might interfere with his ecclesiastical supremacy as the Byzantine emperor often did in the case of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The barbarian kings in Italy, Odoacer and Theodoric, had little desire to interfere in ecclesiastical matters; and the Germans generally were to prove docile to the dictates of the Western Church. For the time being, however, the break-up of the Roman Empire and the war and disorder separated the Western Churches outside of Italy from papal influence.

GROWTH OF ASCETICISM

The other-worldliness of Christianity has already been emphasized. There are many passages of Scripture which have led men to hate their bodies, to withdraw from the world, to devote themselves to the contemplative life, and to exercise their souls in holiness. But we do not hear much of Christian hermits and monks until the close of the third century. Martyrs had been the heroes of the early Church; but as the chance of winning an immortal crown by being thrown to wild beasts ceased with Imperial toleration and recognition of Christianity, ascetics came to be considered the holiest Christians. During the fourth and fifth centuries every one was reading with awe and admiration the Lives of St. Antony and St. Martin of Tours, and many were fired with the desire to imitate their self-renunciation and austerities, and with the hope to triumph like them over the flesh and the Devil and to work miracles. The early Christian communities had been composed largely of those whose ordinary worldly life was hard enough, and whose secret meetings and communistic views shut them off sufficiently from the world. But when Christianity became the State religion and the majority of the population became at least nominal converts and the Church began to grow wealthy, many persons began to feel that they must do something more than belong to the Church or even to the clergy, if they wished to be sure of saving their souls. Their method was to flee to the desert, to seclude themselves in tombs and caves, to see nothing of the opposite sex, to eat and sleep very little, to wash even less, in general to avoid doing anything pleasant, to have no property or passions or will of their own, to forget all family and social ties, to spend their time partly in some dull mechanical operation like weaving baskets or copying manuscripts in order to eke out their scanty existence, and to pass the rest of each day in prayer, repeating Scripture, and other acts which would keep their minds off any other subject than religion. All this may seem to us gloomy and unprofitable, but to them it seemed the path to perfect peace, happiness, and contentment. The age delighted in stories of the recluse who burned unread a package of letters from his family containing the first news that he had had of them for fifteen years, of the hermit who ate but one meal a week for thirty years, or of the grazing monks who lived on the grass of the fields like Nebuchadnezzar.

The movement started in Egypt, where Antony was the first noted hermit and where Pachomius established some of the earliest Christian monasteries. Antony at twenty sold the property which his parents had left him, distributed the proceeds to the poor, and spent the remaining eighty-five years of his life as a hermit—the last fifty in a mountain three days' journey beyond the Nile in order to escape from his throngs of admirers. Pachomius founded ten monasteries, each of about three hundred inmates. The monks laboured at different trades, such as carpenter, tanner, smith, cobbler, tailor, as well as in the kitchen and fields of the monastery. They learned the Bible by heart and held four religious services daily. They lived in individual cells and had their meals at different hours. The Rule of Pachomius strictly prohibited all ablutions except in case of sickness.

The movement spread before the close of the fourth century into Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Persia; and

St. Basil introduced it among the Greeks. Simeon Stylites in Syria led a life like that of an Indian fakir, spending thirty-seven years on top of a pillar which was gradually raised from six to sixty feet in height. He was always covered with vermin, but took some exercise by bending his forehead until it touched his feet, a process which he would repeat so many successive times that observers lost count. Basil, on the other hand, organized communities of monks and gave them a more specific rule to live by than that of Pachomius. Some of the Greek monasteries founded then still survive to-day, isolated from the world on steep crags to which one can gain access only by climbing long rope ladders or by being drawn up in a basket, and in them the monks still live much the same life as their predecessors of fourteen or fifteen hundred years ago.

WESTERN MONASTICISM

Athanasius, the great opponent of the Arian heresy, is also credited with the introduction of monasticism in the West. Later St. Jerome was a great advocate of the ascetic life. By the end of the fourth century monasteries and nunneries were numerous in Italy. In Gaul the movement was spread by the fame of St. Martin of Tours, and by the labour of Cassian at Marseilles after 410, where his two monasteries contained over five thousand monks and nuns, while his *Institutes* and *Conferences* were influential books on the subject. The missionaries St. Patrick and St. Severinus carried monasticism to Ireland and Noricum; but in Spain and North Africa the movement seems to have been checked by the Visigothic and Vandal conquests. In Ireland entire clans turned themselves into monastic communities with their former chieftains as abbots. The word *monk* or *monachos* originally meant one who lives alone, but in the West the community found favour as against the hermit life, and 'monasticism' is used to refer especially to life in monasteries, whereas 'monachism' is a term covering the life both of hermits and of the members of monastic communities.

The motives of those becoming monks soon ceased to be entirely religious. The chaotic conditions of the period of barbarian invasion, loss of property, friends, and home, the impossibility of earning a livelihood, the example of others, the comparative quiet, security, and perhaps even comfort of a monastery—all these conditions might impel one to withdraw from the world which had become so unattractive. Jerome wrote to one of his female friends at the time of the sack of Rome by Alaric, " Dearest daughter in Christ, will you marry amid such scenes as these ? " In that same year, when St. Patrick escaped from slavery in Ireland to the coasts of Gaul, " he journeyed through the desert " for four weeks, and was doubtless glad to end his wanderings and find a refuge at last in a monastery.

But the city of God had to go on, though the Roman Empire had become a wilderness ; nay, it had to convert lands that Rome had never conquered. After a score of years spent in Gallic monasteries Patrick went back as a missionary to the land to which he had before been carried away as a slave, and laboured for thirty years more in spreading Christianity through Ireland. This shows us that monasticism was already preparing men for service, and not merely turning out freak saints like Antony and Simeon. However, the chief advocates of monastic life in that age themselves complain of persons who want to become monks but not to suffer hardships, or who wander about doing as they please, yet pretending to be ascetics. In short, monasticism had grown so popular that both good and bad were entering the field.

TRANSITION FROM CLASSICAL TO CHRISTIAN CULTURE

The triumph of Christianity hastened the decline of classical art, literature, philosophy, and science, which it was eventually to replace by a theology, a literature, and an art of its own. Many Christians, especially ascetics, felt that ancient art and poetry were dangerous, closely connected as they were with pagan mythology, and appealing as they did to the sense of beauty and the passion of love.

Yet for a long time Christians who had any education had a classical one, because that was the only one to be had. The early Christians did not excel in literature and art, as the lack of literary style in the Greek New Testament and the rude frescoes of the Roman catacombs show. Often Christian artists took statues of Apollo or Mithraic monuments and used them with slight modifications for Christian personalities and Biblical scenes. For their church services they adopted, not the classical temple, but a style of building sufficiently similar to the Roman forensic basilica to be called by the same name—a rectangular structure with a central nave higher in the roof than the two side aisles which paralleled it, and which were separated from it by colonnades or arcades. At one end was added to the rectangle a semicircular recess for the altar, and the interior unless small was covered with a flat wooden roof. Gradually the Christians came to express their new faith in hymns differing in both form and spirit from classical verse, while Lives of the saints took the place of epics and romances. Symbolism in art and allegory in literature were important Christian characteristics, the mysteries of the faith being told in parable or veiled in sign and symbol.

The voluminous Christian writers of the closing centuries of the Empire, like Jerome and Augustine and Basil and Ambrose, are called ' Church fathers ' because of their influence upon the thought and usage of the Church then and since. Jerome besides his own works made the Latin translation of the Bible, called the Vulgate, which is still used by the Roman Catholic Church. The name ' Church father ' is indeed applied to all early Christian writers, including, after the Roman Empire had fallen, many like Gregory the Great, and the term ' patristic literature ' is used to cover their writings. Augustine once said " The authority of Scripture is higher than all the efforts of the human intelligence." This was a hard saying for experimental science or rational philosophy, but represents fairly well the attitude of patristic literature, which is based largely on the Bible and is concerned chiefly with religious matters.

Augustine, for example, had little interest in or knowledge of natural science ; he more often picked up some of its errors and superstitions than he appreciated its true merits and purpose. A work like his *City of God*, however, digresses on many miscellaneous topics, such as marriage, the stature of the antediluvians, the age of Methuselah, Noah's ark, monstrous races of men, the Antipodes, Hebrew the original language of the human race, Europe, Asia, and Africa, human transformations into animals, the Erythræan sibyl, whether Hebrew learning is older than Egyptian, early Christian persecutions, torture, society, international law, and what costume a Christian may wear. From such passages a reader could gather considerable information or misinformation without having to read classical authors. And on almost any page of *The City of God* could be found a quotation from Vergil, although Augustine at times had conscientious scruples about his fondness for the great Latin poet.

THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE

In short, while Christianity turned its back upon much in classical civilization, it also retained a considerable amount of ancient culture into the Middle Ages. This residue has well been called ' the classical heritage.' We must keep in mind, however, that it was the last and most threadbare and decaying stage of classical culture that most influenced early medieval Christian society. But the Latin language was to be preserved in writings by the clergy and some of the Latin literature was still read. Greek philosophy had greatly influenced Christian theology already, and there were survivals from pagan mythology and festivals in the legends and ceremonies of the Church. The administrative divisions of the Roman Empire had been closely copied in the ecclesiastical organization. When Valens divided Cappadocia into two provinces in 372, it meant that there would henceforth have to be two archbishops there instead of one ; and in 451 the Council of Chalcedon definitely ruled that every town which the emperor raised to the rank of a city thereby acquired the right to a bishop. In France to-day the sees of bishops still correspond closely to the sites of Roman municipalities, where, before Christianity became the State religion, there had been a pagan *flamen* for the cult of the emperor. Not only did the Roman law influence the decisions rendered in the episcopal courts, but its very phraseology can be traced in doctrinal statements made by the Papacy. Finally, the city of God kept for its capital that same Rome which had for so long ruled the world.

Ere long Rome would resume its conquests, the invading barbarians would yield to its control, and the pope would begin the building up of a power almost as absolute and extensive as that of the Roman emperors in their prime—in some respects, indeed, more extensive and absolute. There had been eight hundred years between the sack of early Rome by the Gauls and the recent entry by the German Alaric. Over a thousand years were to elapse between the pontificate of Leo the Great and that of Leo X, when the first successful revolt against Roman Catholicism was initiated by another Teuton, Martin Luther. The long intervening period is that of the remainder of this book, and all through those centuries we shall constantly meet the power of the city of God.

CHAPTER VII

GERMAN KINGDOMS IN THE WEST

OF little account compared with the Church, before which opened so impressive a future, or with the great Empire, whose glory now lay in the past, were the crude kingdoms of the present that the invading barbarians had founded in the West. In many respects these states were mere fragments of the preceding Empire, going on from the momentum which it had given them, rather than from any political capacity or civilizing power on the part of the newcomers. We note, for one thing, that all the barbarian kingdoms which in any true sense could be called states were upon Roman soil. Attila's empire had not been, but it had lasted only so long as life was in his commanding person. It took a Roman population and ordered society, a Roman civil service, Roman walls and roads, though they might be in ruins, to keep any sort of government going at that time. Yet we note further that all these states were German kingdoms. Huns, Slavs, and Alani founded no states at this time that have left records or are worth studying. The Germans were farther advanced on the road toward political organization and settled life than any of the other barbarians, and showed themselves capable with Roman help of keeping some sort of government and society in existence into the sixth century.

The founding of the kingdoms of the Burgundians and Franks in Gaul, of the Visigoths in South-western Gaul, of the Vandals in Africa, and of the Ostrogoths in Italy has already been narrated in the chapter on the barbarian invasions. Only approximate dates can be given for the beginning of some of these states, since at first they were nominally still parts of the Empire and only gradually asserted their complete independence. At their greatest extent the Vandals held North Africa from the Atlantic to Tripoli, the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, and for a brief interval Sicily. Under their rule Rome's ancient enemy, Carthage, became again the capital of an independent sea power. The varying extent of the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul has already been set forth in speaking of the conquests of Clovis. The West Goths began to occupy Spain under their king, Euric, before 484, but it was a long time before their kingdom covered the entire peninsula. Petty independent Roman rulers held out here and there, and the Suevi in the North-west were not conquered and absorbed until 585. The Ostrogothic kingdom under Theodoric included, besides Italy and Sicily, Provence, the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, and considerable territory north-east of Italy. The Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms ended in 534; that of the Ostrogoths in 555. Those of the Visigoths in Spain and of the Franks in Gaul continued into the next period. Burgundy was added to the extensive Frankish dominions in 534, Provence in 536, and Bavaria in 555, but Brittany still remained independent. After Clovis, the Frankish territory tended to divide into three kingdoms ruled by different members or branches of the royal family: Austrasia on both sides of the lower Rhine, the original home of the Franks; Neustria, the region centring about Soissons or Paris which they had conquered from Syagrius; and, third, Burgundy. Aquitania, once the Gallic kingdom of the West Goths, and Bavaria also tended to break away under separate rulers. In Britain the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were devastating, conquering, enslaving, and settling at this time; as yet they had formed no kingdoms of any considerable size, but were divided into ten or a dozen little ones, of which we have almost no record. The Lombards, too, who did not enter Italy until the second half of the sixth century, will come into our story later.

Not much, it is true, is known of any of these German states. There were hardly any contemporary historical writers. The Franks fare best in this respect, and almost our only account of them is the crude, strongly partisan, and often sadly ungrammatical and incoherent chronicle of Gregory of Tours (538–594). For Theodoric, the East Goth, we have the letters of his secretary, Cassiodorus, who made some pretence to learning and literary style. Cassiodorus also composed a history of the Goths, now lost, of which some use was made by Jordanes, who wrote a history of the Goths later in the sixth century, but who was an unreliable lover of legend with no capacity for criticism or exactness. Otherwise we have to rely on incidental references to Western events in Byzantine historians and on the laws issued during this period by the German kings.

Population and Language, Religion and Administration

How large the new German element in the population of these kingdoms was, it is difficult to say. Sometimes the invading armies were not very large; Gaiseric, for instance, is said to have led only eighty thousand Vandals into North Africa, which probably had a population of millions. We must remember, however, that there were many barbarians scattered through the Empire before this. Except in Britain and North-eastern Gaul the language of the invaders had little or no abiding influence. The Salian Franks almost completely obliterated Roman civilization and Christianity from the region between the Meuse and the Scheldt, which they occupied in their first aggressions against the Empire, and where to-day is spoken a German dialect, Flemish. The Ripuarians also, in their first permanent advance west of the Rhine, seem to have dislodged Roman culture and the Christian religion, and their south-western boundary at that time coincided roughly with the present limits of the French and German languages. The Alemanni also appear to have introduced a permanent German element in the population west of the Rhine. Elsewhere in Gaul, and still more in Italy and Spain, the Latin races seem to have held their own. The German invaders usually became the aristocratic, fighting, landholding class, though some of them dropped to a lower rank in economic prosperity and in the social scale, while many of the old Roman senatorial class remained wealthy and powerful. Our information is vague as to how much land the Germans took for themselves, from whom they took it, and how it was distributed among them.

The religion of the Germans in all these states except the Frankish kingdom was either pagan or Arian, and the vernacular language was used in the church services. After the conversion of Clovis in 496 the Franks, hitherto pagan, became orthodox Roman Catholics. The conquered population was predominantly Roman Catholic in all the kingdoms, and usually little effort was made to convert them to Arianism. In Africa, however, Catholics were expelled wholesale from the two provinces which the Vandals themselves settled, and Theodoric persecuted Catholics fiercely in the last three years of his reign because the Byzantine emperor at that time was ill-treating the Arians in the East. The German kings controlled the calling of Church councils in their kingdoms except in Italy, where the pope lived, and Theodoric was careful not to interfere much in ecclesiastical affairs. Once he refused to decide a disputed papal election, telling the clergy, "It is your duty to settle this question." Most of the kings, however, were inclined to exert considerable control over the election of bishops within their realms. The Visigothic kingdom became Roman Catholic toward the close of the sixth century.

The conquest of their new homes had been made possible for the invaders by entrusting the military leadership to some one man and by combining into larger aggregations of peoples than the tribal organizations of the early Germans. When they had settled down on the new soil, it depended largely on the personality of the leader whether he could convert his office into a permanent, absolute, territorial monarchy, or whether the kingship would dwindle before the local independence of the other great landowners—the king, of course, took a lion's share of confiscated lands. Gaiseric, who founded the Vandal state in Africa and continued to rule it vigorously until 477, established a truly absolute monarchy, and alone among the German monarchs was strong enough to establish a direct male hereditary succession to the throne. He also forced the surrounding Moorish tribes to remain quiet, although they had previously given the Roman Empire much trouble and were to resume their raids after his death. Theodoric, the East Goth, whom we have already had occasion to mention many times, was another dominant personality who wisely regulated affairs, not only in his own kingdom, but in some of the neighbouring states, and who made marriage alliances with all four of the leading German states of his time, Vandals, Visigoths, Franks, and Burgundians. Clovis was another great king who, though inferior to Theodoric as a statesman, built up the Frankish power by his conquests. That power, however, was diminished under his successors by the Frankish practice of equal division of the kingdom among all the sons of the previous ruler, who then usually fought and plotted against one another, or, frequently, were assassinated by some one else. One poor king made a public speech requesting intending assassins kindly to postpone their attacks for two or three years longer, until there should be some one old enough to succeed him. Among the Visigoths, too, especially after the transfer of their rule to Spain, kings were murdered at a rapid rate and the unruly Gothic nobles were very obstreperous, although the monarchs tried to discourage conspiracies by atrociously cruel punishments.

These kings were usually glad to continue such Roman administrative machinery as they found still in existence. The Vandals kept the old divisions into provinces and left many important offices in the hands of Romans. Roman municipalities and governors of provinces continued in Southwestern Gaul under Visigothic rule. Theodoric was deferential to the Roman Senate, still appointed consuls, and at his palace at Ravenna had a court much like that of Constantinople. The Frankish kingdom, which developed later than the others, retained less of Roman methods of government. As a rule taxation, to which the Germans themselves were not accustomed, was not as oppressive in their kingdoms as in the late Empire. When the Byzantine emperor reconquered

North Africa, the overtaxed peasants sighed for the easier days of Vandal rule.

The German invaders retained their own laws and courts, and their customs were now for the first time written down —in Latin. The Roman population in cases between themselves were allowed the benefit of their own Roman law to which they were accustomed, and the German king usually had a statement of it made in writing also—generally a crude, meagre code compared with the masterpieces of Roman jurisprudence in the days of Ulpian, Paulus, and Papinian. Euric (466–484), the most notable king of the West Goths since Alaric, and under whom their expansion in Gaul reached its height and their conquest of Spain was begun, published the laws of the Visigoths, our earliest fragments of German legislation. His son, Alaric II, just before he was conquered and slain by Clovis, had issued a compilation of Roman law for the use of his Latin subjects in Gaul and Spain, which to-day is known as the *Breviary of Alaric*. The Franks adopted it for their Gallo-Roman subjects. The Salic law was written down in Clovis's reign, and the customs of the Ripuarian Franks somewhat later. About 500 King Gundobad published a code of laws for both Burgundians and Romans, but later added a special code for Romans only. About the same time in Italy appeared the *Edict of Theodoric*, a brief compilation of Roman law. No code of Vandal law is extant, but we know of particular legislation by the kings, who also frequently interfered in legal proceedings. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain and the Lombards in Italy committed their laws to writing at the end of the sixth and during the seventh century, while the customs of the Alemanni, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Saxons were not reduced to writing until the seventh and eighth centuries. In the middle of the seventh century Romans and West Goths in Spain were brought under one system of law at just about the time that they were permitted to intermarry. Under this law of Chindaswind the court organization and procedure were Roman rather than German. Documentary evidence was much used and the old German methods of proof were not recognized. Torture was employed as in the late Roman Empire.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

Everywhere economic life tended more and more to become purely agricultural. Grass grew in many erstwhile busy city streets, and ruins of once thickly peopled quarters were now hidden by vegetable gardens and vineyards. Gradually the municipal governing bodies disappeared and the bishop was alone left to look after the public welfare. Some town sites were entirely abandoned. In the country the estate of the great landholder was as prevalent as ever. Probably for a time the number of small landowners was increased by the allotment of lands to the conquering barbarians, for it scarcely seems as if all their warriors could have received large estates. But these small farmers were unable to hold their own for long, and presently began to 'commend' themselves to some powerful local magnate. On the whole the wars and lack of strong government had the effect of increasing the amount of serfdom and, at least among the conquering Franks, the number of slaves. The monastery was a local centre of economic activity of which we shall treat in the ninth chapter.

At first there was a considerable social distinction between German and Roman. Intermarriage was forbidden except among the Franks and, after 652, among the West Goths. But among the Franks the Salic law fixed the *Wergeld* of a Frank at twice that of a Roman. The Vandals regarded the North Africans as a conquered population without rights; the East and West Goths treated the Romans more as equals. About the king in each state centred a new nobility who derived their privileges from him as a reward for services rendered. Otherwise the old social divisions among the Germans and Romans were continued. The Jews, whom the Emperor Theodosius in 388 had forbidden to marry Christians, were still a social problem. After the Visigothic kingdom became Catholic, they were persecuted in Spain through a long period. Theodoric in Italy and the Frankish rulers in Gaul, where the Jews had communities, generally protected them.

Some classical culture, like Roman administration and law, still continued. The poet Sidonius Apollinaris, and other representatives of the last period of Latin literature in Gaul, found a refuge at the Visigothic court. Even in the last years of Vandal rule in Africa there was a considerable literary output. Under Theodoric in Italy flourished Cassiodorus and Boëthius. Besides his letters and Gothic history the former wrote some extremely brief text-books concerning the seven liberal arts—grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The chief value of these manuals, whose facts are poorly selected and whose style is stilted and affected, is that they show how little one needed to know to be considered educated in that barbarous period. Boëthius, in his well-known work, *The Consolation of Philosophy,* "written in sound, pure Latin prose with occasional interludes of verse," shows himself a much more talented writer with something still of true classical style.

Boëthius held a high political post under Theodoric. When a man of senatorial rank was accused of treasonable intrigues with Constantinople Boëthius spoke boldly on his behalf. Thereupon Theodoric cast Boëthius into prison, and there, while awaiting trial, he is supposed to have written *The Consolation of Philosophy.* He tells us that the real reason for the charges against him was the hatred which he had aroused by protecting the lands of the Roman provincials against the greed of the Goths. After a short trial he was tortured by twisting a cord bound tightly about his head, and finally he was killed with a blow from a club. He was regarded as a Christian during the Middle Ages, when a work on the Trinity directed against the Arians was attributed to him. But there is no Christian theology in *The Consolation of Philosophy,* which does not mention Christ or the hope of immortality, as one would expect a Christian facing death to do. Virtue and philosophy are its main themes. But if the book shows the difficulty of distinguishing Christian and pagan as late as the early sixth century, its reception later shows that medieval Christianity was broad enough to embrace such a work as its own. Boëthius was a great name in the Middle Ages for another reason, his Latin translations of Aristotle's treatises on logic and his own writings in such fields as arithmetic and music. He may be considered, then, the last great writer and the last prominent scholar of the ancient world in the West, as well as a last representative of the dignity of the Roman Senate and the rights of the Roman people.

On through the sixth and seventh centuries literature and learning continued their decline in Gaul under the Merovingian kings, as the successors of Clovis were called, and in Spain under the Visigoths. Gregory of Tours, whose history has already been mentioned, was the leading writer of this period in the one country and Isidore of Seville in the other. Isidore's chief work is his *Etymologies* (622–623), a jejune encyclopædia in one volume. It is a list of Latin words, with far-fetched and usually incorrect guesses at their etymology, and then some elaboration of their meaning, which generally takes the form of a stringing together of excerpts from earlier authors. For instance, Isidore says that the vulture gets its name from its slow flight (*a volatu tardo*), and that horses are called equine (*equi*) because those harnessed together are *equal*, being a pair and maintaining the same gait. Dry and ridiculous by turns as this meagre display of knowledge seems to the modern reader, it was superior to Cassiodorus' manuals and was the leading work of erudition produced for some centuries in the West. Almost every monastic library contained a copy of it.

There seems to have been little art in these German states except for armour, jewellery, and the work of the goldsmith. Nothing in an historical museum is more tedious to look at than a Merovingian monument, which usually takes the form of a shapeless stone with some obliterated sculpture of the rudest sort. We hear of some building, but almost none of it was of sufficient beauty or durability to be preserved to us through the ages. In Spain, for instance, where the Visigoths ruled for more than two hundred years there is not a single edifice left to illustrate their architecture, just as scarcely a word in the Spanish language can be traced back to their tongue. Theodoric probably did the most building in Italy, and his tomb and a few bits of his palace and some Arian ecclesiastical edifices of his reign may still be seen at Ravenna. These last, however, may be more appropriately considered in the next chapter along with Byzantine art. Most of his structures were composed of fragments from ruined buildings, and a bishop in an oration in his praise declared, in the usual stilted language of panegyric, "He rejuvenated Rome and Italy in their hideous old age by amputating their mutilated members." New public baths were built in Africa by the Vandal kings. Indeed, the destruction of Roman civilization in Africa is not to be laid to the charge of the Vandals, but rather to the wild Moorish tribes of the desert.

The old Roman amusements and popular customs, even when expensive, perhaps outlived the loftier elements in classical culture. The Vandal warriors by the sixth century had surrendered to the attractions of Roman luxury in food, clothing, and love-making. They lived in palaces and often attended the theatre. The mob of Rome still clamoured for its 'bread and circuses' even under the Ostrogoths. Theodoric continued the distribution of grain to the city populace, maintained the chariot races and the pantomime, and is praised by the aforesaid bishop and by Cassiodorus, both pious Christians, for having revived gladiatorial combats. We also hear of the Franks holding games in the arena at Arles as late as the sixth century.

CHAPTER VIII

JUSTINIAN AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

THE Vandal and Ostrogothic kingdoms in Africa and Italy were overthrown in 534 and 555 by generals and armies of the Byzantine emperor, who also reconquered some of the Spanish coast from the Visigoths. We therefore turn in this chapter to Constantinople and to the most famous of all its rulers, Justinian. In 518 had ended the troubled reign of Anastasius, filled with a succession of rebellions at home and wars abroad, riots in Constantinople, revolts of the Isaurians, barbarian raids in the European provinces, war with Persia in the East, a breach with the Papacy, and religious opposition among the Emperor's own subjects because of his Monophysitism. The Monophysites were those who insisted that Christ had only one nature, the divine. This view was widespread in the East and the cause of many popular disturbances, since in the East even the lowest classes took sides in theological disputes. Anastasius, however, had left a well-filled treasury behind him.

Justin, an aged soldier and orthodox Christian—judged by papal standards—now came to the throne. But the old man could scarcely read, had to use a stencil to sign his name, and knew little of politics. The real ruler during the nine years of Justin's reign and then for thirty-eight years longer in his own name was Justinian, a nephew of Justin, who had received a broad education, was trained in politics, and in 518 was already thirty-six years old. Indeed, the great historian Gibbon said that Justinian " was never young." He lived to be eighty-three. He was a man of somewhat cold and ascetic temperament, of simple manners and abstemious habits. "His stature," says a contemporary, "was neither too great nor too little, well proportioned and rather inclined to be fat; his face was round and comely; his complexion was fresh, and sometimes when he had eaten nothing for two days." He had the love of order and system and the enormous capacity for detail which have marked all great administrators, and, like Napoleon, he could do with very little sleep and hated to be idle. He gave his personal attention to every department of government, and also took a keen interest in theology. He had great power of self-control, was expert in hiding his feelings and intentions, and outwardly always gave the impression of great strength and firmness of purpose. We are told, however, that his mind sometimes vacillated at critical moments, and he was perhaps at heart more a man of intellect than of action. His actions were guided in the main, nevertheless, by definite policies and fixed principles, and it was only stress of untoward circumstance that made him hesitate. From the start he aimed to be a great emperor and he succeeded. In a church in that same city of Ravenna where are the tombs of Galla Placidia and of Theodoric, the East Goth, and which Justinian reconquered from the barbarians, are still to be seen in resplendent mosaic the official portraits, made during the course of his reign, of the 'Lord Justinian' himself and of his empress, Theodora.

For the great achievements which Justinian planned he needed a number of able assistants, and he was either fortunate enough or, more likely, wise enough to find them. In Belisarius and the eunuch Narses he had two remarkable generals. Anthemius of Tralles was the architect who had charge of his public buildings. His two chief ministers were the learned jurist Tribonian, who executed the great legal work of the reign, and John of Cappadocia, an able administrator and resourceful financier. John was accused, however, of resorting to cruel extortion to supply Justinian with the funds needed for his great enterprises, and Tribonian was charged with corruption and sale of justice. Justinian was watchful, if not suspicious and jealous, of even his most successful subordinates. Finally among his chief helpers the remarkable empress, Theodora, should not be forgotten.

The reign was also graced by an eminent historian, Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, whose works on the wars and the buildings of Justinian have contributed to his fame. Procopius, however, also wrote a venomous *Secret History,* in which he depicted Justinian as a fiend incarnate and his reign as a terrible orgy of oppression. The wild exaggeration of this work may be seen in such statements as that "more murders were committed by Justinian's order or permission than in all the ages before him," and that "he had no money himself and would suffer no one else to have any." The wives of both Belisarius and Justinian are represented as women of the worst type. Amid all the slander, however, a certain amount of probable fact can be selected.

THE EMPRESS THEODORA

Theodora is said to have been the daughter of a wild-beast keeper at the Hippodrome, and was for a time a very popular and fast young actress in the pantomime at Constantinople. After questionable adventures in the East she returned to the capital a reformed character. Justinian now fell in love with her, married her in 523, and she shared the Imperial throne with him from 527 to 548, during which time she is supposed to have exerted a strong influence over him in political and religious matters. Procopius admits that she "had an excellent face, and though her person was small, yet she was exceedingly well shaped; her complexion was neither too white nor too red; her eyes were extremely quick, and she cast them a thousand ways at once." According to Procopius, Justinian and Theodora made it a regular policy to pretend to disagree in matters of State and to side with different parties, while really they always worked hand in glove with each other, betrayed their associates freely to each other, and thus learned the secrets of their enemies. Indeed, they seem to have been as well adapted to each other as the famous Jack Spratt and his wife. While the wakeful

Justinian walked the palace all night, the drowsy Theodora slept on half through the day: he was easy to see, she was very inaccessible; he merely touched his food and barely sipped his wine, she interrupted her slumbers to have a bath and breakfast and then went back to bed again, and "at dinner and at supper there was no sort of meat but she would have and that in abundance."

POLICY OF JUSTINIAN

The chief things that Justinian seems to have aimed to bring about were as follows: (1) to make the power of the emperor absolute; (2) to end the schism with the Papacy and to maintain ecclesiastical unity and orthodoxy; (3) to reconquer the lost possessions of the Empire in the West and restore the ancient Roman Empire "to the limits of the two oceans"; (4) to insure the existing Empire from attack by skilful diplomacy with the barbarians, by constructing and repairing numerous fortifications in the Balkan peninsula and throughout the East, and by avoiding war with Persia and the barbarians as far as possible; (5) to reform the Imperial administration and secure good government; (6) to finish the work which Theodosius II had barely begun in his Code of 438, and to preserve the Roman law in a permanent and consistent form; (7) to be a great builder like the emperors of old.

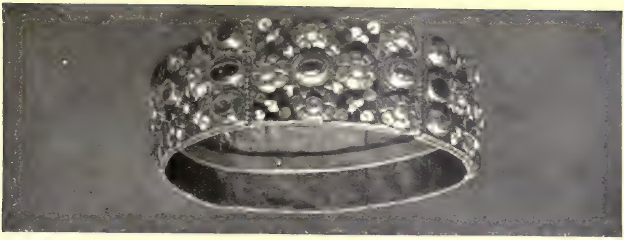
Justinian made the position of the emperor even loftier than it had ever been before. He outdid Diocletian in the luxury of his court, in the elaborateness of ceremonial, and in the use of high-sounding titles. His State papers are couched in imperious and pretentious language. In his presence men had to prostrate themselves and kiss the Imperial feet of the 'Lord Justinian.' Yet even the *Secret History* admits that he was very accessible, that no man was ever denied an audience by him, and that he received every one courteously. Indeed, so many matters were taken over by the central government and so much more business than before was transacted at his court that it was always thronged.

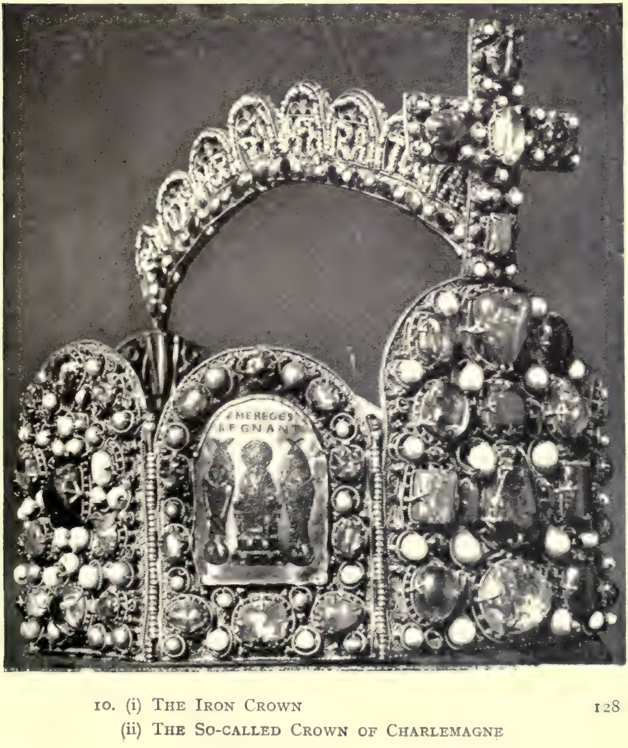
Like all the Byzantine emperors, however, Justinian had the turbulent populace of Constantinople to reckon with. In 521 Justin spent the equivalent of a quarter of a million pounds in shows for the people. Anastasius had abolished human combats with wild beasts, but they were now once more permitted. Even more than such combats, however, or than going to the theatres, of which one bore the sinister name ‘The Harlots,’ the favourite pastime of Constantinople was the exciting four-horse chariot-races of the circus, which were held, usually on Sunday, in the great Hippodrome seating thirty thousand men—for women did not attend. The spectators took sides according to the colours worn by their favourite charioteers, and occupied blocks of seats reserved for their respective colours. Thus arose the two great parties of Greens and Blues, who divided the city and who often carried their rivalry to the point of animosity and blows. These two factions could, at least on occasion, become political parties. Anastasius had favoured the Greens. Justinian and Theodora adhered to the Blues. Triumphal processions were held in the Hippodrome; also the Emperor was a frequent and interested spectator of the races; and the people thus had a chance upon this informal occasion to let him know how they felt. Usually he was applauded, but sometimes was hissed, ‘boo-ed,’ or made the target of saucy remarks and of complaints about the conduct of the government.

Sometimes a serious riot occurred, if not in the Hippodrome during the performance, then afterward in the streets. In 532 both Greens and Blues became offended at the city prefect, and then demanded the dismissal of both Tribonian and John of Cappadocia, and were not satisfied even with that. When troops were sent against them, they drove the soldiers back to the Imperial palace and set the city on fire. Justinian made a personal appeal to them in the Hippodrome, but the frenzied crowd refused to accept his promises and proclaimed a rival emperor. Justinian thereupon became thoroughly alarmed and was inclined to leave the city. But Theodora made a courageous speech to his council declaring that she would not flee; Narses went out to win back some of the Blues by a discreet distribution of cash; and Belisarius and Mundus with barbarian mercenaries slaughtered the throng in the Hippodrome. From the cries of "Beat them!" which had been raised by the mobs, this six-day disturbance is known as the Nika riot. For some years afterward Justinian discontinued the games of the circus, and instituted a number of new administrative measures intended to make the city more orderly henceforth. But before his long reign ended the Blues and Greens were at it again as vigorously as ever.

THE PAPACY AND JUSTINIAN

Almost the first act of Justin's reign was a reconciliation with the Papacy, followed by a persecution of the Monophysites. Justinian felt that the support of the pope was necessary in his reconquering of the West. As soon, however, as his generals had gained a foothold in Italy and control of the city of Rome, it became evident that Justinian intended to be master even in ecclesiastical matters. In 537 Pope Silverius, in whose election Gothic influence had been felt, was deposed, and Vigilius, the candidate of the Empress Theodora, replaced him. She also is credited with convincing her husband that it would be better policy to lessen his severities toward the Monophysites, who, despite repeated persecutions, were displaying increasing strength. Accordingly Justinian tried to win them over by an Imperial edict anathematizing the writings of certain Nestorians, which had, however, been approved by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. When Pope Vigilius opposed Justinian's edict, the Imperial troops removed him from Rome, where he was not very popular in any case, owing to such acts as killing a notary with a blow of his fist and ordering his own nephew to be flogged to death. The Pope was taken first to Sicily, then to Constantinople, and was ready by the time he arrived there to give in to Justinian. But he soon repented of this decision, and the remaining seven years of his pontificate were spent in a vain effort to wriggle out of the position to which he had committed himself by solemn vows and written statements.





+ ME REGES
REGNANT

10. (i) The Iron Crown

(ii) The So-called Crown of Charlemagne

He was kept a virtual prisoner at Constantinople much of the time, was threatened with force when he fled to sanctuaries for safety, and finally was banished to a desert island. The fifth œcumenical council of the Church, held at Constantinople in 553 in the new church of St. Sophia, supported Justinian; and those clergy who sided with Vigilius were punished with stripes, imprisonment, exile, and deposition. Vigilius himself in the end submitted, but by so doing lessened the authority of the Papacy in the West, where the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia termed him a traitor to orthodoxy and initiated a long schism. During the remainder of his reign Justinian controlled the elections of popes and Church affairs generally.

In short, Justinian was as autocratic in religious as in political matters and acted as if supreme head of the Church. But he was also as eager to forward the interests of Christianity as he was to restore the power of the Roman Empire. He was generous in gifts to churches and monasteries, zealous in encouraging missionaries to the barbarians, and severe in legislation against pagans and heretics. He has the discredit of having closed the schools of philosophy at Athens and of confiscating the endowments even of Plato's Academy and the funds whose incomes supplied the salaries of the professors, who themselves fled to the Persian court. In Justinian's old age, when he had lost interest in wars and in the details of the defence of the Empire, which had once so absorbed his attention, he still loved to engage in theological discussions and was still intent upon making his people one in faith and doctrine.

Justinian's trouble with the Pope illustrates the extreme difficulty of holding together in one Church the two halves of the Christian world in East and West. It has been estimated that Constantinople was at variance with Rome over religious matters nearly half of the time between 337 and 878. The eighth and last council in the East which is accepted as œcumenical by the Roman Church was that held in Constantinople in 869. The final schism did not come until 1054, but there had been little true unity for a long time before.

Ever since then, despite one or two attempts at reunion, the Roman Catholics have been distinct from Greek Catholics and from Russian Christians.

RECONQUEST OF NORTH AFRICA

Hilderic, the weak king of the Vandals from 523 to 530, had been favourable to the orthodox Catholics rather than to the Arians, and friendly to Justinian, whose overlordship he recognized nominally. When the Vandals, dissatisfied with his rule, deposed him, and made Gelimer their king, Justinian had a pretext for interference. Belisarius, with an army of some twenty thousand whose chief strength lay in its heavy-armed mailed cavalry (*cataphracti*), quickly defeated the Vandals in two battles, and Gelimer surrendered in 534. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles were also occupied by Justinian's lieutenants, and the spoils taken from Rome in 455 were recovered. The Moors or Berbers, however, who had already been winning their native soil back from the Vandals, maintained a stubborn resistance for fourteen years more. Justinian was never able to conquer much of Mauretania, the westernmost stretch of North Africa and equivalent to modern Morocco. But he held Ceuta, the important citadel guarding the Straits of Gibraltar. He thoroughly fortified the frontier of what he had gained—a great labour, since the Vandals had razed the fortifications of most towns except Carthage. Huge ruins remain to-day to show on how vast a scale the work was done. The African provinces had suffered terribly during the long struggle with the wild Berbers, and complained of the heavy taxation of Justinian's officials. We may get some idea of the population of North Africa at this time from the exaggerated complaint of the *Secret History* that five million people were slain in the course of its conquest, and from the large corps of officials employed in governing it. At the head was the Prætorian prefect, later known as the 'exarch,' who received a larger salary than did all the members of his staff together. Beneath him were his staff of about four hundred persons, seven governors with fifty helpers each, and six dukes with forty clerks apiece in charge of the frontiers—altogether a thousand officials. Justinian did what he could to restore the prosperity of Byzantine Africa, and embellished Carthage with a number of new buildings.

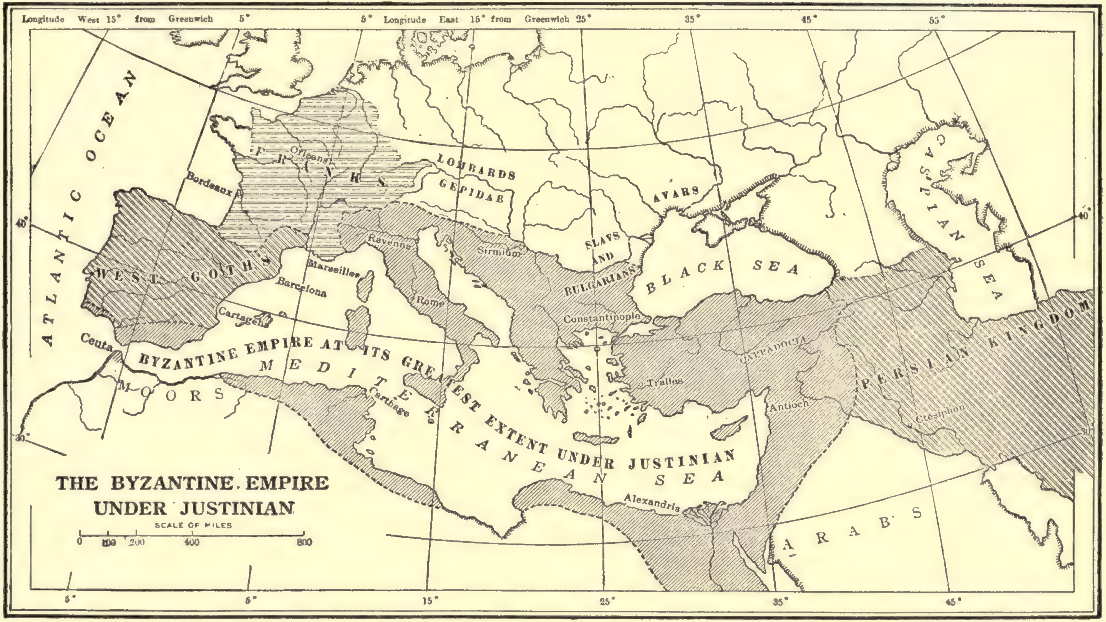
RECONQUEST OF ITALY

When Justinian undertook his war against the Vandals, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy was ruled by a young king whose mother was well disposed toward Justinian and who allowed Belisarius to use Sicily as a base of operations against Africa. Her son had disgusted the Gothic chiefs by crying when his teacher whipped him; but the manly education which they insisted upon giving him had the opposite effect of making him too tough; and his vicious ways caused his death a few months after the Vandal king surrendered to Belisarius. The queen-mother succeeded in marrying the next candidate for the throne, her cousin, but presently he had her strangled. This gave Justinian an excuse for declaring war. Belisarius, helped by the Franks, whom Justinian's clever diplomacy induced to invade Provence and the north of Italy, and by another Byzantine general who conquered Dalmatia, but hampered by Narses, whom Justinian sent out for a time with another army to spy upon him, won a series of successes from 535 to 540 culminating in the capitulation of Ravenna. But then under a new king, Totila, the Goths renewed the struggle, and by 551 had reconquered most of Italy and had seized Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica as well. Finally, the now aged Narses defeated and killed Totila in 552, and by 555 resistance was practically at an end, and the Franks and Alemanni, who had taken advantage of the disorder to ravage Italy, had been driven out. But Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia were lost to the Empire, and in 568 the Lombards began their successful invasions and partial conquest of Italy. Meanwhile Justinian had no thought of setting up again a Western emperor; Italy, like Africa, was ruled by an exarch subordinate to Constantinople, and the days of the Roman Senate were over. This Exarchate of Ravenna, though soon greatly reduced in size, lasted for a long time after the Lombards entered Italy. Ravenna itself did not fall until 751, and the Byzantine Empire held Sicily, parts of Southern Italy, and other scattered points on the coast, like Venice, on into the tenth and eleventh centuries.

A considerable strip of South-eastern Spain was also seized by Justinian, when a usurper appealed to him for aid against the Arian king, who was persecuting his Catholic subjects. In the course of time, however, this territory gradually reverted to the Visigoths. But Justinian had almost succeeded in bringing the coasts of the Mediterranean within the Empire, and he assumed by virtue of his generals' conquests a series of titles such as *Africanus, Vandalicus, Gothicus, Alemannicus, Francicus, Germanicus.*

JUSTINIAN AND THE BARBARIANS

Nominally the Balkan peninsula east of Dalmatia and Pannonia had formed a part of the Empire at Justinian's accession, but barbarians had been plundering it almost at will. He now filled the entire region from the Danube to the Sea of Marmora with lines of forts, and here, as on all his frontiers, he revived the old Roman system of entrusting the defence of the border to troops levied from that province and settled upon lands granted to them upon the very frontier. The armies of Belisarius and Narses, on the other hand, were largely recruited from barbarians outside the Empire. Justinian also relied upon a very ingenious and complicated diplomacy in dealing with the barbarians. We have already seen his skill in making friends in the royal houses of Africa, Italy, and Spain, and then in discovering plausible pretexts for conquest. He dazzled the simple ambassadors of the savage tribes upon his borders by the splendour of his court when they came to Constantinople, and gratified their kings with presents, favours, and titles. But he was also constantly setting them upon one another and thus keeping them occupied so that they might not invade his territory. His alliances extended to Æthiopia, Abyssinia, and the Upper Nile. This policy was expensive, however, since the bar-



THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
400
800
Longitude West 15° from Greenwich 5°
5° Longitude East 15° from Greenwich 25°
35°
45°
55°
40°
30°
5°
5°
15°
25°
35°
45°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANKS
Orleans
Bordeaux
WEST GOTHS
LOMBARDS
GEPIDAE
AVARS
SLAVS AND BULGARIANS
Ravenna
Sirmium
Marseilles
Barcelona
Cartagena
Rome
Ceuta
MOORS
Carthage
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Tralles
CAPPADOCIA
Antioch
Ctesiphon
PERSIAN KINGDOM
BYZANTINE EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT UNDER JUSTINIAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Alexandria
ARABS

barians would not do his bidding without subsidies. But what especially hampered Justinian in his schemes for extending and strengthening the Empire was the hostility of the Persian kingdom on his eastern frontier. Wars which were none of his seeking and which lasted from 524 to 532, from 540 to 545, and from 549 to 562, ended by his agreeing to pay Persia an annual tribute. Meanwhile he had been forced to draw away so many troops from the northern frontiers for these Persian wars and for the long-drawn-out conquests of Africa and Italy that the Huns, Slavs, and Bulgars were able to make incursions across the Danube on an average once in every four years of the reign. In the end they were always driven back, but sometimes got as far as the Isthmus of Corinth or the environs of Constantinople. In his old age Belisarius gained his last laurels by repulsing a great invasion of the Huns in 558.

The original Bulgars were nomads like the Huns and followed them into the Pontus Steppe at a somewhat later date. They first appeared south of the Danube toward the end of the fifth century. As the Huns a century before had conquered many German tribes and driven others into the Roman Empire, so now the Bulgars carried the Slavs with them in frequent raids across the Danube. Though originally the masters, the Bulgars were eventually to adopt the language and customs of the Slavs, and fuse with them into the Bulgarian nation that we know to-day.

The early history of the Slavs is uncertain. They are classed as of Alpine race, and their closest racial affiliation seems to be with the Celts ; they speak languages of the Indo-European group. They include Letts and Lithuanians near the Baltic Sea as well as the Russians and the Slavs south of the Danube. Several centuries before our era the Germans had pushed them back east of the Vistula, but in the early centuries of our era the Slavs appear to have multiplied rapidly in numbers and to have expanded widely over Eastern Europe. They were an agricultural peasantry, inferior to the Germans, however, in their vegetarian diet and lack of domestic animals to aid their labours. Also political and social institutions were little developed among them, and while they were kindly, thrifty, and inured to hardships, they were rather wanting in enterprise and aggressiveness, and were fonder of music than of warfare. Many of them became a subjected peasantry, toiling under the yoke of the nomads from the East, but others seem to have learned from their invaders the lesson of fighting and ravaging, and to have become invaders themselves when the East Goths left the Balkan peninsula free for new plunderers and occupants. Procopius speaks of the Slavs especially in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia.

Toward the close of Justinian's reign two important changes occurred in the barbarian world. The White Huns or Ephthalites, a barbarian tribe in the Oxus basin beyond the Persian kingdom, which they had often distracted by their attacks from its aggressions against the Byzantine Empire, were overthrown by the Turks, who were later to affect European history so profoundly. At the same time another wave of Asiatic nomads, the Avars, began to roll westward. Justinian in his last years paid them a yearly subsidy as a reward for defeating the Bulgars and Slavs who had been attacking his territories. Soon after Justinian's death they fought under their khagan, Baian, against the Franks in Thuringia, and then combined forces with the Lombards to defeat the Gepidæ on the upper Danube. The Lombards then descended from Pannonia upon Italy, while the Avars absorbed the territory of the Gepidæ and occupied the plain of present Hungary. Soon they came to tyrannize over a much greater region, for the Germans in pushing west and south had left Central Europe open. During the remainder of the sixth century Avars wintered yearly in the neighbourhood of modern Nürnberg in Northern Bavaria; their sway at its height probably extended from the Baltic Sea to Sparta and from the Tyrol to Russia. But by the eighth century their power began to decline.

REFORMS IN INTERNAL GOVERNMENT

Returning to Justinian, we have to note some of his administrative reforms. He abolished the sale of offices—a practice liable to lead the purchaser of the office to make as much profit out of it as possible—and he raised the salaries of his governors so that they would not be tempted to steal. He suppressed a number of unnecessary offices, even including such high posts as those of the *vicarii*, and he rearranged and simplified the official hierarchy and adapted it to existing needs. He was aware that only about one-third of the taxes reached his treasury, and tried to make his officials more efficient, careful, and honest in this respect. His many enterprises were very costly, however, and although he economized strictly in certain respects, and although his officials taxed the people almost beyond endurance, he died leaving debts as against a considerable surplus in the treasury at the beginning of Justin's reign. The *Secret History* complains bitterly that he was wastefully extravagant in some things, while in others he deprived many people of their source of revenue or their customary enjoyments by his strict policy of financial retrenchment. For instance, he discontinued public shows and the free distribution of corn ; he seldom created consuls ; he reduced the soldiers' pay and the fees and pensions of lawyers and physicians and the imperial post by relays of horses. On the other hand, he tried to lessen the law's delays and to make it possible for most litigants to settle their cases without having to appeal to Constantinople and undertake an expensive visit or residence there.

Law Books of Justinian

But the great legal work of Justinian was to put the entire, living body of the Roman law into permanent and final form. That law, as we have seen, had ceased to develop, had begun to deteriorate, and would have soon died out, as did most of classical civilization, had not Justinian boiled it down and preserved it, as a housewife bottles fruit that would otherwise decay. This extremely valuable labour was performed in a few years. Lawyers were becoming lazy in Justinian's day and contented themselves with citing old statutes and authorities, instead of reasoning out the correct solution of a case for themselves. But there was often disagreement as to the authorities. Justinian felt that the law should be standardized, that one correct and official version of it should be published.

We have seen that the Theodosian Code of 438 brought together and abridged under various headings merely the legislation of the emperors since Constantine, that some of the laws ordered what others forbade, and that one cannot tell from the Code which were enforced and which were dead letters. There were similar codes of the imperial legislation before Constantine. In 528, the second year of his reign, Justinian appointed a commission of ten to collect all imperial statutes down to his own time, but to leave out repetitions and contradictions and to include only laws which were still in force. This piece of work was finished by 529.

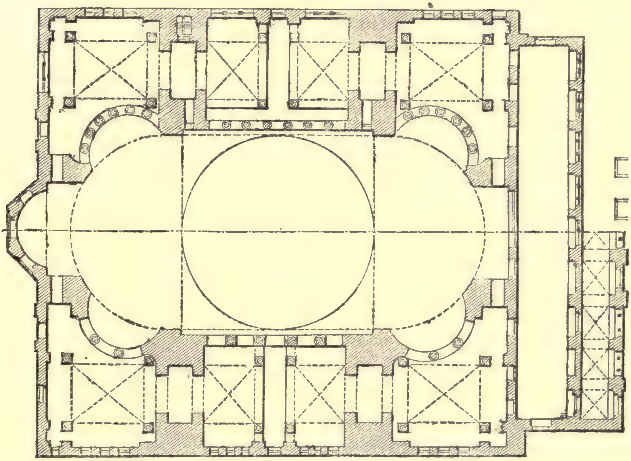
The next year Tribonian, who had been a member of the previous commission, was given full charge, with professors and practising lawyers of his choice, of the more difficult task of making a digest of all the writings of Roman jurists. Tribonian estimated that his committee, which worked in three sections, had reduced three million lines of legal literature to about one hundred and fifty thousand. From some writers they made but a single excerpt, while one third of their book is drawn from the writings of Ulpian. Here again anything obsolete or contradictory was omitted. The extracts were arranged according to their subject-matter under four hundred and thirty-two titles similar to those in the Code, although a belief in the mystic significance of numbers led to a further division of the work into seven parts of seven books each, and fifty books in all, since there was one introductory book. Henceforth this work was to be the exclusive authority and no one was to write a commentary on it. Such was the famous *Digest* or *Pandects,* completed in 533. It preserved in a practical form enough of the writings of the earlier great jurists to enable later ages to benefit by their thought and to continue to make use of the Roman law.

The preparation of the *Digest* had revealed to Tribonian the need of further revision of the Code, which was reissued in 534 in the form now extant. The other two law books of Justinian which have come down to us are his *Institutes*, a text-book for students in the law schools based upon the earlier *Institutes* of Gaius, and his *Novels*, or new laws issued during the remainder of the reign. Some of these were enacted in order to supplement or correct certain parts of the Code and the *Digest*. Such was the *Corpus Iuris*, or body of law, which medieval and modern Western Europe were to revive and use. Most of it is in Latin, but the *Novels* are mainly in Greek.

THE PUBLIC WORKS OF THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN

Justinian maintained the Roman tradition of great public works as well as of law-making. We have already mentioned the elaborate rings of massive fortifications with which he surrounded the Empire and the splendid structures with which he adorned his newly acquired city of Carthage. When the Persians destroyed the great Eastern metropolis, Antioch, he rebuilt it in magnificent style, as he did other Syrian cities destroyed by earthquakes in the latter part of his reign. But most impressive was the new Constantinople that rose after the great fire during the Nika riot. To-day little is left of its statues, porticoes, basilicas, hospitals, and the vast and richly adorned Sacred Palace of the emperor. Even of the churches only two or three remain, but among them is the greatest of all, St. Sophia.

This church is the finest example of Byzantine architecture, and is " perhaps the boldest instance of a sudden change in almost every respect, whether of plan, elevation, or detail, which is known to architecture." The dome had been used by the Romans, but, as in the well-known Pantheon at Rome, had been built up directly on a foundation of thick, circular wall, so that the ground-plan of the interior was no larger than the circumference of the dome itself. Now a central dome, 179 feet above the floor, 107 feet in diameter, and 46 feet in depth, was raised high in air above the roofs of the rest of the structure, and was supported on the keystones of and by pendentives between four great round arches springing from four great piers, placed at the four corners of a square large enough to circumscribe the circumference of the dome. Pendentives are triangular segments of masonry which carry the weight of the hemispherical dome down to the four piers and which thus make the transition from the circular space above to the larger square opening below. Two of the great arches opened into half domes, beneath which, as beneath the great central dome, was open floor space. What is more, each half dome rested upon, and opened into, three smaller half domes or apses. The two great arches on the north and south sides of the dome, however, were filled in with supporting arches and columns, and beneath them were porticoes running along either side of the main auditorium. If we include these porticoes beyond the columns at either side of the open floor space beneath the domes, we have an interior 235 by 250 feet in the form of a vast nave with an aisle on either side. In this respect St. Sophia is something like a basilica, but by



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA

virtue of its central and subsidiary domes it belongs to the round or concentric style of ecclesiastical architecture.

The central dome was pierced with a ring of forty arched windows through which light flooded the spacious interior. " It is singularly full of light and sunshine," writes Procopius. " You would declare that the place is not lighted from without, but that rays are produced within itself, such an abundance of light is poured into this church." Columns and capitals have now broken away from the restrictions of the three classical Greek orders and are no longer uniform in style. Often the capitals are carved differently and have each some particular design worth noting, but this variety is not carried so far but that they harmonize. Henceforth we must speak of Byzantine as well as Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns and capitals. " Who could tell," continues Procopius, " of the beauty of the columns and marbles with which the church is adorned ? One would think that one had come upon a meadow full of flowers in bloom. Who would not admire the purple tints of some and the green of others, the glowing red and glittering white, and those too which Nature, like a painter, has marked with the strongest contrasts of colour ? " Unfortunately since the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, much of this wonderful colouring and ornamentation has been covered with Mohammedan whitewash. The mosaics of the cherubim with six wings in the pendentives of the great dome are almost the sole visible remnant of Christian decoration. Procopius finally speaks of the psychological and religious effect of the great, yet light and graceful, interior upon the beholder. " Whoever enters there to worship perceives at once that it is not by any human strength or skill, but by the favour of God, that this work has been perfected. His mind rises sublime to commune with God, feeling that He cannot be far off, but must especially love to dwell in the place which He has chosen. And this takes place not only when a man sees it for the first time ; but it always makes the same impression upon him, as though he had never beheld it before."

At Ravenna, in Italy, where the buildings of Justinian's time have remained unaltered, one can study, better even than at Constantinople and Rome, the graceful Byzantine capitals and columns and brilliant mosaics, and the early Christian basilican type of architecture. The church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, which stands three miles outside the city in a deserted plain where was once the busy Byzantine seaport, and the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna itself, are two fine sixth-century specimens of the columnar basilica adapted to Christian use. Both are oblong in ground-plan except for the large semicircular apse which protrudes at one end. Each basilica has at its side a round tower of fortified aspect, which does not, however, form an integral part of the building. Their exteriors are very plain, and the low roofs over the side aisles slant in lean-to fashion against the main body of the church. The beauty is all in the columns, the capitals, and the mosaics of the interior.

Before entering the nave one passes through a sort of portico or vestibule extending across the front of the building and known as the *narthex*. The long central nave is separated from the narrower aisle or corridor on either side by a row of slender columns connected by a series of round arches springing from their graceful capitals. Upon these slender columns and arches rest the walls of the main body of the basilica and also the roof which those walls support. Consequently the walls can neither be thick nor carried to a great height and the roof must be a light one of wood. Windows cut in the walls above the roofs of the side aisles admit light directly to the nave and form the ' clear-story ' of the basilica. Between these windows there is some space for mosaics. But especially beneath them and just above the arches leading into the side aisles is, on either side of the nave, a frieze or strip of mosaic running the entire length of the interior. Furthermore, the apse in which the nave terminates is roofed over with half a dome filled with mosaics. A mosaic is a design or picture made of small cubes of stone or glass of different colours set in the floor or wall or ceiling of a building. Those of ancient Roman times are usually patterns or pictures set in pavements, and are rather dull and colourless compared with the later Byzantine ones seen in the domes and upon the walls of Christian churches.

San Vitale, another church of the sixth century at Ravenna, illustrates the round or concentric style of early Christian architecture. It is octagonal in shape with a central dome surrounded by a lower aisle. Here again are to be seen splendid mosaics, including those of Justinian and Theodora, and beautiful capitals in the double Byzantine form of a lower part adorned with floral or other designs and an impost above upon which the arches rest. The little fifth-century mausoleum of the Empress Galla Placidia at Ravenna has already been described in another connexion, but may be mentioned again as one of the earliest distinct examples of a building in the shape of the Latin cross, although some of the early basilicas at Rome seem to have approximated to that shape by having transepts at the very end before the apse and altar. Later on, in the Middle Ages, in the time of Romanesque and Gothic architecture in Western Europe, cathedrals came to be regularly built in the form of a Latin cross.

Byzantine Art and Literature

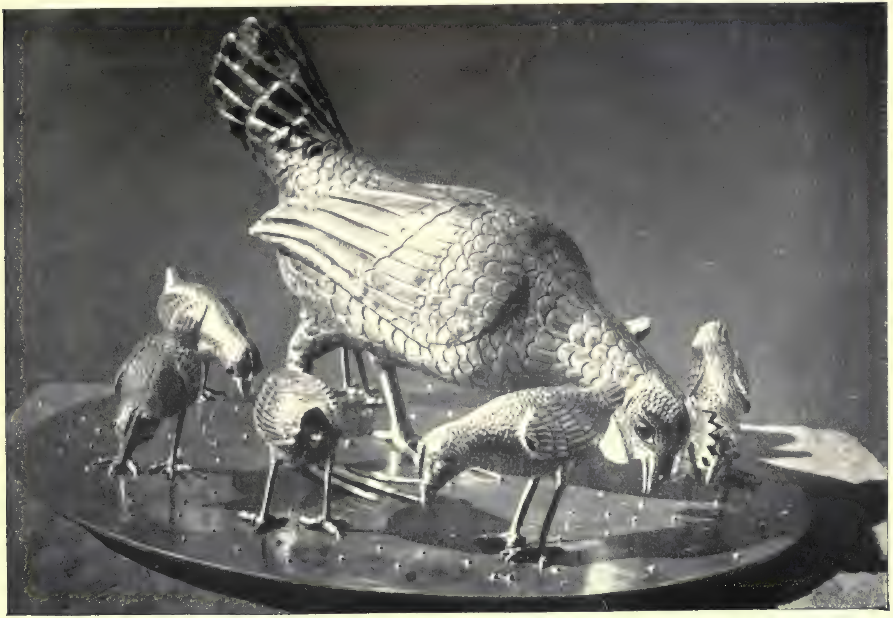
For several centuries after Justinian, Constantinople led the world in art. Almost all fine work in gold, silver, or bronze, in ivory carvings or coloured enamels, that one finds in museums of Western Europe as dating from before the twelfth century is pretty sure to be of Byzantine workmanship. The influence of Byzantine architecture, with its concentric plan, its domes and cupolas, its capitals and mosaics, its Oriental tinge, may be seen in Southern France and elsewhere besides Italy. In the Byzantine painting, sculpture, and mosaic, faces, costumes, and draperies change to suit the times, and since the motive of art is Christian and Oriental rather than classical, the artists strive to express saintliness rather than physical beauty and emphasize colour rather than form. Both the individual figures and their arrangement together are stiff but stately, like the ceremonial of Justinian's court. The Christian symbolism soon became conventionalized at Constantinople; Byzantine painting had always been more decorative than natural, and before long it lost its creative power and simply followed the previous artistic traditions and conventions. Byzantine art also suffered from the iconoclastic movement of the eighth and ninth centuries. Many of the art treasures of Constantinople were later carried off to the West, where they may be seen to-day in museums or churches, like the four bronze horses from Chios which are now at the church of St. Mark in Venice, but which used to stand above the imperial box in the Hippodrome.

In literature and learning too Constantinople led the Christian world through the eleventh century. Greek literature was there preserved and read. From 650 to 800 was a barren period, but from the ninth to the twelfth century there was much reading and writing. This culture, however, consisted largely in ' making inventories ' and digests of past Greek literature, much as Justinian and Tribonian had done with the Roman law. Such a work is the *Myriobiblos*, or ' Library,' of Photius, of the ninth century. Suidas composed a famous lexicon about 1000. A compilation of all historians was made in fifty-three books, and many other encyclopædias and compilations were produced. Such books are of the greatest value to the classical scholar, but show little new thought or life. Psellus in the eleventh century wrote on almost every subject, and sometimes gives us a vivid picture of his own society. By the twelfth century some lively historians, among them the daughter of an emperor, wrote of their own age. A number of the emperors, in fact, turned author. But as a rule Byzantine literature lacked naturalness and originality, and was written in obsolete learned Greek and not in the language of the people. Classical culture did not die out at Constantinople as it was doing in the West, but it was preserved in cold storage.

Constantinople was not only to continue a centre of art and learning, while the West sank deeper and deeper into barbarism and ignorance ; it was also to continue to be a great emporium of trade. It was a city of a million inhabitants, where the height of the houses had to be regulated, at a time when town life had almost disappeared in the West and when even Rome had shrunk to a population of a few thousands. Justinian tried to develop industry and commerce and to establish a trade route to the Far East that would not need to pass through the hostile Persian kingdom. Toward the close of his reign two missionaries introduced silkworms from the East. The commerce of Merovingian Gaul was largely in the hands of Byzantines, who had trading stations at Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Orléans. By way of Cartagena and Barcelona they traded with the interior of the Visigothic kingdom. The coins of the emperors were copied by the Frankish kings into the seventh century, and the ' byzant ' was the standard coin of the Mediterranean world. Constantinople imported grain from Egypt for its populace, who also ate salted provisions a good deal—fish, ham, and cheese. The city had a good fresh vegetable market, however, and a large trade in wine. The chief articles of manufacture at Constantinople were its fine cloths, silks, or silver and gold brocades. But the finest fabrics, made in the imperial workshops, were not allowed to be exported, and left the city only as gifts from the Emperor to foreign potentates.

Weakness of the Byzantine Empire after Justinian

The latter part of Justinian's reign was a rather gloomy period, when the old Emperor, who came to care less and less for the things of this world, neglected the army and other departments of the government. A destructive plague, which prevailed for four years, and, according to Procopius, killed the best and left the worst men, perhaps made the difference between the earlier period and the close of his reign. Under his successors things went from bad to worse. While the Lombards were overrunning Italy and the Visigoths were recovering the south-eastern coast of Spain, the Persians and northern barbarians nearly destroyed the Empire. Justinian's immediate successor discontinued the tribute paid to the Avars, and also rushed into a war with Persia (572–591). Both acts had dire consequences. The Persians took Antioch and other Syrian cities and captured nearly three hundred thousand prisoners. When news came that they had also



11. Theodelinda's Hen and Chickens

seized a city supposed to be impregnable, where the Byzantines had stored a vast amount of treasure, the Emperor went insane. The interval before the next Persian war was filled with wars with the northern barbarians, and when the Emperor Maurice ordered his troops to winter north of the Danube, he lost his throne. During the following reign of terror of the monster Phocas (602–610) the whole Empire seemed in a state of anarchy, and at first there was no improvement under his successor, Heraclius. Another war with the Persians (603–628) had begun, and the Persians were even more successful than before, taking Damascus and Tarsus as well as Antioch and occupying Egypt as well as Syria and Palestine, carrying off the holy cross from Jerusalem, and penetrating Asia Minor to the island of Rhodes and the city of Chalcedon. Moreover, Heraclius came near losing both his life and his capital in an ambush which the khagan of the Avars laid when they were holding a conference just outside Constantinople. The Emperor, with his crown under his arm, barely escaped inside the walls, and the next year the city mob had to go without its free bread.

A little later Heraclius became so discouraged that he was on the point of abandoning Constantinople and returning to his native Africa. But the people pleaded with him and the Church offered its treasures to assist in prosecuting the war. He then engaged for six years in a series of victorious campaigns in the East. Meanwhile, in 626 the Avars, Gepidæ, Bulgars, Slavs, and other barbarians besieged Constantinople from the European side in co-operation with the Persians operating from Asia. Their small boats, however, were soon destroyed, and, convinced that the city could not be taken so long as it remained open by sea, they raised the siege. Two years later Heraclius concluded peace with the Persians, who returned the cross and all their conquests and captives. But Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt had suffered terribly in the long wars, and now were taxed heavily to pay for them. What is more, only five years were to pass before they would be exposed to the irresistible expansion of the warlike religion which Mohammed had been founding in Arabia.

Slavic Settlements in the Balkan Peninsula

During these Persian wars the Avars and Slavs had been scouring the Balkan peninsula, destroying towns, carrying off thousands of captives, or settling in the territory which they had desolated. From this period we may date the beginnings of the present Balkan peoples—Serbs, Croats, and Bulgarians, though the first two names are not met with until the ninth century. Sirmium, the key to the northern half of the peninsula, fell in 582. During the next century the Slavs settled in the depopulated lands south of the Danube, so that seven different racial groups of them were counted between the river and the Balkan Mountains. They also pressed south of that range into Thrace and Macedonia, and thence west into Albania, Dalmatia, and the Eastern Alps, and southward into Greece. Concerning this great change of population there is only a single contemporary source of the seventh century, but conclusions are also drawn from the relative frequency with which Slavic place-names have supplanted those of classical geography. It is also supposed that at this time the Slavs left Dacia in such numbers, to migrate south of the Danube, that the previous Roman population came again to preponderate in what is to-day called on that account Rumania. In Greece itself the ancient Hellenic language was to survive, but the population ceased to be of pure Hellenic descent, and as late as the fifteenth century there were still in Laconia, the southernmost province of Greece, people speaking a Slavic dialect. Some of the Greek cities, however, remained undestroyed amid all these waves of invasion, and kept up the trade with Constantinople.

Christianity was spread among the Serbians and Croatians by Latin-speaking clergy in the period from 642 to 731. This conversion, however, was superficial, and the church service in Latin took slight hold upon the masses. It was only when the Scriptures were translated into a Slavonic version by the two brothers Constantine (or Cyril) and Methodius, and when the liturgy also was put into Slavic, that Christianity really became the religion of the people. This occurred in the second half of the ninth century under the auspices of the Eastern Church. The Croatians, however, soon returned to their allegiance to the Papacy. In 864 the Bulgarian monarch Boris I was converted to Christianity, and, after some vacillation between the Eastern Church and the Church of Rome, finally adhered to the former. He later abdicated in order to enter a monastery. The first Serbian churches were hardly big enough to hold the priest and the altar ; the people stood outside in the churchyard, which also served as a cemetery.

Though the campaigns of Heraclius did not permanently save Jerusalem and his eastern provinces, we must not belittle his achievement. For he probably did save Constantinople, which might not have held out had he abandoned it in the depths of its adversity. As it was, that great city was to endure for centuries to come, was to serve as a protection to Western Europe from attacks from the East, was to set an example of superior civilization to a barbarous world about it in both East and West, was to be a centre whence Christian missions would radiate, a preserve for classical culture and Christian art, a mart of trade, a spring of business life in the midst of general economic stagnation. To a certain extent the ancient city, if not the ancient city-state, lived on in Constantinople ; but in many respects its life and culture had been essentially altered by Christianity, though one would scarcely think of designating that immoral and luxurious metropolis as ' the city of God.'

CHAPTER IX

GREGORY THE GREAT AND WESTERN CHRISTENDOM

AFTER Justinian the next commanding personality and central figure to appear in European history is Gregory the Great, pope from 590 to 604. His father was a rich Roman noble; his mother and aunts were pious ladies who were later canonized; so that Gregory was brought up in a Christian home and given the best education obtainable in that age. Jerome and Augustine were his favourite authors, but he was trained especially in the law, and in 573 held the important position of city prefect at Rome. After his father died and his mother retired to a nunnery, he used his inherited fortune to found seven monasteries, six in Sicily, the other in his own family mansion on the Cælian Hill, where he himself now became a monk. Fastings and vigils ruined his health, and through later life he was subject to attacks of gout, acute indigestion, and slow fever. He became one of the seven deacons in the churches of Rome, and was sent as a papal envoy to urge the Byzantine emperor to rescue Italy from the attacks of the Lombards. In this capacity he resided at Constantinople six years, but failed to get help from the emperor, who was busy with the Avars and Persians. Gregory did not learn Greek during his stay at Constantinople, but employed his leisure in writing an allegorical work in Latin. He was elected pope while Rome was in the throes of the bubonic plague. Despite his asceticism, Gregory made many useful friendships with the great in both Church and State; he knew the value of liberal hospitality, and how to make agreeable presents to the rich and powerful as well as to dispense charity to the poor and needy.

Through the early Middle Ages, as both imperial and municipal administration disappeared in the West, it became increasingly the tendency for every conscientious and industrious bishop to look after the political and social as well as religious welfare of his flock. For example, the bishop would take charge of the aqueducts which supplied the city with water. Similarly, Gregory, after he became pope, tried to feed the hungry populace, to relieve the sufferings of the city poor and of the war refugees, to ransom Christian captives, and to allay the ravages of the plague by leading religious processions. The exarch at Ravenna found it difficult because of the Lombards to exercise any close control over the west coast of the peninsula, and the Pope's political influence increased in consequence.

Gregory also acted as the landlord of large private estates which the Roman Church already owned in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and even in Gaul, Africa, and Illyricum. He was an excellent business man, with as great a genius for small details as Justinian, and he watched very carefully over this private patrimony of the popes, writing frequently to his agents in distant provinces and demanding full reports and strict accounts from them. While he insisted upon the proprietary rights of the Church he wished to be just to every one, to have none of the corruption and oppression that we have seen disgraced imperial taxation, and to be merciful and charitable to the poor and unfortunate. Gregory had serfs, if not slaves, upon his estates, like all the great landlords of this period.

Gregory wrote letters not only to his real-estate agents and to the overseers of his serfs and tenants, but also to numerous imperial officials great and small throughout the West, and to the emperor himself concerning these same men. He watched and advised them even in their political actions, and constituted himself a kind of imperial minister of the West. They took his advice, too, because it usually was sound counsel. When the exarch did little or nothing for Central and Southern Italy, Gregory stepped in and performed his duties for him.

The Lombards had been in Italy for over twenty years when Gregory became pope. After the death of Alboin, who had led them into Italy, they remained for ten years without a king, and were ruled instead by some thirty-five dukes in as many different districts. Then the nobles elected a king again in the north, which on that account has since been called Lombardy; but the Duchies of Friuli in North-eastern, of Spoleto in Central, and of Beneventum in Southern Italy remained practically independent, and other dukes occasionally gave the king trouble. The emperors were too much occupied at home to send adequate forces against the Lombards, and yet would not make peace with them, although the exarch at Ravenna could not protect Rome and Naples. Gregory, on the contrary, favoured coming to terms with the Lombards. In 592, in order to save Rome, he made peace on his own authority with the Duke of Spoleto. Next the King of the Lombards besieged the city, but Gregory by a personal interview persuaded him to withdraw, and vainly urged the emperor to make peace with him. At last in 599 peace was made. When the war was resumed in 601 between the Empire and the Lombards, Rome seems to have remained neutral, and Gregory rejoiced in 603 at the baptism into the Catholic faith of the heir to the Lombard throne. This, however, did not mean the end of hostilities between the Lombard kings, the Lombard dukes, the exarch, and the pope, which continued intermittently until the Lombards finally captured Ravenna in 751, and then were conquered in their turn by the Franks a few years later.

THE PAPAL POWER UNDER GREGORY

Gregory's election to the Papacy had to be sanctioned by the Emperor Maurice before he was consecrated, and he duly informed the four Patriarchs at Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem of his accession and his adherence to the teachings of the œcumenical councils. However, he abated none of the papal claims in theory and advanced them greatly in practice by his energetic activity throughout the West. It was not easy to maintain anything like a general supervision of Church affairs in those troubled times, when communication was so difficult, when Italy was thrown into confusion by the Lombards, and when the monarchs of the Franks and Visigoths tried to keep their clergy under their own control. Even in Gaul, however, Gregory interfered occasionally in Church matters, while in Imperial Africa he was able to make his authority generally felt, although even there he had to abstain from judging some cases because of the difficulty in securing adequate information. He distinctly advanced, nevertheless, the jurisdiction not only of his own, but of ecclesiastical courts generally. Especially in Italy and Sicily he made use of the stewards of his estates to maintain discipline in churches and monasteries, to fill vacant bishoprics, and to prosecute heretics. The Archbishop of Ravenna, supported by the exarch, refused in practice to take orders from Gregory, but even he admitted the papal claims in theory, writing to Gregory in this strain: "How could I possibly venture to oppose that most holy see which transmits its decrees to the Church universal?" and "The providence of God has placed all things in your hands." The Archbishop of Dalmatia, after a long controversy, had to lie prone on the paving-stones of Ravenna for three hours and cry out, "I have sinned against God and the most blessed Pope Gregory." The Patriarchs of Constantinople at this time evoked strong protests from Gregory by assuming the title 'Universal.' Gregory's successors in the Papacy during the seventh century seem to have lacked his ability and not to have increased the papal power; but his many-sided influence and forceful personality had set a standard which was not forgotten, especially as it remained recorded in his writings.

Writings of Gregory: Sermons and Hymns

Because of his writings Gregory ranks with Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome as one of the four great Latin doctors of the Western Church. Forty sermons are extant of the many that he preached before great crowds. He seems to have preached hell-fire a good deal, and perhaps the rough men of his time needed this. As he sincerely believed that the wars, plagues, and decline of civilization in his day meant the near end of the world, he was able to refer with the more force to the Last Judgment. Gregory usually has been represented, and usually represents himself, as a writer who paid little attention to ‘ grammar ’—that is, to literary style. Such apologetic statements are always open to suspicion, however, even when they come from a pope, and in any case show that there were critics then who still esteemed literary style. Moreover, we find Gregory himself lamenting the fact that some of his sermons had been published by monks who took down his words at the time without giving him an opportunity “ to emend them with care as I intended.” The ‘ Gregorian chants ’ approved by the Roman Catholic Church are attributed to this pope, but some doubt has been raised lately as to how much of an innovator he was in the liturgy, and the hymns attributed to him are perhaps spurious.

Besides fourteen books of letters Gregory's chief works are the *Pastoral Rule*, the *Moralia*, or commentary on the Book of Job, and the *Dialogues*. The first is an eminently practical book, instructing the bishop in the care of his flock and showing a wide acquaintance with human nature. The commentary on Job, written during his residence in Constantinople, is a good specimen of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture so much in favour during the Middle Ages. The *Dialogues* are about the lives and miracles of the saints, and introduce us to a strange world of monks, miracles, demons, and special providences. One must always be on one's guard against demons, as against germs to-day ; a woman once nearly swallowed one who was sitting on a lettuce leaf. Gregory, like the later Calvinists, delights in stories of condign punishment especially dealt out by God to heretics, blasphemers, and the irreverent ; in his pages even those who carelessly disinter the bones of martyrs meet with sudden death. The object of many of his anecdotes is to stimulate his readers to venerate the relics of the saints, to accept such beliefs as that the souls of the dead can be saved by saying masses for them, and that the sign of the cross dispels demons even when made by an unbelieving Jew.

Mental Attitude of the Early Middle Ages

The frame of mind shown in the *Dialogues* was, however, characteristic of all Christian writers of that time. The same atmosphere of the marvellous, the same wealth of miracles—some of which seem childish and others immoral to the modern reader—are found in all the saints' Lives of the period, in the history of the Franks by Bishop Gregory of Tours, of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon, and of the Church in England by the monk Bede. Among the miracles ascribed to St. Columban—who died in 615, and of whom we shall presently speak—by the monk Jonas in his almost contemporary biography, are such as filling a storehouse with grain, curing a finger cut in harvesting, preventing a beer vat left open by a monk from overflowing the pitcher set beside the spigot, and causing a raven to become conscience-smitten and return a stolen glove. Gregory of Tours resembled his namesake the pope not merely in his firm belief in the miracle-working powers of the relics of the saints, so that he sought a cure for every bodily ill at the shrine of his own St. Martin of Tours, and also in the special sanctity of the persons of the clergy and the property of the Church, but furthermore in his readiness to overlook the most serious faults in rulers provided they supported the orthodox faith. Thus, the ruthless and blood-stained Clovis is a Christian hero for the good Bishop of Tours, while Pope Gregory treated the cruel and unscrupulous Frankish queen Brunhilda as the hope of true religion in Gaul, and wrote cordial congratulations on his accession to Phocas, who became Byzantine emperor by murdering Maurice and all his family. Less tactful, but more fearlessly outspoken against iniquity in high places, was St. Columban, whom Brunhilda forced to leave the monastery where he had spent twenty years because he rebuked her grandson for keeping concubines.

While Pope Gregory believed that the bones of the saints possessed marvellous virtues—a belief by no means so contrary to the science of antiquity as to that of our time—he did not, like Gregory of Tours and some other Christians, go so far as to advise against the practice of secular medicine, nor did he think that asceticism and zeal for religious observances should be carried to extremes. When a bishop had a hæmorrhage, Gregory consulted every doctor in Rome and sent him a written statement of the diagnosis and prescription of each one. He also urged him to drop all fasting, vigils, and public speaking until his health should improve. When certain zealots wished to observe the Sabbath so strictly as not to wash at all on that day, Gregory made the astute reply that he did not approve of bathing as a pleasure or luxury on any day, but that washing as a physical necessity he did not forbid even on the Lord's Day. When his missionaries began their labours of converting England, Gregory warned them that the heathen barbarians could not at once be entirely weaned from their pagan ways; that they should not destroy the old temples, but only the idols in them, in order that the barbarians might the more readily worship God in places to which they were accustomed; and that the Anglo-Saxons might continue "to the praise of God" the religious feasts at which they had been wont to sacrifice oxen to demons. In short, Gregory invariably showed plenty of common sense in dealing with any practical problem of his time.

Spread of the Benedictine Rule

Gregory was the first monk to become pope, and he is largely responsible for the general adoption of the Benedictine Rule throughout the monasteries of the West. Indeed, almost all that we know of Benedict himself is what Gregory tells us. St. Benedict of Nursia (480–543) came, like Gregory, of a noble Roman family. After three years of hermit life he gained so many followers that he organized them into communities, but his rule was not promulgated until about 529 at Monte Cassino. It does not seem to have become widely known until the time of Gregory, when Lombard attacks drove the monks from Monte Cassino to Rome. Gregory gave his hearty approval to the Rule, and it was spread to England by his missionaries. It did not reach Gaul, however, until the seventh century, and no trace of it is seen in Spain during the Visigothic period. But eventually it was to be universally employed through Western Europe, and followed in thousands of monasteries and nunneries.

Benedict profited both by his own experience and that of others, making discriminating use of various earlier rules, in drawing up his manual for the army of the Church—for ecclesiastical writers were constantly comparing monks and hermits to athletes in training or soldiers under discipline. He had begun his own ascetic career as a recluse, and once rolled about naked in a thorn-bush, but he evidently came to the conclusion that the best religious life, at least for the average man, was in an organized community where he could practise the virtues of obedience, silence, humility, and service of others. "Let no one follow what he thinks most profitable to himself, but rather what is best for another." The Rule is made up partly of general moral and religious precepts like that just quoted, which appeal to the better nature or ascetic enthusiasm of the reader ; partly of specific regulations which remind one of a boarding-school or military camp. The monks are instructed when they must stop talking, when they must go to bed, where and how they are to sleep, when they are to rise for prayers in the night, when they must be up in the morning, and what schedule of devotional exercises, manual labour, and reading they must carry out during the day ; also, whose weekly turn it is to cook and wash or to read at meals, at what hours the meals shall be and of what diet they shall consist, and what clothing the monks are to wear. There is a list, not too long, of penalties for tardiness or mistakes either in the devotional exercises or in other work. Then there are careful exceptions made for special cases, for very old monks, very young monks, sick monks, new monks, monks away from the convent on a journey or distant piece of work, priests who reside in the monastery, pilgrim monks or secular guests who may stop there for shelter or entertainment, artificers employed at the monastery, and the special monastic offices of cellarer, doorkeeper, and provost.

At the head of the monastery is an abbot, elected for life by the monks, whom all must obey, through whose hands all letters to the monks from without must pass, and who is urged to be severe and impartial in rebuking and punishing all offences. The individual monk is to have absolutely no personal property, and the social classifications of the outside world are not to be regarded in the cloisters, where the monks are to rank only by seniority and as they may be promoted or degraded by the abbot. Each monastery is to be self-governing and independent except for the episcopal supervision of the bishop in whose diocese it is located ; the Benedictine Rule contemplates no general grouping of monasteries into orders or provinces, no placing of one abbot above another. Numerous writers have united in extolling the Rule for its moderation and practicability, its avoidance of the extremes of asceticism found in Eastern monachism, its Roman genius for organization and regulation, its suitability to Western conditions and spirit, its psychological insight and lofty moral standard, its glorification of manual labour, which slavery had cast into disrepute in antiquity. The reader can easily test these conclusions for himself and learn of the details of the monks' life by reading in English translation this famous document under which lived so many men through many centuries.

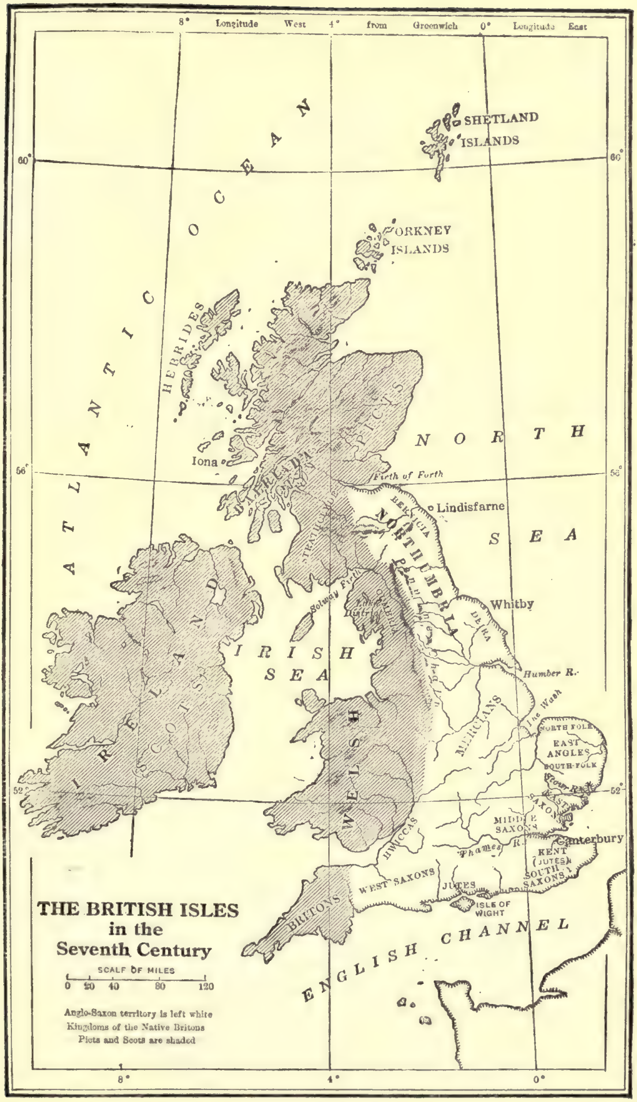
The monastery had the advantage of being an orderly community in the midst of a disordered world. When city, trade, industry, emperors, and kings were all failing to hold society together, and only the great landholder seemed able to keep a certain local area and social group under his control, the Church showed its power to establish close settlements where a number of men could live in harmony and serve one another. A corporation is likely to have an advantage over the individual, especially in economic matters. Moreover, public opinion venerated the monastery as the resort of holy men ; it was often spared in war, and often received bequests of land and other privileges. The monks were not supposed to be primarily agriculturists or preservers of ancient manuscripts ; their main business was prayer, praise, and devotion ; but they usually did their other work well, since they did it not for a lord, but for the Lord. The Rule did not explicitly encourage monks to engage in literary or artistic work; it merely prescribed a good deal of hard manual labour and a little reading. Cassiodorus, however, had in his old age, at about the time of Benedict's death, established a monastery to which he gave his own large library and where the monks gave much time to study and the copying of manuscripts. And as time went on many Benedictine monks devoted more time to such pursuits and less to outdoor work than their Rule prescribes. The abbot, who was usually a man of superior training and intellect, would employ the best methods of agriculture and husbandry upon his estates, and see to it that intelligent copying and painting were done in his *scriptorium*. Thus the monks did better agricultural and industrial work than most laymen in the world about them, and, while at first they did not do so much educational or literary work, they did much more than any one else at that time. The monks were, therefore, of great importance in the economic and intellectual development of the early Middle Ages. Almost the only records of real-estate and business transactions which have come down to us from that time are those of the monasteries, which, it is true, outlived most private houses and families, but whose abbots would seem to have been more systematic business men than their contemporaries. Almost the only records of contemporary events that we have for the period are the monastic annals and chronicles. They are meagre and unsatisfactory records—a sentence or two per year where to-day we have a huge file of 365 newspapers. But if we can scarcely call the monkish chronicler a journalist, he was at any rate the only annalist that the age knew. Besides, society had grown stagnant, and there was probably not much more to record in a whole year then than happens in the course of a modern day.

THE POPE, THE MONKS, AND MISSIONS

The monks were pre-eminently the missionaries of the medieval Church, and Pope Gregory too gave a great impetus to the spread of Christianity. Moreover, he increased the authority of the Papacy by allying it with monasticism and by bringing new heathen lands under its control.

Under Gregory's guidance began the conversion of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who had been conquering Britain piecemeal since the middle of the fifth century and blotting out the Latin and Celtic languages and the Christian religion. About 600 they were divided into a number of petty kingdoms, and the previous inhabitants of Roman Britain still held Wales and some parts of Western England. Gregory, whose custom it was to buy barbarian slave boys and give them a Christian education, had been especially attracted by the beauty of some English lads with fair hair and complexions, and determined to send missionaries to their land. In 597 a monk named Augustine landed with forty others in the Kingdom of Kent in the south-eastern corner of England. Here they soon converted King Ethelbert, whose Frankish wife was already a Christian. Their first church was St. Martin's at Canterbury, which was still standing from the days of the Roman Empire and which may still be seen to-day. Canterbury was henceforth the religious capital of England and the seat of an archbishop. Another archbishop came to be located at York in the North.

The emissaries of Pope Gregory were not the first missionary monks in the British Isles. The conversion of Ireland by St. Patrick, while the Roman Empire was falling to pieces in the West, and the peculiar clan monasteries established there have already been mentioned. In those monasteries some ancient culture was preserved, and even Greek was still studied. Over a hundred early Irish manuscripts still extant in Continental libraries testify both to the culture and to the widespread missionary activity of these Irish monks. What writings have come down to us in Old Irish are exclusively religious. The Irish monks also surpassed the rest of Western Europe at this time in illuminating manuscripts—that is, in decorating them with coloured initials, border designs, and illustrations. The Celtic peoples of the British Isles were restless in the fifth and sixth centuries, partly owing, no doubt, to the race migrations that were in process all over Europe.



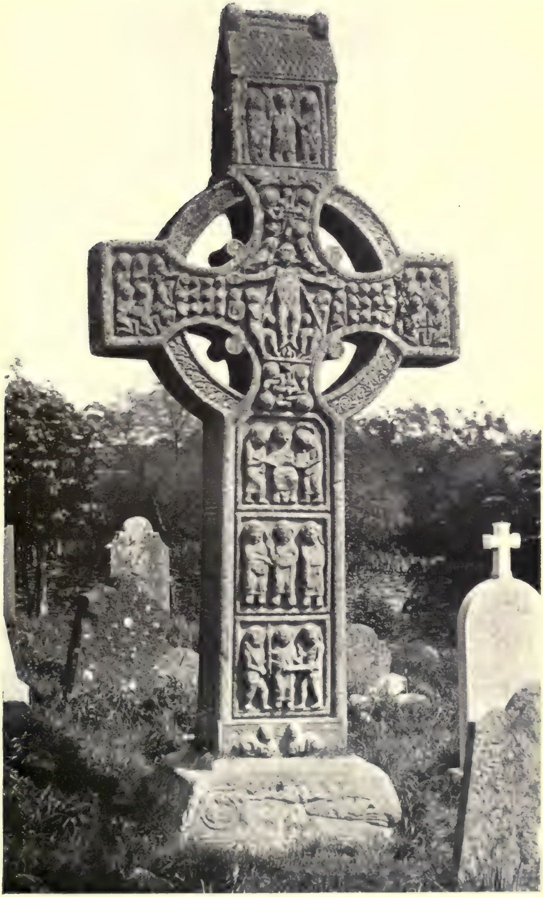
THE BRITISH ISLES in the Seventh Century

Anglo-Saxon territory is left white
Kingdoms of the Native Britons
Picts and Scots are shaded

8° Longitude West 4° from Greenwich 0° Longitude East
60°
56°
52°
8°
4°
0°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY ISLANDS
HEBRIDES
Iona
PICTS
DALRIADA
SCOTS
Firth of Forth
Lindisfarne
BERNICIA
NORTHUMBRIA
STRATHCLYDE
Solway Firth
Lake District
CUMBRIA
Pennine Range
Whitby
DEIRA
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
SCOTS
IRISH SEA
Humber R.
The Wash
MERCIANS
NORTH FOLK
EAST ANGLES
SOUTH FOLK
Stour R.
EAST SAXONS
MIDDLE SAXONS
WELSH
HWICCAS
Thames R.
Canterbury
KENT (JUTES)
SOUTH SAXONS
WEST SAXONS
JUTES
ISLE OF WIGHT
BRITONS
ENGLISH CHANNEL
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 80 120

Many natives of Britain, driven first by the Picts and Irish and then by the Saxons, crossed the Channel to the peninsula of Brittany. Among them monks were prominent, and some of these were Irish. About 500 there had been a great migration of Irish tribes, called 'Scots,' from North Ireland to Scotland, where they founded the Kingdom of Dalriada. Here about 565 came from Ireland St. Columba (521–597), who had changed his name from Wolf to Dove in token of his conversion. He founded a monastery upon the island of Iona, and then passed on to preach the Gospel among the heathen Picts. Other Irish monks went north to such distant islands of the sea as the Shetlands, Hebrides, Orkneys, and even Iceland. From Iona they spread their faith southward among the heathen Angles who had invaded Northumbria. Here the centre of monastic and missionary activity was at Lindisfarne, on the east coast, under the lead of Aidan about 635.

Meanwhile another monk, Columban (543–615), had wandered to Eastern Gaul—much of Austrasia was still pagan—and had founded monasteries in the Vosges Mountains, where his rigorous Rule was enforced. Columban did not believe in sparing the rod, and a monk who failed to say 'Amen' after the grace at meals received six blows, while a monk caught speaking alone with a woman received two hundred. He did not, however, forbid the reading of classical literature, and was well versed himself in Greek mythology and poetry. When he was driven from Luxeuil in the Kingdom of Burgundy by Brunhilda, as before mentioned, he entered the country of the Alemanni, but was banished thence in turn because of his violent attacks upon their heathen temples and idols. Then he pushed on into Italy and built a monastery in the Apennines, where he dwelt until his death. But his work went on. Despite his departure Luxeuil remained the centre of monastic life in Gaul. His disciple, St. Gall, had remained among the Alemanni, and founded near the Lake of Constance the great monastery which has been named after him, and which has had a Swiss canton named after it, and in whose library many priceless manuscripts have been preserved. Other Irish monks penetrated



12. THE CROSS OF MUIREDACH AT MONASTERBOICE 160

Germany as far as Salzburg and Würzburg. When all the Frankish kingdoms were united under Dagobert (629–639), St. Amandus went as a missionary to the Basques in the extreme south and to Flanders and Hainault in the extreme north of Gaul. Toward the close of the same century a part of Frisia beyond Flanders and the Rhine was conquered by the Franks, and the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord founded there the episcopal see of Utrecht.

The Irish monks had not been sent out by the pope, and owing to their separate development far away from the influence of œcumenical councils and out of touch with the rest of the Christian world, they differed in some of their usages from the Church of Rome, especially in their method of determining the date of Easter each year. In England these divergences led to considerable bitterness between the papal missionaries, who soon spread from Kent in the other kingdoms, and the British clergy of Wales and the Irish monks of the north, who in the course of the seventh century visited the South, East, and West Saxons. The chief stronghold of Irish monasticism continued to be in the Kingdom of Northumbria, and there in 664 the Synod of Whitby finally decided the Easter dispute in favour of the papal party. Thereupon the Irish monks of Lindisfarne withdrew to Iona. From 668 to 690, Theodore of Tarsus, a learned Eastern monk acquainted with Byzantine civilization, was Archbishop of Canterbury, and thoroughly organized and united the Church in England in accordance with Roman usage. This Church union came long before there was a united Anglo-Saxon state. The monasteries which the Irish missionaries had founded throughout Northumbria were gradually made Benedictine. In Gaul, too, the Benedictine Rule ultimately supplanted that of Columban, though some monasteries still followed the Celtic customs as late as the beginning of the ninth century. Meanwhile, in Ireland itself the south had submitted to the Papacy in 636, and the north did so in 697, and the monasteries founded by Columba in Scotland conformed in 717.

MONASTIC CULTURE IN ENGLAND

The monasteries in England not only led to the conversion of the invaders, but were the chief centres of civilization, and, like the Irish monasteries, preserved in the seventh and eighth centuries a higher culture than could be found in most Western lands. Of their teachers and writers Bede is the best known. He wrote in Latin his ecclesiastical history, which comes down to 731, commentaries on the Bible, grammatical treatises, and even some treatises in the field of natural science. He also tells us of a poet, Cædmon, who composed paraphrases of Biblical story in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. When Charlemagne about 800 wanted scholars at his Frankish court, he looked to England for them. Irish culture, too, continued for some time, and Bede praised the learning of Ireland in his day.

From an English monastery went forth in the eighth century a missionary who, building upon the foundations which the Irish monks and other earlier missionaries had laid, converted many of the Germans to the east of the Rhine, and reformed the Frankish Church in Gaul and brought it into closer relationship with the Papacy. This was Winfrith, or Boniface, the name by which he was known after his visit to the pope in 719. With the powerful backing of Charles Martel, the real ruler of the Franks at this time, as well as with the support of the pope, Boniface visited Frisia, Thuringia, Hesse, Bavaria. He reformed the Frankish Churches through councils held in Austrasia in 742 and in Neustria in 744. These synods abolished surviving heathen customs, improved the morals of the priests, which seem to have been sadly in need of correction, and systematized the Church organization. In 747 Boniface secured from the Frankish bishops a declaration of their fidelity to Rome. In 752 he anointed Pepin, son of Charles Martel, king of the Franks in name as well as in fact ; but that event must await explanation until a later chapter. The next year the aged Boniface returned to his first love in the field of foreign missions, Frisia, and in 754 was slain there by the savage heathen natives.

To the Irish Church, and especially to Columban, was perhaps due the introduction of the *Penitentials*, or books giving lists of sins with the punishment or penance for each which the priest shall require from the sinner. Such books of penance existed among the British, Irish, and Anglo-Saxons, and thence spread through the Western Church. This specific prescription of the acts of penance for their sins to rude barbarians in a brutal age by holy priests, whom they would fear to disobey, has been generally regarded as a beneficial education for them in the essentials of morals and decency at a time when the State was weak and found it hard to keep order and punish crimes.

LOMBARDS AND ANGLO-SAXONS

For a century or more after Gregory the Great we find in the four chief divisions of Western Europe four Germanic peoples: the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Lombards in Italy, and the Anglo-Saxons in the British Isles. The last two peoples, however, had succeeded in conquering only parts of the territories mentioned. And neither of the last two united their conquests at this time into a strong single state. There was but one Lombard king, it is true, but he often had to fight with the Duke of Spoleto or the Duke of Benevento. The little Anglo-Saxon kingdoms kept struggling among themselves for supremacy, and now Kent, now Northumbria, now Mercia had its brief moment of triumph. The Lombards and Anglo-Saxons had once lived near together and there are close resemblances in their laws. At first self-respecting and prosperous freemen were in the majority among both these peoples, but after they had settled on the land economic and social inequality developed among them as elsewhere at that time. The Lombard laws of the early eighth century distinguish three classes of freemen serving in the army—namely, those who are to arm themselves only with shield and bow and arrows; those who have more land and can afford a shield and spear and horse; and the richest, who must also wear a coat of mail and perhaps provide other soldiers besides themselves. The very poorest freemen, on the other hand, are excused from fighting at all, probably because they can afford no equipment that would render them of any service in battle. Instead they are to do carting for the army and work for the leaders while they are away fighting. The Anglo-Saxon conquest of England seems to have been more thorough than that of the Lombards even in Lombardy itself. The Anglo-Saxons established a Teutonic language throughout England, and later developed a literature and formed a united state and nation. Before the Lombards could accomplish this, they were conquered by the Franks, and the union of Italy was put off until the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER X

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM

WHILE monks were spreading Christianity in the West, a new Oriental religion arose in Arabia under the leadership of the prophet Mohammed, who was born about 570 at Mecca, a small trading town fifty miles from the Red Sea. Of conditions in Arabia before Mohammed we know very little. The Arabs or Saracens had made raids into the Byzantine Empire, and also had been employed by it as mercenaries. Most of them led a semi-nomadic life in their desert country, much of which is still unexplored by outsiders. From this region waves of invasion had swept over the fertile Tigris-Euphrates river-basin in ages long before the days of Greece and Rome. The Arabs could not read or write, but were fond of extemporized poetry, in which they drew a somewhat idealized portrait of themselves as generous, hospitable, truthful, and chivalrous bandits. There was no political organization. Society was in the tribal state and blood feuds prevailed between the clans. There were, however, some social distinctions and a certain amount of wealth and luxury. Slavery and polygamy both existed, and there was a good deal of sexual immorality. The various tribes differed considerably in their degree of civilization. Some had been more or less converted to Christianity or to Judaism ; others still adhered to simple and rude rites that were suggestive of primitive man's religion. On the whole, we do not know enough of religious conditions in Arabia before Mohammed to tell how far he was indebted to previous faiths and worships.

The sources about Mohammed himself are much more satisfactory, although it is hard for Western historians both to appreciate and to discount their Oriental spirit and psychology. The Koran, a collection of the prophetic utterances given out by him from time to time as divine revelations, was put together two years after his death in substantially the form that we possess to-day. Some of its passages had been dictated and preserved; others were supplied by his followers from memory after his death. It contains about two-thirds as many verses as the New Testament. From the eighth and ninth centuries come Moslem biographies of Mohammed and collections of Moslem tradition. These are necessary to interpret the meaning of the Koran, which does not date the Prophet's utterances or give them in the order of their delivery, for its chapters are arranged according to length, with the longest first. Inasmuch as some parts of the Koran enjoin what others forbid, it is important to know which passage was Mohammed's last word upon the point in question. Also the Koran is full of allusions to persons and things which were probably familiar enough at the time, but which require explanation for later readers.

PERSONALITY AND TEACHING OF MOHAMMED

Mohammed came of a prominent family of Mecca, but was early left an orphan under an uncle's care. After suffering some hardships from poverty, he became, when about twenty-five, the business agent of a rich widow, whom he presently married upon his return from a successful commercial trip to Syria. He was of medium height, with a large head and broad shoulders; and was good-looking, with large black eyes, dark brows and lashes, long hair, and a full beard from which his white teeth flashed. His hand was soft and his health delicate. We are told that he disliked strong odours, dirty clothing, and unkempt hair. He spent much time in fasts and vigils, was nervous and hysterical, often in low spirits, and subject to seizures in which he seemed to be in a violent fever. It was during these paroxysms that he was believed to be divinely inspired and that he indited portions of the Koran. He probably could not read or write, and lacked the common Arabian fondness for poetry. He was affectionate and humane by nature, but persevering in gaining his ends. His enemies have accused him of gross passion, but his defenders hold that he was always faithful to his first wife, and that of the dozen or more wives whom he had in his later years some were widows of his dead warriors whom he married to protect, while others were married to cement political alliances or in the hope of securing an heir to succeed him.

It was not until he was about forty years old that the "dreamer of the desert" began his prophetic seances and religious teaching. After four years he had won about thirty converts. Few of his early revelations are preserved in the Koran; his teaching at first was private and most of his converts were slaves and lowly persons. When these were ill-treated by the other Meccans, they fled to Abyssinia, but Mohammed's influential kinsmen continued to afford him protection. Near Mecca was held annually a festival which crowds of pilgrims attended, and in Mohammed's time they also came into Mecca to visit the 'Cube' (*Kaaba*), a building of that shape containing various sacred objects, images, and paintings. To these pilgrims Mohammed often preached, but without much success, until finally some men from Medina were impressed by his teaching and offered a refuge to him and his followers. Medina was torn by the feuds of Jewish tribes and was ready to welcome a leader from outside. Accordingly, in 622 occurred the flight, or *Hegira*, of Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Medina, an event from which the Mohammedan world dates its era. The Mohammedan year, as later decreed by the Prophet, consists of twelve lunar months, or only 354 days.

Islam is the Arabic name for the religion founded by Mohammed, and his followers called themselves *Muslimin*, or Moslems. Both words carry the idea of surrender. His ideal was submission to the divine will and a brotherhood of equals, within which there should be no dissension or injury. His early teachings emphasized that there is only one God, "the Compassionate, the Merciful," and that before every man lies a day of reckoning and final judgment. He attacked idolatry. He believed in the existence of Gabriel and other angels, but refused to recognize Christ as the son of God, although admitting that he was a prophet. Like Gregory the Great, Mohammed seems to have believed that the end of this world was close at hand, though he always refused to set a date. Like Gregory, too, who at Constantinople had strenuously opposed the doctrine that the resurrected body will be impalpable, Mohammed believed absolutely in a physical after-life. For the Arabs, whose ideas of the life after death had hitherto been rather hazy, he drew a vivid picture of the torments of the damned and the sensual delights of Paradise reserved for those who have been true believers. While, however, he both permitted and practised the previous Arabian custom of polygamy, he ordered that fornicators should be whipped, and he prohibited the exposing of infants. He also somewhat improved the position of women and of slaves in Arabian society. He enjoined frequent ablutions upon his followers, and "made the use of the toothpick almost a religious ordinance." He also forbade certain articles of food and the drinking of wine. In all this he, in large measure, may have been simply perpetuating primitive notions of ceremonial purity and taboo. Yet his religion is probably the first to emphasize physical cleanliness and to prohibit the use of alcohol. Among Christians even monks were allowed a certain amount of wine every day by the Benedictine Rule, although it forbade them to eat meat except in case of sickness. Mohammed commanded his followers to forgive those who injured them, not to seek vengeance, and to give alms to the poor. Moslems were to pray five times a day, to attend a public religious service every Friday, and to fast during one month each year from sunrise to sunset of each day. Islam has so many points in common with Judaism and Christianity that Mohammed has been charged with borrowing from both those faiths, but his knowledge of them seems to have been extremely vague.

At Medina, Mohammed and his fellow-refugees found it difficult to earn a living and soon resorted to plundering caravans for a livelihood, a practice which they justified upon the ground that the merchants were idolaters and unbelievers. They won great prestige by what seemed to contemporaries their miraculous victory in a series of single combats over the members of a larger band of Meccans who tried to check their pillaging. In Medina, too, Mohammed strengthened his authority and provided funds for his followers by exiling the hostile Jewish clans and confiscating their property. Other obnoxious individuals were assassinated, and once some 600 Jews who would not accept Islam were executed in cold blood and their women and children were sold into slavery. Thus the new religion began early to take on the ruthless and sordid features of conquest and tribute, and the persecuted Prophet rapidly transformed himself into a religious despot and national legislator. Mecca continued to oppose Mohammed with increasing forces, but he weathered her attacks and gradually won the Bedouins of the desert to his side. Finally, in 630, he entered Mecca practically unopposed and in triumph. He pardoned almost every one, and, while he destroyed idols, images, and pictures throughout the city, he preserved the famous 'Cube' and left the much-venerated black stone embedded in its wall to be kissed by future generations of Moslems from all parts of the globe. For he made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca a feature of his own religion. Mohammed defeated a hostile coalition of Bedouin tribes, and had begun raids upon the Byzantine Empire before his death in 632, but it is doubtful if all Arabia had by that time been converted to Islam.

Conquests from Byzantines and Persians

Islam was, at any rate, supreme by that time in the vicinity of Mecca and Medina, and within a very few years the astonishingly successful expeditions of the Moslems against Syria and Babylonia drew the other Arab tribes out of their deserts into a career of conquest and booty, and also into the bosom of Islam. The Moslem leader, Khalid, proved a very able general, and won a remarkable succession of victories.

Persia and Constantinople had just concluded peace in 628, after having fought each other to a standstill, if not to the point of prostration, in a long series of wars. Heraclius had recovered Syria and Egypt, but these provinces were out of sympathy with Constantinople in religious matters and found their return to Byzantine taxation oppressive. Moreover, in Syria—and this was also true of Babylonia, the part of the Persian kingdom next to Arabia—the mass of the population was Semitic, and so more in sympathy with the Arabs than with the Greeks of Constantinople or the Indo-Europeans of Persia. Within five years after Mohammed's death the Arabs had seized all Syria except Jerusalem and Cæsarea. They gained Babylonia by a victory in 637 and advanced to the Tigris, where the rich capital Ctesiphon was abandoned to them without a struggle. Mesopotamia was overrun in 641, and in ten years more the remainder of the Persian kingdom had been conquered and its independent existence ended. Egypt, where the new Patriarch of Alexandria had been persecuting the Coptic Church, was conquered in the years 639–643. The Arabs next took to the sea, destroyed a large Byzantine fleet, and occupied the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes. Meantime by land they pushed west from Egypt into Tripoli and north from Mesopotamia into Armenia. In 669 they advanced through Asia Minor to Chalcedon, crossed into Thrace, and attacked Constantinople, but were repulsed. Then each year until 677 they made sea attacks upon the city, but all were failures, and the Arabs also withdrew from Rhodes. Nor for the remainder of the seventh century were they able to make any permanent advance into Asia Minor. In 716 Constantinople was once more attacked, but as usual weathered the storm.

The Arabs did not force their conquered subjects to adopt Islam; they were willing to accept tribute from them instead and tolerated all Christian sects equally. Thus, some long-suffering heretical communities became free from persecution for the first time. And the tribute was not as heavy as the imperial taxation had been. If, however, one turned Moslem, one no longer had to pay tribute, and was far more likely to attain political advancement. As a result the Copts in Egypt professed adherence to Islam so rapidly that the amount of the tribute fell off in the course of a few years from twelve to five millions. When one had once become a Mohammedan, one could not return to one's previous faith without incurring the death penalty. The Arabs themselves did not permanently remain fanatical or puritanical, but were often inclined to good living and to scepticism, and were easy-going in their interpretation of religious rules. They were also slow to make any great change in the governmental machinery of lands which they conquered; so long as the tribute came in regularly, they were content to leave Byzantine and Persian institutions much as they found them. The condition of serfs and slaves frequently improved under the Mohammedan rule of this period, and they were often emancipated by their new Arabian masters, especially if they embraced the faith of the Prophet.

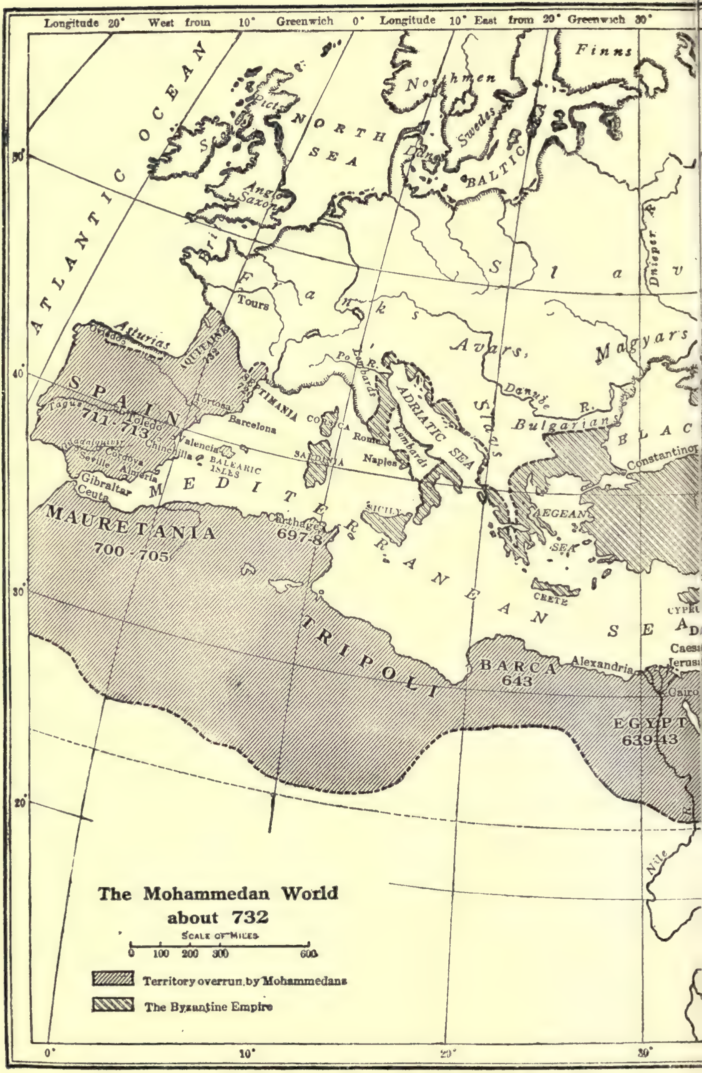
Conquest of North Africa and Spain

Because of the opposition of the wild Berber tribes as well as of the Byzantines, it took the Moslems over half a century to conquer North Africa. Carthage did not fall until 697–698, and the Western Berbers, whom Justinian had been unable to subdue, were not absorbed by Islam until the early years of the following century. Ancient civilization now rapidly disappeared in Africa, a loss due more to the Berbers than to the Arabs or Vandals, and this once extremely prosperous region became desolate. Only the Christian Church lived on in Africa in decreasing strength for centuries. The Berber tribes, whose mode of life and state of civilization were similar to those of the nomads of the Arabian desert, for the most part accepted Islam, and many of them swept on westward in the wave of conquest.

Spain was the next objective of the Moslems. A deposed king fled to them for aid against his supplanter. The Visigothic kingdom was also weakened by its persecution of the Jews and by the selfish treachery of the nobles. In 711

Tarik, lieutenant of the Moslem governor of Mauretania, Musa ibn Nusair, landed near the rock named after him Gibraltar (*Gebel Tarik*), and, before the year was out, had defeated King Roderick and overrun half of Spain. Many fortified towns still held out, however. Musa now arrived with reinforcements, compelled the towns to capitulate, won another great victory in 713, and proclaimed the rule of the Caliph in the Gothic capital, Toledo. But in the mountains along the northern coast of Spain Christian communities succeeded in maintaining their independence.

After their rapid and easy conquest of most of the Spanish peninsula, the Arabs and Berbers saw no reason why they should not press on farther. They began to cross the Pyrenees about the time when a great attack was being made upon Constantinople by their co-religionists in the East. By 720 they had occupied Septimania, or Narbonne, the territory which the Visigoths had still held beyond the Pyrenees. Aquitaine, which the Goths had lost to Clovis at the end of the fifth century, was at present under the rule of an independent duke, Eudes, who only nominally recognized the Frankish kings of Neustria and Austrasia and their vigorous representative, Charles Martel, 'mayor of the palace.' Eudes unaided for a time held the Moslems in check, but in 732 they prepared a great expedition which defeated him and forced him to appeal to Charles Martel for aid. To-day one taking an express train from Bordeaux to Paris passes through the towns of Poitiers and Tours. This was the route the Moslems took. Between Poitiers and Tours they were met by the Franks under Charles Martel and decisively defeated. A few years later he also prevented them from entering the Rhone valley; but, although he devastated Septimania, it was not until 769 that his son Pepin finally drove the Moslems south of the Pyrenees. In such wise the warlike Franks, with their superior physique, set a limit to the westward expansion of Islam, just as in Eastern Europe Constantinople was a barrier which Islam could not break down. As the Huns, operating from the east and north, had failed to take Constantinople or to penetrate to the heart



The Mohammedan World about 732

Longitude 20° West from 10° Greenwich 0° Longitude 10° East from 20° Greenwich 30°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Picts
Scots
Britons
Anglo Saxons
NORTH SEA
Northmen
Finns
Swedes
Danes
BALTIC SEA
Slavs
Dnieper R.
Franks
Tours
Asturias
Oviedo
AQUITAINE 732
SEPTIMANIA 725
SPAIN 711-713
Tagus
Toledo
Tortosa
Barcelona
Valencia
Chinchilla
Guadalquivir
Cordova
Seville
Almeria
Gibraltar
Ceuta
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Po R.
Lombards
Rome
Naples
ADRIATIC SEA
Avars
Slavs
Magyars
Danube R.
Bulgarians
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
AEGEAN SEA
SICILY
CRETE
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Carthage 697-8
MAURETANIA 700-705
TRIPOLI
BARCA 643
Alexandria
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Cairo
EGYPT 639-43
Nile R.
50°
40°
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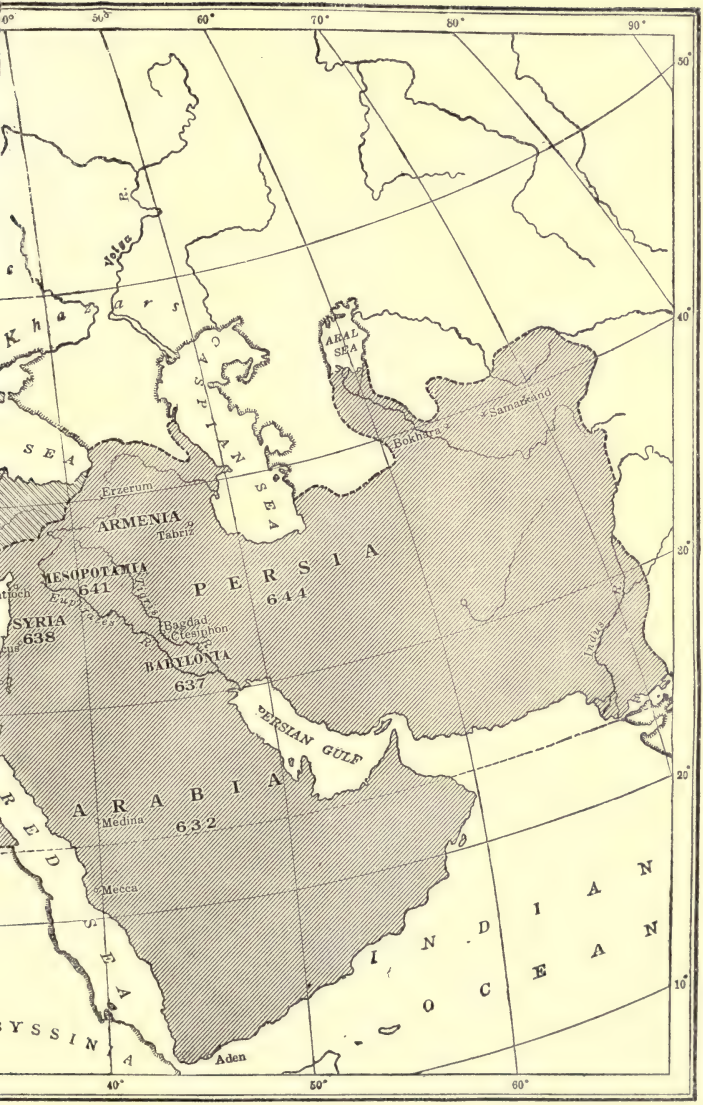
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 600
▨ Territory overrun by Mohammedans
▧ The Byzantine Empire


50°
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Volga
R.
K h a z a r s
C A S P I A N S E A
ARAL SEA
S E A
Erzerum
ARMENIA
Tabriz
MESOPOTAMIA
641
Tigris
Euphrates
R.
tioch
SYRIA
638
cus
Bagdad
Ctesiphon
R.
BABYLONIA
637
P E R S I A
644
Bokhara
Samarkand
Indus R.
PERSIAN GULF
A R A B I A
632
Medina
Mecca
R E D S E A
Aden
YSSINIA
I N D I A N
O C E A N

of Gaul, so the Arabs, operating from the east and south, had met with the same failure.

Mohammedan Dynasties

Mohammed had died without naming a successor, and, after the reigns of his father-in-law, Abu-Bekr, and of Omar, the ablest of his early converts, civil wars occurred over the succession. In 661 a member of the Ommiad (or Umayyad) family, which represented the Meccan aristocracy and the interests of Syria, became caliph—a title meaning the representative or successor of Mohammed—and so both the religious and political head of the Moslem world. He transferred the capital from Medina to Damascus. Under the Caliph Walid (705–715) the Ommiad dynasty reached the height of its prosperity, maintaining a court of brilliant culture, with poets and scholars, and erecting imposing mosques at Damascus and Jerusalem. During his reign the Arabs not only conquered Spain in the West, but ranged as far east as the borders of India and China. In 750 the Ommiads, to whom there had always been much opposition in the East, and who were now weakened by feuds among themselves, gave way to the Abbassids (750–1258), a Persian dynasty claiming descent from Mohammed's uncle, Abbas. They moved the capital farther east to Bagdad. But the western part of the Moslem world broke away from their rule. The Ommiad Abd-er-Rahman, after five years of wandering, escaped to Spain and was recognized as emir at Cordova. It was not, however, until 929 that Abd-er-Rahman III assumed the title of caliph, and that it is strictly correct to speak of the Caliphate of Cordova. Several independent Moslem states also arose in North Africa, where the Berbers always inclined to establish governments of their own; these were the germs of the modern Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. Of their conquests in Sicily and Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere. In 909 the Fatimites, so called from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, came into power in North Africa. In 969 they conquered Egypt from the Abbassids, founded the city of

Cairo, and henceforth made Egypt the centre of their activities, losing most of their power in the West, but adding Syria to their possessions.

Although great conquerors, the Arabs lacked the genius of the ancient Romans for law-making and empire-building. Never having developed a state worthy of the name in their native country, they could hardly be expected to prove equal of a sudden to the creation of a vast empire. Consequently their states seldom held together for a long period. Both Arabs and Berbers naturally inclined toward the unorganized freedom of the desert, except that certain families regarded themselves as aristocrats, and that the Arabs were prone to consider themselves superior to the rest of the population, whether unbelievers or converts to Islam. Therefore, while ambitious and able individuals often made use of the religious fanaticism of the masses to raise themselves to supreme power, and then ruled in the manner of Oriental despots, they had to be on their guard against the aristocracy and against the instinct toward freedom. Mohammed had ratified the relationship of patron and client which already existed among the Arabs, and the Moslem leaders rewarded their followers with grants of land, so that there was in the Middle Ages much the same tendency toward feudalism in the Mohammedan as in the Christian world.

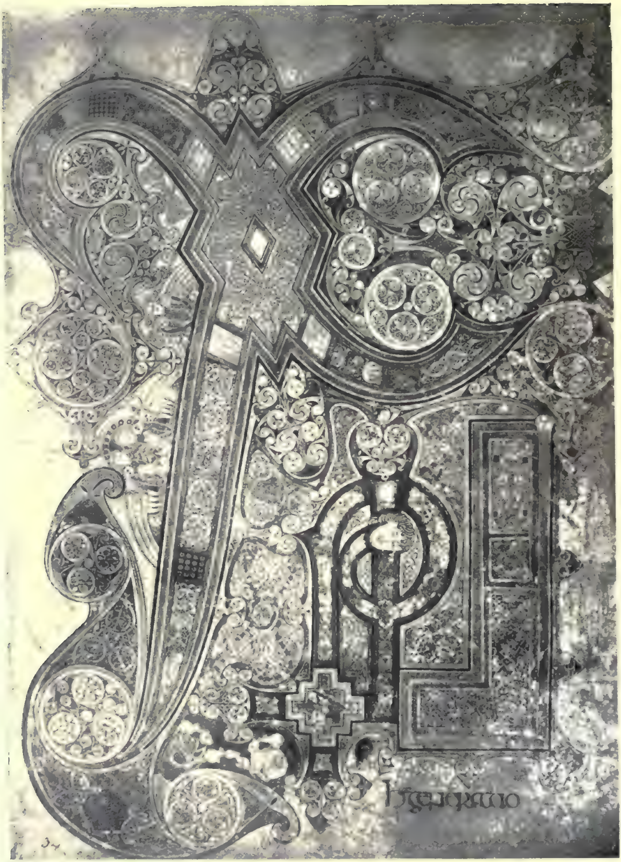
Civilization of Islam

Although the Arabs had not the Roman genius for government, they rivalled the Romans as adapters, preservers, and spreaders of civilization. The Koran, it is true, is not favourable to philosophical speculation or to the scientific attitude, and the narrowly orthodox Moslem might hold that to commit the sacred book to memory was a sufficient education, and that it contained the entire law and theology of Islam. Nevertheless, learned Greeks, Syrians, and Persians living under Mohammedan rule were not bound by such scruples. And as the Arabs left behind their rude life in the desert and came in contact with the Hellenistic culture that was spread through the East, their mental horizon and sympathies expanded beyond the narrow limits of the Koran. Moreover, the Koran itself required interpretation, and so furnished a pretext for further discussion and writing. The courts of Damascus, Bagdad, home of the *Arabian Nights*, Cairo, and Cordova were renowned each in turn for luxury, culture, and learning. The caliphs were in the main broad-minded and munificent patrons of the arts and letters. Therefore, while in the Christian West civilization had sunk so low that actually monasteries, where men's thoughts were supposed to be centred on another world, were its mainstay, in the Mohammedan Orient and in Spain civilization was not merely preserved, but in some respects progressed. The Moors or Berbers in North Africa remained, on the other hand, in a state of barbarism, and there were backward races waiting in the East who would one day submerge both Byzantine and Bagdad culture.

The Arabic language was spread widely through the extensive Mohammedan conquests. In Spain by the ninth century even the Christians had become fascinated by Arabian literature. In 854 an ecclesiastical writer complained bitterly that Latin was neglected, that no one read the Church Fathers or the Scriptures, or could even compose a respectable letter in Latin to a friend. On the contrary, Christians took delight in the poetry and romances of the Arabs, and even studied their philosophy and theology, not to refute their errors, but to imitate their eloquence and elegance of style. Christians collected libraries of Arabian works, and many were able to write verses as good as those of the Arabs themselves. Our language to-day shows in a number of words the influence of the Arabs upon our civilization ; for example, ' muslin ' and ' mattress,' ' alcove,' ' algebra,' and ' alchemy,' ' alcohol ' and ' almanac,' are words of Arabian origin.

The Arabs soon began to translate the chief works of the Greek philosophers and scientists into their own tongue, although these translations were often made from Syriac or Aramaic versions rather than directly from the Greek original. They then wrote commentaries upon these authorities, or made compilations from them, or produced works of their own on the same subjects. Medicine, mathematics, and natural science were especially cultivated by the writers in Arabic; and in these fields they seem to have learned something from India and the Orient as well as from the ancient Greeks. The Hindu-Arabic numerals were almost as great an advance in mathematical notation over the cumbrous Greek and Roman numbers as the phonetic alphabet of the Phœnicians had been over Egyptian hieroglyphs. The great amount of ground covered in three continents by the Mohammedan possessions gave opportunity for extensive travel, and we possess important works by Arabian geographers or tourists of the tenth and eleventh centuries who even penetrated Russia. The Arabs also delved a good deal into occult subjects, and wrote many works on astrology, alchemy, necromancy, and various arts of magic and divination. A long list of noted Arabian men of learning has come down to us, too long to include here. They begin at Bagdad in the ninth century and last into the twelfth century in Spain. The Arabs were especially impressed by the writings of Aristotle, whose philosophy and science gained greater fame and authority in their hands than ever before. Life in the harem and the position of woman in Moslem society do not accord with Western and modern standards, but it was a poetess and musician who came from Bagdad to Spain about 900 who wrote, "The most shameful thing in the world is ignorance, and if ignorance were a woman's passport to Paradise, I would far rather that the Creator sent me to hell!" Women, indeed, were often prominent in the learned world of Moslem Spain.

The spread of Islam brought into close commercial relations countries stretching from India, or even Korea and Japan, in the East to Spain and the Atlantic coast of North-western Africa. The Arabs lined the west coast of India with trading-stations. They supplied distant China with sugar, dates, rose-water, camphor, cotton, glassware, and wrought iron, and especially weapons and coats of mail. From the Mediterranean ports of North Africa caravans traded with the interior as far as Lake Tschad and the great rivers of Central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13. Monogram from the Book of Kells

Africa. From Egypt and Arabia their commerce extended far down the east coast of the same continent. Ships from Alexandria and Syria thronged the harbours of Almeria and other Spanish ports; and poets, musicians, and singing girls were imported from the Orient to grace the courts of Mohammedan Spain. Over 13,000 Moslem coins, dating chiefly before the eleventh century, have been found in the far northern provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland on the shores of the Baltic Sea, testifying to a considerable trade across Russia.

Bagdad under the Abbassids

Under the Abbassids Bagdad rivalled Constantinople as the mart and metropolis of the world. It was situated on the Tigris a few miles from the site of Ctesiphon, the previous Persian capital, and not far from the ruins of ancient Babylon on the Euphrates. The caliphs constructed as their own sumptuous residence a circular city, somewhat over a mile in diameter, and filled with numerous palaces and pleasure-houses, parks, and gardens. About this round city grew up various quarters and suburbs until in 978 the whole metropolis was five miles across. There was the Christian quarter with its monasteries, its richly adorned Jacobite[1] and severely plain Nestorian churches. There was the Harbiyah quarter, inhabited largely by Turkish and Persian immigrants. There were the Jews' Bridge, the Suburb of the Persians, the Quadrangle of the Persians, the shops of the Persian nobles, and the Market of the Syrian Gate, whence branched in all directions streets, courts, and alleys, each named after the province from which its residents had originally come.

The names of the streets, gates, and bridges of Bagdad also give us a picture of the occupations and wares of the city. We hear of the Market of the Perfumers, the Market of the Money-changers, the Straw Merchants' Bridge, the Fief of the Carpet-spreaders, the Hay Market, the Gate of the Horse Market, the Tanners' Yard, the Four Markets, the Upper Barley Gate, the Silk House, the Slaves' Barracks, the Road of the Cages, the Fullers' Road, the Gatehouse of the Date Market, the Needle-makers' Wharf, the Archway of the Armourers, the Cotton Market. In one part of the city Chinese goods were for sale, in another the famous Attabi stuffs (whence our expression '*tabby* cat'), woven in variegated colours of a mixture of silk and cotton. Here paper was manufactured of rags at a time when the West had lost the papyrus of antiquity and was forced to write all its manuscripts upon parchment made of sheepskin. Paper was originally discovered by the Chinese, and was introduced among the Arabs in the eighth century, when factories were established at Samarkand and Bagdad. In Bagdad, too, was a mill with 100 millstones, said to have been built for an early caliph by a Byzantine ambassador possessed of engineering skill. There were lanes lined with great warehouses and streets crowded with shops and bazaars—twenty-four shops of the weavers of palm baskets, forty-three shops of perfume distillers, sixteen shops of drawers of gold wire, and over a hundred booksellers' establishments. Bridges of boats seven or eight hundred feet in length connected the quarters on opposite sides of the Tigris. An orphan school, —for Moslem rulers often endowed education and provided for the poor—a hospital, an assembly hall of the poets, jails, cemeteries, mosques, and in East Bagdad alone some thirty colleges, were further features of the Paris of the Orient.

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[1] *I.e.* of the Jacobites, a Christian sect, named after its founder, Jacobus Baradæus.

CORDOVA AND OTHER SPANISH TOWNS

This Oriental city life was to be seen on a somewhat smaller scale in Spain, although not much smaller, if we accept the statements of Arabian writers that Cordova, the political and religious capital of Mohammedan Spain, had a population of half a million, over one hundred thousand residences, three thousand mosques, and three hundred public baths. It extended for three miles from east to west and for one mile from the Bridge Gate to Jews' Gate. It was famed for its scholars and merchants, and for the piety, intelligence, social elegance, and discriminating taste in matters of dress, food, and drink of its inhabitants in general. Its crowning feature was the great mosque with its sixty attendants, its thousand columns, its one hundred and thirty candelabra, its beautiful ceilings, arcades, enamels, its mosaics presented by the Byzantine emperor, its pulpit of ebony, box, and scented woods, on whose carvings and paintings six master workmen and their assistants had laboured seven years, and its tower near by, whose minaret was reached by two winding staircases which never met until the very top. Other towns of Moslem Spain were smaller than Cordova, yet noted for their commerce or manufactures. Almeria, on the southern Mediterranean coast, had 800 silk looms, 970 caravanserais licensed to sell wine, and manufactures of copper and iron utensils. Its inhabitants were reputed to have more ready cash and greater stores of capital than those of any other Spanish city. Chinchilla produced woollen carpets that could not be imitated elsewhere. Tortosa was a centre of shipbuilding owing to the impermeability of its pines to insects. Seville, located on the Guadalquivir below Cordova, exported its cotton—a plant introduced into Europe by the Mohammedans—and olive oils to East and West by land and sea. Other places were noted for their figs and raisins, their drugs and coloured earths, their iron industries and their draperies. Mohammedan Spain, in short, seems to have been very prosperous, and we hear of the emir or caliph leaving millions of gold pieces in his treasury at a time when money was very scarce in Western Christendom.

The Moslem conquerors usually left the Spaniards their own laws and gave them native counts to collect the taxes and judge disputes. Unbelievers paid a graduated income tax according to their wealth, and all landed proprietors, whether converts or not, were subjected to an impost upon their crops averaging one-fifth. In the process of conquest a considerable amount of land had been confiscated from those who persisted in resistance. This was now more widely distributed than before among a large number of Moslem proprietors. Slaves and serfs went with the land as before, but emancipation was to be won more easily than hitherto, especially by those who ran away from Christian to Moslem masters. These changes were not especially objectionable to the majority of the population, and during the eighth century Christian insurrections were almost unknown. As time went on, however, and more and more Christians became converts to Islam, the government treated the remainder with less consideration. The Mohammedan rulers had always controlled the summoning of Christian Church councils by the clergy in their dominions, and they also sometimes sold the office of bishop or bestowed it upon persons objectionable to the Church. As the Moslems increased in numbers there was a tendency to convert the cathedrals into mosques. In the ninth century the Christians were subjected to new and ruinous taxation, and occasionally to such decrees as that all inhabitants regardless of their religion must be circumcised. Indeed, the government, as is apt to be the case in Mohammedan countries, tended to become increasingly despotic.

Moreover, those Christians who had turned Moslems were not satisfied with the small share allowed them in the government, and the Berbers and Syrians in Spain were also jealous of the Arab aristocracy. The result was a series of revolts. Indeed, the Berbers, who had been assigned by the Arabs the less desirable northern regions of Spain, had rebelled soon after the conquest. This revolt had been crushed and, together with a famine of five years' duration, had so weakened the Berbers that the Christians in the extreme north had been able to push them back and recover a good deal of territory. Between them and the retreating Berbers there lay long unoccupied a wide strip of land which had been denuded by war and famine. Toledo, the old Visigothic capital, is located almost exactly in the centre of Spain, so that an Arabian geographer described it as nine days' journey alike from Lisbon on the west coast, Cordova in the south, the Christian pilgrim shrine of St. James at Compostella in the north, and from Almeria and Valencia on the Mediterranean coast. Through the ninth century it was usually at war with the Sultan at Cordova and in alliance with the Christians of the north. Around Toledo in Central Spain various Berber tribes were often at war with one another. In the south, in Andalusia, the real home of Arabic civilization in Spain, extending from Lisbon on the Atlantic almost to Barcelona, on the Mediterranean coast, all was in revolt against the government of Cordova during the latter half of the ninth century. Bandits abounded and many nobles had turned brigands, so that a trip across Spain was a perilous undertaking. By the beginning of the tenth century the Fatimites were menacing Spain from North Africa.

Abd-er-Rahman III (reigned 912–961) restored the power of Cordova, put down the rebellious nobles, held Ceuta opposite Gibraltar against the Fatimites, drove back the Christians of the north, took Toledo, and amassed a treasure of twenty million pieces of gold. His police maintained perfect order throughout the land; prices were low and almost every one could dress well and afford a mule. Abd-er-Rahman assumed the title of caliph and built a new city just outside Cordova with a splendid palace for his harem of 6000 beauties. His successor, Hakam II, was the most learned of the Spanish Moslem rulers. He patronized scholars regardless of their nationality, religion, or irreligion, and founded many free schools for poor children in Cordova. The catalogue of his library is said to have filled 2000 pages. The next caliph was a mere figurehead, and the government was managed by his minister, Almansor, until his death in 1002. Almansor is credited with over fifty campaigns against the Christians of Northern Spain, where he made the Kingdom of Leon tributary and utterly demolished its capital. He also sacked Compostella and Barcelona. Forty poets accompanied him upon one of these northern expeditions; he constructed many roads and bridges, and enlarged the great mosque of Cordova; but he allowed the orthodox theologians to purge Hakam's library of objectionable works of philosophy and astronomy.

The old Arab nobility had lost all its influence during the recent despotic reigns, and, when no able successor to

Almansor appeared the power fell into the hands of Berber generals and of the 'Slavs.' This name was at first applied to the captives from Slavonic Europe whom the East Franks and Byzantines sold as slaves to the Saracens. Then it was used to designate also Italians and others who were captured by Saracen pirates or purchased as children by Jewish slave-traders. Finally it came to denote all foreigners in the service of the caliph, whether as retainers in his bodyguard, eunuchs in his harem, or officials at his court. Abd-er-Rahman III had entrusted many important posts, both civil and military, to such foreigners in place of the troublesome old aristocracy. Now, after Almansor's death, a period of civil war set in. After bloody conflicts between divers candidates for the throne, in which the Berbers and 'Slavs' participated, and in which both sides called in aid from Castile and Catalonia and gave away fortresses and territory to secure Christian aid, and in which Cordova and other cities were sacked and half destroyed, the Caliphate of Cordova came formally to a close in 1036. Cordova and Seville now became republics; Berber chieftains divided up the south, where Malaga and Granada were two of the chief states; and the 'Slavs' ruled the east, where the leading princes were those of Almeria and of the Balearic Isles. Toledo again became a separate state; Arab families ruled at Valencia and Saragossa; and there were yet other principalities.

RESULTS OF THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

When we consider how many followers of Mohammed there are to-day in Asia, Africa, and even in Europe, and in the distant islands of the South Seas, we observe one great result of the events narrated in this chapter. It is also evident that the Byzantine Empire had been reduced by the loss of almost all its possessions in Asia and Africa to a comparatively small and weak state, and that Justinian's ideal of a reconstruction of the old Roman Empire would never be realized. Of the Mediterranean basin, which had been entirely included in the Roman Empire, the whole southern half had been lost. And as the Romans had never gained the eastern half of

Alexander's empire, so now the eastern end of the Roman Empire was lost too. North Africa, whose history had for so long been a part of European history, now goes its own way, and Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor do not concern us again until the time of the Crusades.

The spread of Islam was a great blow to Christianity. But we have seen that certain heretical sects benefited by it. And it was not an unmixed evil for the Papacy, since the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, which were the ones to suffer most, had never really been under papal control, but were likely to be ruled from Constantinople. There was now no danger that the emperor or the patriarch at that city would overshadow the pope. Eastern Christianity had suffered most, leaving the pope undisputed head of the Church in the West. The Papacy and Islam, therefore, grew in strength simultaneously and independently, and were not until later to lock horns in the Crusades. As for intellectual and economic results, the spread of Arabian Mohammedanism can scarcely be regarded as an evil, since the Arabs quickly attained a high level in these respects, and in Spain, for instance, had a civilization superior to that of their Christian neighbours, to whom it was destined in due time to prove an inspiration. So if the Arabs had defeated Charles Martel and the Franks, whose kingdoms were eventually to collapse in any case, and if they had overrun Western Europe as they did the Spanish peninsula, European civilization might have revived the more quickly. But in that case the Papacy would probably never have made its momentous alliance with Charles Martel's son, to which we shall turn in the next chapter, and the whole course of European history would have been different.

CHAPTER XI

THE FRANKISH STATE AND CHARLEMAGNE

WE now turn our attention once more to the Frankish kingdoms, which under the lead of Charles Martel had brought the westward drive of the Arabs to a halt, and which were to be the centre of interest in the West for the next century or so. Indeed, except for the Anglo-Saxons and their adversaries in the British Isles, and the Lombards and their rivals in the Italian peninsula, the Franks included within their borders practically all that was left of Western Christendom. Christian territory in the West had shrunk to a scanty area limited on the north-east by heathen hordes and on the south by the waves of Mohammedan conquest. Moreover, this scanty area was in a rude condition, cultivated to some extent but with no flourishing industries, and with foreign trade either cut off or monopolized by the Scandinavians, who controlled the seas to the north, and by the Saracens and Byzantines, who held the Mediterranean and the routes to the East.

It will be remembered that sometimes the Franks were all united under one ruler, but that usually they had two or three kings in Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. After the death of Dagobert, who from 629 to 639 had ruled the entire Frankish territory, the kings were 'good-for-nothings,' mere boys who wrecked their lives by early debaucheries in the royal residences, which they seldom quitted, and who died before they were half through their twenties, leaving their weak children to replicate their empty reigns. We need not be surprised that these gilded youths remained for the most part shut up in their palaces, since he who was not vigorous enough to ride a horse, and who insisted on lolling at his ease as he travelled, could find no faster conveyance in those days than a chariot drawn by oxen.

This state of affairs suited well enough most of the great landowners and the local officials, of whom the dukes, counts, and bishops were the chief. Their main desire was to be let alone: in the case of the landholders, not to be called upon to pay any taxes; in the case of the officials, not to be called upon to turn over to the royal treasury the taxes which they had collected. It should be added, however, that the local officials usually amassed large estates for themselves, and that the great landholders made every effort to be appointed local officials, so that the two classes tended to merge into one. In any case they were both ready enough to dispense with a king.

But there had to be some one to repel invaders like the Arabs, to protect and control the Church, to keep some order among the great landed proprietors, to see that the local officials did not abuse their offices, and in general to do those things that the kings ought to do, but were now neglecting. The chief official at the Frankish palace, to whom the agents in charge of the royal domains and the other local officials reported, was the *major domus*, or 'mayor of the palace.' In the end this steward of the king's estates took the supreme charge of all State business at the palace into his own hands, and he also led the army to war. All this he was enabled to do, not only because of his handy situation at the palace, but because most of the nobility were his supporters and he could count upon their armed aid to crush his rivals.

Under Dagobert's predecessor, who was originally king of Neustria only, both Burgundy and Austrasia were really governed by mayors of the palace. In Austrasia the mayor's name was Pepin of Landen (Pepin I), and the other leading man of that kingdom was Arnulf, Bishop of Metz. Arnulf's son—for Roman Catholic bishops married in that age—married one of Pepin's daughters and became mayor for a time. Pepin's son, Grimoald, tried to supplant a 'good-for-nothing' king entirely by his own son, but the other nobles refused, and he was put to death. But a generation later Pepin of Heristal, or Pepin II, the grandson of Pepin I and Arnulf, became mayor of the palace of Austrasia, and by the victory of Testry in 687 gained control over Neustria also, and ruled over all the Franks until his death in 714.

It had been Pepin's intention that his grandsons should succeed him as mayors, but they were not yet of age, and his illegitimate son Charles, known later as 'the Hammer,' or 'Charles Martel,' from his military successes, eventually gained control of all three Frankish kingdoms. In order to secure soldiers against the Arabs he seized large amounts of Church lands and granted the use of them for life to his followers. Such measures brought him into disrepute with the monkish chroniclers of the time, but show his power over the Church, and gained him a strong party of supporters among the nobility. Both Pepin II and Charles Martel encouraged missionaries to, and kept fighting against, the Germans east of the Rhine, endeavouring to bring the Thuringians, Alemanni, and Bavarians back under Frankish control, making partial conquests at the expense of the Frisians and raids into the territory of the Saxons.

Charles Martel, who always had acted as if he were king, but who still lacked the title, died in 741, leaving two sons, Carloman and Pepin III. Carloman soon went off to Italy to become a monk, leaving his children to the care of his brother, who took care that they should become monks too. Pepin III now decided to renew the attempt at the throne which his ancestor, Grimoald, had made prematurely. He first obtained the approval of the Pope and then that of a general assembly of the Franks. Then, in place of the old German custom of raising him upon a shield, he was anointed king by St. Boniface, apostle to the Germans and promoter of papal influence. This new ceremony gave to the royal office a sacred character and, as it were, divine approval, and so an added power which the Merovingians had lacked. A little later the Pope pronounced a curse against any one who should try to disturb the hereditary succession in Pepin's family. But Pepin's resort to the Papacy to sanction his taking the crown, and his coronation by a priest, furnished a dangerous precedent. Later popes might claim the right to depose as well as to appoint secular monarchs, and might pose as supreme international arbiters.

Iconoclasm in the Byzantine Empire

The Pope had reason to cultivate Pepin's friendship, since he found himself in an embarrassing position both as regards the Byzantine emperor and the King of the Lombards. Leo III, emperor from 717 to 740, proved a very efficient ruler in the East and reformed almost every department of the government. But in Italy he caused a revolt and the expulsion of his exarch by new taxes and by his iconoclasm, or prohibition of the use of images and pictures in churches. The former were to be removed or destroyed, the latter to be whitewashed over. A first step in this direction had been taken when the Trullan or Quinisext Council of 688–694 forbade the pictorial representation of Christ by a lamb. The Emperor held that the veneration of images and pictures bordered upon idolatry, and that by abolishing such superstitious reverence he would avoid the sneers and reproaches of Jews and Moslems, and would conciliate the Nestorians, whose churches had little ornamentation, and the Monophysites, who objected to human likenesses of Christ. The iconoclastic party also felt strongly against the worship of the relics of the saints, and was hostile to the monks,

Pope Gregory II had headed the Italian opposition to the increased taxation, and when the decrees against images were published in 726 he called a council which replied by anathematizing all iconoclasts. The Byzantine emperors seldom showed much patience with prelates who tried to thwart their will. A little later in this same century the Patriarch of Constantinople was deposed and exiled for a year; then brought back and beaten until he could not walk; then carried into the church of St. Sophia, where a list of the charges made against him was read and he was struck in the face at the conclusion of each item; then he was scourged backward out of the church; the next day he was made a public laughing-stock in the Hippodrome, seated on an ass with his face toward its tail; finally he was beheaded, his head exposed to public view, and his corpse dragged through the streets. Now the exarch tried to have Gregory II murdered, and Leo tried to carry off his successor to Constantinople. Failing in this, he took Illyricum, Sicily, and Calabria in Southern Italy away from the Pope and placed them under the Patriarch of Constantinople. In Southern Italy, indeed, during the period from the sixth to the tenth century, when it was under Byzantine control, the immigration of Greeks considerably altered the complexion of the population.

At this time the Lombards had an able king, Liutprand. He first took advantage of the revolt of the Pope and the Italians against the exarch to make a number of conquests at the expense of the latter. But when the exarch aided him against the independent Lombard dukes in Central and Southern Italy, he reciprocated by forcing the Pope to end the revolt against the Emperor. The Pope then adopted the policy of joining with the Lombard dukes against the King, and in 739 refused to surrender to Liutprand the Duke of Spoleto, who had taken refuge in Rome. When Liutprand advanced against Rome, the Pope appealed to Charles Martel, vituperating the Lombards and seeking his aid against Liutprand. Since, however, Liutprand had just been helping Charles against the Arabs in Southern Gaul, Charles politely refused, and the Papacy had to abandon its policy of alliance with the Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum. The real situation was that Liutprand was a good ruler for those days and a good Catholic, considerate of the Papacy; but he aimed at making himself king of all Italy and the Pope was determined that this should not happen. Nevertheless by 751 Liutprand's successor, Aistulf, had conquered Ravenna and put an end to the exarchate. The next year he appeared before the walls of Rome, demanding tribute and recognition of his sovereignty. Both the imperial envoys and the Pope himself pleaded with him in vain to grant easier terms and to relinquish some of his conquests. Aistulf was not so easily moved as Liutprand, who had more than once stayed his attack at the Pope's personal intervention.

PEPIN'S INTERVENTION IN ITALY

The Pope thereupon crossed the Alps to complain in person to King Pepin, who came to meet him and walked by his side leading his horse by the bridle. By a march into Northern Italy Pepin forced Aistulf to promise to restore his conquests and to recognize Pepin as his overlord. But as soon as the Franks had gone home, Aistulf resumed the siege of Rome. Pepin thereupon again came south and forced Aistulf to carry out the previous treaty and to pay a large indemnity besides. But the conquests which Aistulf restored were not given back to the Byzantine Emperor or to his exarch. Pepin had not twice defeated the Lombard king for their sakes, but from reverence for the grave of the Apostle Peter. Indeed, to hasten Pepin's second relief expedition a letter had been sent him, which purported to be dictated by the Apostle Peter himself, and which promised the Franks future success in war and life eternal after death if they came to the Pope's relief, and which asserted most solemnly that he would shut them all out of heaven if they did not come quickly.

Pepin came, and it was to the Pope that he handed over the lands which he compelled the Lombards to disgorge. These papal territories were still nominally imperial, since the pope had not as yet repudiated the emperor as his civil sovereign, but actually they were the foundation of the Papal States, which endured into the nineteenth century and prevented until then the unification of Italy. Just how much territory Pepin transferred to the Pope, and by what right or title the Pope held it, is uncertain, since no document has been preserved containing the terms of Pepin's donation. About this time, however, there came into existence a document called the *Donation of Constantine.* This spurious deed was based upon a legend, also without historical foundation, that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, had been cured of leprosy and converted to Christianity by Pope Sylvester. The *Donation* purports to be the resultant expression of imperial gratitude. In it Constantine is represented as endowing the Church with his Lateran Palace and with lands scattered over the Empire, as showering honours and insignia upon the clergy, and as finally declaring that he will transfer his empire to the East and leave Italy and Rome to the government of the pope. "For where the supremacy of priests and the head of the Christian religion has been established by a heavenly ruler, it is not right that there an earthly ruler have jurisdiction." Such was the document by which the popes traced their claim to temporal sovereignty back to the fourth century. It was attacked as a forgery as early as the twelfth, but was not generally recognized as spurious until the fifteenth century.

Pepin continued the expeditions of his predecessors against the Saxons to the north-east, but his chief achievement, apart from his grasping the royal title, founding a dynasty, and interfering in Italy, was his careful and thorough subjection of Aquitaine to Frankish rule, a task which occupied him for eight or nine successive years. The inhabitants of Aquitaine, south of the Loire, were still looked on by the Franks as 'Romans' and had remained a people pretty much apart. In Neustria too, of course, the bulk of the population was 'Roman,' but there the Franks had long formed a considerable fraction and were the ruling class. Before his death in 768, Pepin had attained a position of considerable international importance. The Abbassid caliph at Bagdad sought his alliance against Ommiad Spain, and the Byzantine emperor sent several embassies to his court.

For the period of the three Pepins and Charles Martel the sources are very scanty, leaving us in doubt concerning many questions which we should like to solve. On the other hand, concerning Pepin's son, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, as he was called in the medieval romances, we are better informed than about the personality and reign of any other barbarian ruler since the Roman Empire. Yearly tables were kept in many abbeys to determine the date of Easter, and in their margins the monks sometimes noted down important events. These 'Easter Annals' began at the end of the seventh century, but by the time of Charlemagne had become fuller in their entries. The same is true of the official annals kept at the Frankish court. Then Charlemagne's secretary, Einhard, has left us a brief biography and character-sketch of his master, and many of Charlemagne's *Capitularies*, or lists of laws, are extant. We also have some documentary and monumental evidence of the literary and artistic activity of his reign.

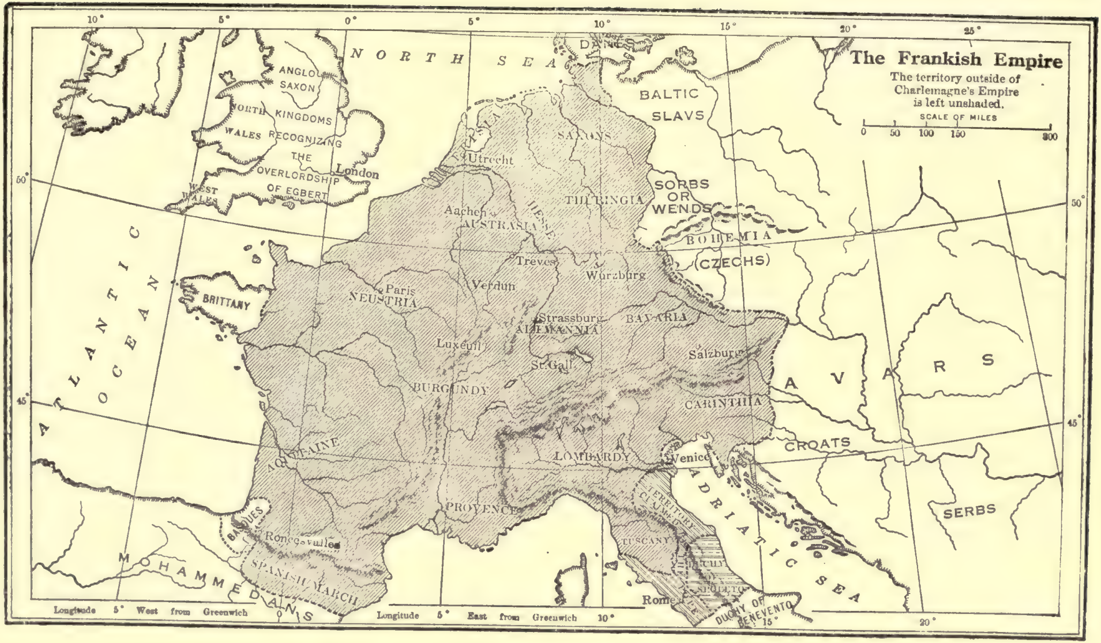
CHARLEMAGNE

Charles the Great had a long reign, from 768 to 814. His younger brother Carloman at first ruled a part of their father's possessions, but died in 771. Charles was a giant in both height and girth and had a jolly face. Nevertheless he could be stern enough on occasion and was not lacking in dignity at any time. He took plenty of exercise and was especially fond of swimming and hunting. He was a large eater, temperate in drinking, but not in his relations with women, and the morals of his court were correspondingly loose. The family life of his father Pepin had been much purer. Charles's inexhaustible physical vigour is seen in his personally directing a military campaign in almost every year of his reign. He was ambitious and autocratic and sometimes even brutal. Yet most of his policies of conquest were inherited from his predecessors, and he was a zealous promoter of Christianity and learning. He knew something of the classical languages himself, although he could barely sign his name.

Fighting, however, absorbed much of Charlemagne's time and energy, as was the case with all the kings of that age. He fought against the Lombards, Bavarians, and Saxons, against Arabs, Avars, Slavs, and Danes. At the beginning of his reign Charles's mother arranged a marriage for him with the daughter of the Lombard king, Desiderius. But Charles after one year divorced his Lombard bride and became Desiderius's bitter enemy. The Pope was soon again at war with the Lombard king, and appealed to Charles for aid. The result was that Desiderius was overthrown in 774 and that Charles became King of the Lombards in his stead. He was never able, however, to bring the Duchy of Beneventum in the south really under his control, although he made several attempts. He visited the Pope at Rome, kissing every step of the basilica of St. Peter like a pilgrim, and seems to have renewed the donation of Pepin. The Pope, however, did not receive from Charles quite as much territory nor quite so many towns as he had hoped, and Charles himself kept the supreme control over Rome and its neighbourhood.

Already in Spain had begun to appear the divisions that were ultimately to ruin the Mohammedan power there. The governor of Barcelona now again sought with Charles the alliance against Cordova which he had proposed to Pepin. As Pepin had occupied Aquitaine and driven the Moslems out of Septimania, the way was prepared. Charles crossed the Pyrenees in 778, but his Arab allies did not come up to his expectations and, after taking some towns, he retreated. His rear-guard was destroyed in the passes by the Christian Basques inhabiting that locality. Among the slain was Hruodland, one of Charles's chief friends and lieutenants and the hero of the later *Song of Roland*. Later in his reign Charles was more successful and established the Spanish March, a strip of land extending as far south of the Pyrenees as the important seaport of Barcelona. *Mark* or *march* was the name for a frontier territory.

Apparently without much excuse, Charles deprived the Duke of Bavaria of his possessions and annexed them. This brought him into contact with the Avars, whose nomadic empire was now on the decline. After several years of war they were defeated by the Franks, whose territory in this direction extended into Carinthia. But Charles's hardest fighting was with the Saxons, whom throughout his reign he was constantly crushing and forcibly converting to Christianity only to have them rebel and force him to begin all over again. His measures for their welfare seem very harsh to us. The death penalty was prescribed for all heathen customs and even for eating meat in Lent. In a single day he had 4500 decapitated. Others were transplanted far from their native soil to remote parts of the Frankish territory. But he finally succeeded in incorporating them in the Frankish state, and Western Christendom reached the river Elbe.



The Frankish Empire

The territory outside of Charlemagne's Empire is left unshaded.

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
300
NORTH SEA
DANES
BALTIC SLAVS
SAXONS
FRISIA
Utrecht
SORBS OR WENDS
THURINGIA
HESSE
Aachen
AUSTRASIA
BOHEMIA
(CZECHS)
Treves
Wurzburg
Paris
NEUSTRIA
Verdun
Strassburg
ALEMANNIA
BAVARIA
Luxeuil
St. Gall
Salzburg
A V A R S
BURGUNDY
CARINTHIA
CROATS
AQUITAINE
LOMBARDY
Venice
PROVENCE
SERBS
ADRIATIC SEA
TERRITORY
CLAIMED
TUSCANY
SPOLETO
Rome
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
BASQUES
Roncesvalles
SPANISH MARCH
MOHAMMEDANS
BRITTANY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGLO SAXON KINGDOMS RECOGNIZING THE OVERLORDSHIP OF EGBERT
NORTH WALES
WEST WALES
London
10°
5°
0°
5°
10°
15°
20°
25°
50°
45°
Longitude 5° West from Greenwich
Longitude 5° East from Greenwich 10°

Against the Slavs to the east of the Elbe and in Bohemia, Charles also did some fighting, and he had to repel some incursions by the Danes or Northmen, whose wave of invasion was now beginning.

England was the only important Christian territory in the West that was not brought under Charles's rule. Egbert, King of the West Saxons, was for a time a fugitive at his court. Charlemagne helped him to regain his throne, and thereafter Egbert so prospered that he forced the other petty monarchs of the Anglo-Saxon states to recognize him as overlord.

THE FRANKISH CONSTITUTION

Charles not merely fought with his neighbours and increased his territory; he governed with a strong hand within his borders. The Frankish constitution and kingship had had three centuries in which to develop since the time of Clovis. The chief ceremonial officials at Charlemagne's court, who might also assist in State business, were the seneschal, butler, chamberlain, and marshal. This last official had charge of the royal stable. Then there was the chancery, where documents were written out and sealed, a labour which was apt to be performed largely by the court chaplains. The State archives were, in fact, kept in the royal chapel. Important action was seldom taken without a meeting of the chief nobles of the realm, including some of the higher clergy. There were no longer general assemblies of all the freemen as among the early Germans, except in so far as the mustering of the army for the annual campaign corresponded to this. But important State business, such as issuing new laws, was transacted, not at the mustering, but at the meeting of the nobles. Moreover, it was no longer the custom for every freeman to serve in the army, but only those with a certain amount of land. Others combined to support one soldier.

When Charles deposed the Duke of Bavaria, he did away with the last of the old tribal leaders of the other Germanic peoples absorbed by the Franks, and native dukes were left only in Celtic Brittany and among the Basques. He appointed a few new dukes, but they were exceptional; his regular local officer was the count. The Frankish territories were divided into counties, and in each the count was the royal representative, attending especially to judicial and military matters. Charles appointed whom he pleased, but the term of the office was for life, a dangerous feature liable to result in the office becoming hereditary. Charles also depended a great deal upon the bishops in the localities, and instructed his counts to co-operate with them. Newly conquered territory or districts needing to be kept in a state of military preparation for frontier defence were organized as marks under margraves, or counts of the marks. Sometimes a mark included more than one county and was placed under a duke. The chief marks at this time were the Breton, Spanish, Friulian, Avarian, Sorbian, and Saxon. The lesser administrative officials under the count need not be enumerated here, but we should note that the people in the localities still kept their folk-courts under the summons and presidency of the count. The officials called *missi* were links between the central and the local government, who traversed the realm by twos and threes, looking after the king's interests and seeing to it that his local officials were faithful and efficient. When sent in pairs, these itinerants were often clergyman and layman.

ROYAL POWER

The king was not yet accustomed to levy a general money tax or payment in kind upon his people, but this deficiency was largely due to the primitive economic conditions and lack of money, and to the poor communications, which would have made it difficult to bring a share of the crops from all parts of the kingdom to the royal palace or granary. Instead the king took plenty of the land of the kingdom for his own use and lived largely on the proceeds of his private estates, which he visited in turn, and where provisions were stored up awaiting his arrival. He also got the lion's share of booty in war and of fines levied in the courts, and he expected gifts from his nobles when he called them together. However, since they were always looking for lands and offices from him, this source of revenue did not bring in much. Persons who were especially dependent upon the king for protection made a special payment to him. Charles restored to the Crown the exclusive right of coining money, another considerable source of revenue as managed in those days. Moreover, the king could demand services, instead of taxes, of all his subjects. They had to serve or help some one else to serve in the army every year so that the king could always have a military force at his command. The people also did jury duty without pay in their local courts, entertained the royal agents as these travelled about, and worked at the upkeep of roads and bridges.

ROYAL LEGISLATION

Whereas among the early Germans there was little legislation, and law was regarded as something ancient and customary, the king now made many new laws. Charles in particular issued a vast number of orders and instructions to his officials and of rules for the people in his realm as a whole or in some portion of it. The new laws did not necessarily alter the old popular customs, but often that was the case. Where the old law had been harsh and primitive, the royal legislation tended to substitute fairer and more civilized methods. The king's law, moreover, applied throughout his realm or a given part of it, whereas the old German laws had been for tribes. The old law had been personal; the royal legislation was territorial. Charles issued sets of regulations for his army, for the care of his private estates, for the *missi*, for the clergy, for the conversion of the Saxons, and so forth. His successors Louis the Pious and Lothair issued further capitularies. Charles also had the laws of the different German peoples within his realm written down where that had not already been done.

Even in the folk-courts procedure had now altered much from that of the early Germans. It was less harsh and more equitable. Not only had its formalities been Christianized, but set forms had become of less importance. There was also now less self-help by the parties to the suit and more control was exercised by the public authorities. The summons to court was now by order of king or count; in the conduct of the trial the litigants did less and the presiding magistrate did more;

at the end of the trial the party who had shown better proof received from the court a certificate attesting this fact, though he was still left to execute the sentence himself. Evidence now began to be used to decide the case instead of merely oaths and ordeal. Written records were often presented in court, and, while a private document had to be verified by ceremonial witnesses and might be opposed by the other side's presenting witnesses or by piercing it with a sword as a challenge to the ordeal by combat or wager of battle, a royal charter could not be so contested. Oath-helpers now must hold a certain amount of property and must come from the neighbourhood rather than from the kindred. It was possible to appeal from the folk-court to the king's court, where still more informal, sensible, and equitable methods of procedure were now in vogue.

Royal influence was further seen in the sworn inquest, an institution which could be employed only by the king, or by his *missi* and counts with his express permission. This method was inherited from the late Roman Empire and was employed for administrative as well as judicial purposes. It consisted in summoning a number of persons from the locality in question, who were bound by oath to tell what they knew concerning crimes committed there or a corrupt official or any similar matter. Sometimes these sworn witnesses gave their testimony collectively, sometimes they were questioned singly. This was a good method for the government in gathering information, but it proved very unpopular among the Franks, because the sworn witnesses were regarded as tale-bearers upon their neighbours, and were liable to be the victims of private vengeance after the royal officials had passed on. But the institution survived the fall of the Frankish state and continued in existence in Normandy, whence it was carried to England after the Norman conquest, and there became the germ of the modern jury system in English law.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE CHURCH

The City of God was a favourite book with Charlemagne, and he aimed to make his empire a state of which God would approve and in which God's will should rule. Half of his capitularies deal with the Church, and many more of his measures have a sanctimonious tinge. He regarded himself, however, and not the pope or other clergy, as the supreme instrument of the divine will, and, like Justinian, he intended to rule in matters of both Church and State. His idea was that he should both issue the orders and see to their execution, while the pope could pray for his success and carry out his commands. Charlemagne knew less of theology than Justinian, but he nevertheless managed to have his way. We have seen that from Clovis onward the Frankish kings kept a close control over their bishops and abbots, and that Charles Martel had not hesitated to appropriate Church lands to his own purposes. It was therefore nothing unusual for Charlemagne to control the appointment of bishops and abbots, and, if need be, their possessions ; but he also superintended their education and morals. One of his capitularies instructs bishops, abbots, and their advocates, vicars, and hundredmen to live a godly life and in accordance with the rule. The secular clergy are not to keep hunting-dogs, hawks, or falcons. The monks are told to have nothing to do with secular business, to shun wholly worldly affairs, strife, controversy, drunkenness, feasting, and lust. Rumours of scandalous doings in monasteries have reached Charlemagne's ears and saddened him. He declares, " Certainly if any such report shall have come to our ears in the future, we will inflict such a penalty, not only on the culprits, but also on those who have consented to such deeds, that no Christian who shall have heard of it will ever dare in the future to perpetrate such acts." Charlemagne intended to direct Church doctrine as well as discipline the clergy and convert the heathen. In 787, when the Byzantine Empress Irene and her son Constantine called an œcumenical council at Nicæa, which restored images—just what the pope wanted, —Charlemagne insisted that the decrees of the council were heretical and that the pope should excommunicate Irene. Charlemagne saw the value of the Church as a means of cementing his diverse possessions together ; he used the clergy as political assistants; but, on the other hand, his secular officials helped to collect the Church tithes; and his control of the Church was in the main exercised through ecclesiastical machinery. When he decreed the death penalty for Saxons caught in heathen practices, he made the exception that any such person who fled to a priest and confessed his sin should have to do only such penance as the priest ordained. The fact is that Charlemagne made little distinction between ecclesiastical and political matters. He controlled both, and in his reign Church and State, king and pope, were in cordial partnership. As Gregory the Great had advised the statesmen of his day, not because he had any particular right to do so, but because of his superior energy and sagacity, so Charlemagne, because of his strong will and ability to get things done, managed the affairs of the Church without raising serious papal objections.

There were two weak points in the position of the pope quite apart from his relations with the Byzantine emperor, the Lombards, and the Franks. The office was elective, giving opportunity for disorder, corruption, and violence whenever a new pontiff had to be chosen. Then the populace of Rome often made life very uncomfortable for a pope whom they did not like. Such were the troubles at home that the Papacy had to put up with all through the Middle Ages, no matter how independent it made itself of outside interference nor how large a territory it had under its own rule as papal states. Indeed, if some one like the Byzantine emperor or the King of the Lombards controlled all Italy, he would probably see to it that the election of a pope proceeded in an orderly and decent manner, though he might influence it himself, and he would be strong enough to make the Roman mob behave. It has not always proved an unmixed blessing to the Papacy to be left free from outside interference and protection. This was now shown to be the case.

Just before Charlemagne's accession there had been a shocking struggle for the papal chair, with murders and atrocities. The conspiracies and assassinations continued until the election of Hadrian I and the coming of Charlemagne to Italy. Charlemagne, like Pepin, was called by the popes 'Patrician of the Romans,' and was regarded as the protector of the city of Rome and the other papal territory. When Hadrian died in 795, his successor, Leo III, sent to Charlemagne as his overlord the keys of St. Peter's grave and the flag of the city of Rome as tokens of his homage and fidelity. Charlemagne's response was to warn him to be a good pope. This he was not, and after four years of his harsh rule the discontented Romans gave him a sound beating and forced him to flee to Charlemagne for succour. Charlemagne stood by him and sent him back to Rome, where the year following an assembly of Franks and Romans decided that he might free himself from the accusations against him by a voluntary oath. They felt that it would be unseemly to subject the Pope to an ordinary trial. On December 23 Leo so cleared himself.

Charlemagne crowned Emperor

Two days later, at Christmas 800, as Charles knelt in prayer in St. Peter's, the grateful Pope surprised him by placing a crown on his head and adoring him in Byzantine style, while the assembled populace hailed him as 'Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans.' Charlemagne's possessions might well be called an empire, since he was king of the Lombards as well as king of the Franks, and also ruled over other lands and peoples. Moreover, the Byzantine Empire now held nothing in the West except Southern Italy and Sicily. Charlemagne's territory bore slight resemblance, however, to the old Roman Empire, since he had nothing in the East or in Africa, and nothing in Britain nor much in Spain in the West. On the other hand, his empire included a good slice of German territory between the Rhine and Elbe which the Romans had never been able to conquer. However, Rome was still a magic name with an eternal heritage, and for Rome once more to have an emperor was an event destined to exert a great future influence, as we shall see. For the present the new title made little change in Charles's government, which was already both as autocratic and as theocratic as it well could be. His subjects now kissed his knee and toe after the Byzantine usage; in 802 he exacted a new general oath of allegiance; that was all. Frankish Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) remained his residence and capital.

Strange to say, Charlemagne seems not to have been pleased by his coronation. He told his biographer, Einhard, that although it was the day of Christ's birth he would not have entered the church had he known what the Pope intended to do. Possibly this was merely an expression of modest shrinking from so great an honour; possibly he had even more ambitious schemes under way, whose realization was prevented by the Pope's officiousness; possibly as a result of the Pope's act he feared hostile complications with Constantinople, with which he seems to have been at that time negotiating and planning a marriage. Finally, in 810–812 he concluded a treaty by which Constantinople recognized him as emperor in the West, and he ceded Venice and the Dalmatian coast to the Byzantine Empire. Possibly he did not wish to be crowned by the Pope and would have preferred to assume the title himself or to receive it from the hands of the Byzantine emperor as the latter's colleague. At any rate, in the year before his death he and his Franks themselves attended at Aachen the imperial coronation of his only surviving son, Louis. Louis, however, who gained the epithet 'the Pious' by his obsequiousness to the clergy, was recrowned by the Pope after his father's death; and his son, grandson, and their two successors all went through the same ceremony, so that a series of precedents established the claim of the popes to crown, if not to make, emperors.

CHARLEMAGNE AND LEARNING

Charlemagne perceived the value of education in both Church and State. He established a school at his palace to train up men to do his work. He wished the clergy to know enough Latin to be able to read the Church service, to write a respectable letter, and to interpret the Holy Scriptures with understanding. This was asking a good deal of the Frankish

Church at that time, and he had to call in as teachers monks from England and scholars from Italy—countries where there was somewhat more culture. An ordinance in which Charlemagne exhorts his bishops and monks to lead exemplary lives has sometimes been incorrectly interpreted to imply that he established universal elementary education for slave as well as free-born. But it would be truly extraordinary for a monarch suddenly to decree universal education in a land plunged in ignorance, by making an incidental remark or two in an ‘admonition’ to the clergy. So important a measure would at least call for an elaborate law devoted to it exclusively, and would have needed a whole set of capitularies ever really to enforce it. Anyway, Charlemagne says nothing of the sort to his clergy. He does not bid them educate serf as well as free; he does tell them to bring up for the Christian ministry not merely boys of servile origin, but also the sons of freemen, and to maintain schools where such boys may learn to read, so that in later life they may copy the Gospel, psalter, and missal without making mistakes.

THE SO-CALLED ‘CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE’

There is also little evidence for the so-called ‘Carolingian Renaissance,’ over which some historians have waxed eloquent and which one has declared almost comparable in its results with the later Italian Renaissance. It is true that the pope had sent Pepin some hymnals and text-books written in Greek; that a revision of the Salic law from Charlemagne’s time is in better Latin than the version from the reign of Clovis; and that Charlemagne himself is said to have spoken Latin and understood Greek, although he could scarcely write his name. But there is no record of his encouraging classical learning and literature for their own sake, nor of any great proficiency in either in his time. Alcuin, the bright light of his court and palace school, was hardly the equal of Cassiodorus and Isidore. Two reigns after Charlemagne, John of Ireland, known as Erigena, a remarkably original and fearless thinker for his time, became head of the palace school, and translated from the Greek the theological treatises falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, who heard the Apostle Paul preach at Athens. It has been asserted that almost all the works of Latin literature extant to-day are preserved for us in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but how far we should attribute this to Charlemagne's influence it is hard to say.

If Charles the Great did little to encourage classical studies, his contribution toward the development of modern literature is even more uncertain. He is said to have ordered that the national songs of the Germans should be collected and that a Frankish grammar should be written, but no such works have come down to us. Our earliest considerable specimens of the growth of modern languages come from the time of his grandsons, two of whom when combining against a third exchanged oaths of fidelity in languages which each other's troops could understand and which show us early stages in the development of the French and German languages. When literature in the modern languages first really began, in the centuries after the break-up of his empire, it looked back on Charlemagne as one of the heroes of old along with Cæsar and Alexander; and the ruler Charles the Great, whose true historical importance was already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no longer appreciated, was relegated to the realm of romance as Charlemagne.

And in fact Charlemagne's reign in most respects looked backward rather than forward. His octagonal cathedral at Aachen, which is still standing, copied the plan of San Vitale at Ravenna and imported columns from Ravenna, Treves, and Rome for its interior decoration—a task to which contemporary artists were doubtless unequal. He did not try to alter much the crude economic conditions of his age, and he probably never dreamt of social reform. His coronation as Roman emperor seems a political retrospect rather than an advance toward the modern type of state. He showed little consideration for what is to-day called the spirit of nationality; he forced Lombards and Bavarians and Saxons and Spaniards under his autocratic rule, and then was ready to divide arbitrarily among his descendants the briefly realized unity of his empire. We shall see that the decline of his empire, more than its creation, marked a transition toward modern history, and that his inability to subdue the Northmen and the Arabs hastened that day more than did his conquest of the Saxons.

Disintegration of the Frankish Empire

While the conception of Imperial Rome was to endure and another attempt to realize it was to be made later, Charlemagne's empire began to disintegrate directly his commanding personality disappeared. It was only an accident that its unity was preserved when he died. He had planned in accordance with Frankish custom to divide among his three sons the territories which he had been at such pains to unite ; but only one son survived him, Louis the Pious, and ruled alone as emperor from 814. Louis's sons kept pestering him to partition his realm among them, and he did so several times before his death. As early as 817 he made Lothair his associate in the imperial office ; gave to Pepin, Aquitaine ; to Louis, Bavaria ; and to a nephew, Italy. In 829 Charles received Alemannia. In 833 the sons tried to get rid of their father, who was too gentle for that age, by shutting him up in a monastery, but he recovered the throne and lived on until 840. Meanwhile Pepin had died and there had been new divisions of territory and more revolts. Lothair succeeded his father as emperor, but his brothers defeated him at Fontenay and he had to sign the Treaty of Verdun in 843. This left him in possession of only a long central strip of territory, extending from Rome to the North Sea, and including both the papal city and the Frankish capital, Aachen. It also embraced Lombardy, Provence, most of Burgundy, the original territories of the Salians and Ripuarians before Clovis's conquests, and Frisia, north of these. Roughly speaking, he controlled Central and Northern Italy and the Rhone and Rhine valleys. From Lotharingia, as Lothair's territory north of the Alps came later to be called, has come the modern name Lorraine, now applied to a much more restricted area. Louis, King of the East Franks, ruled Germans exclusively—the Saxons, Thuringians, Alemanni, and Bavarians. Charles, king of the West Franks, had most of Neustria and Aquitaine with their predominantly Latin population. He had only nominal control over Aquitaine, where his nephew Pepin was king, and the Spanish March, Septimania, and Brittany were quite independent of him. Passing over various treaties and territorial readjustments of minor importance, we find that in 870 the one surviving son of Lothair had only Provence and Italy left as his ' empire.' By the Treaty of Mersen his uncles had divided Lotharingia, Louis the German taking the lion's share, including Aachen. When Lothair's son died in 875, the empire was practically at an end. For a few years, from 881 to 887, Charles, who had ruled the East Franks since the death of his father, Louis the German, became emperor; and in 884 the West Franks accepted his rule because the other available Carolingian was but five years old. Charles proved quite unequal to his imperial task; he did not govern at all, and at last was deposed. Thereafter the different sections which had once been combined under Charlemagne subdivided into even smaller parts than before.

CHAPTER XII

THE NORTHMEN AND OTHER NEW INVADERS

INTERNAL weakness was one important cause of the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, but a new series of invasions from all sides hastened the disintegration and greatly increased the confusion. The overland advance of Islam had been checked, but through the ninth and tenth centuries Sicily and Southern Italy and the coasts from Naples to the Rhone were assailed by sea by Saracens from North Africa and elsewhere. On the east the Wends beyond the Elbe and the Czechs in Bohemia, both Slavic peoples, made inroads; and in the south-east appeared a new terror, the fierce Magyars, representing another wave of the mounted nomads from Asia. But most destructive and dangerous of all to Western Christendom seemed the invaders from the north, the cruel heathen Northmen, the vikings, who came by sea like the Saracens in their swift, long boats, which could penetrate far up the rivers, and who then rode about on horseback plundering like the Asiatic nomads.

The character of one of the Northmen, as set forth in a later saga, will sufficiently illustrate their spirit and standards. " The grimmest of all men was he in his wrath, and marvellous pains he laid on his foes. Some he burned in the fire, some he let wild hounds tear, some he gave to serpents, some he stoned, some he cast from high cliffs." Yet we are further assured that he was not only " before all men for heart in battle," but that he was the " gladdest and gamesomest of men, kind and lowly, exceeding eager, bountiful and glorious of attire." The vikings were firm believers in wizards, ghosts, and other supernatural forces, and in their wanderings to distant coasts and strange places they often encountered—in their opinion—both the magic of men and weird powers of Nature. Such things often frightened them, but they had, or pretended to have, a fierce contempt for mere death or physical pain. At bottom the heroes of the sagas were usually either soldiers of fortune who hired themselves out to the highest bidder, or shrewd traders who drove hard bargains and seldom let mere love of adventure outweigh the prospect of substantial gain, just as the mere prospect of personal danger could not hold them back from profitable plundering or trading ventures. Such was the Norse character as reflected in literature not written down until after the period of which we treat in this chapter.

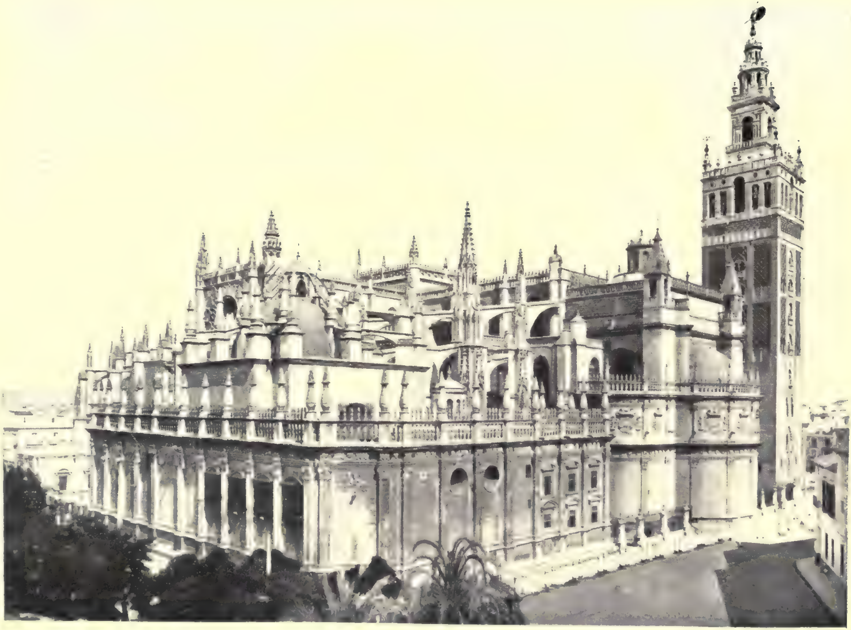
The Northmen were the Teutonic ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, and inhabited the Scandinavian peninsula, where there was good hunting and fishing, but a rather barren soil. They had, however, by this time developed a settled agricultural society. But the nature of their peninsula and its coast-line indented by deep fiords tempted them, like the ancient Greeks; to a life on the sea of trading ventures and piracy. Rugged rocks, too, like the mountains of Greece, combined with the arms of the sea to isolate the small fertile areas and pasture lands from one another, to hinder the rise of large states and encourage the growth of personal freedom. Unlike the marbles of Greece, however, these rugged rocks were too hard to quarry easily, so that even forts had to be built of wood. There seem to have been two chief social classes, a large number of free small landowners who formed the citizen body, and their personal dependents or servile agricultural labourers. In the main the institutions of the Northmen were not unlike those of their kinsmen, the earlier German invaders, which have been described in a previous chapter, where too we have seen that what we know of the religion and mythology of the heathen Germans is gleaned chiefly from the Eddas of Iceland.

By the time of Charlemagne the population had so increased in the Scandinavian peninsula that existence became difficult, and chieftains warred upon one another in the hope of winning more land for their followers. Those who were defeated and driven out, or who left home voluntarily to escape starvation or dependence, took to the sea and to plundering more prosperous lands. At home economic and social inequality increased, and the most successful of the chieftains developed into kings. By the middle of the ninth century, Gorm the Old ruled in Denmark, Eric in Sweden, and Harold Fair-hair in Norway. When these kings began to tax and tyrannize over the free yeomen, many of these joined the stream of emigrants. As this more peaceable and agricultural class added itself to the earlier outlaws and freebooters, the expeditions and invasions of the Northmen into other countries began to show a change from mere piracy and plundering to more systematic conquest and settlement.

RAVAGES OF THE NORTHMEN IN THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

The Northmen had begun to attack Charlemagne's empire at the close of the eighth century, and he not only had to fight them on his northern frontier, but wept to see their long galleys in the Mediterranean. Soon they came across the North Sea every year in their ships with sails striped with gay colours and with the high bows and sterns fashioned into the beaks and tails of fantastic monsters. Then they rowed—for their vessels were propelled by both sails and oars—up all the rivers from the Elbe to the Garonne, reaching the very heart of what is now France and Germany, as well as frightfully harrying the coast regions. These invaders spared not even churches and monasteries; they burned towns and so devastated the country that the peasants hardly ventured to raise any crops. They burned the church of St. Martin at Tours, which neither Huns nor Arabs had been able to reach, and they sacked even such inland cities of Southern France as Limoges. The chroniclers of the time were in despair at the sad state of Christendom and at the same old cruel tale of pillage and slaughter which they had to set down year after year.

The incapable successors of Charlemagne were seldom able to catch these invading bands, or to defeat them if they



14. Seville Cathedral

did overtake them, for they fought furiously in their helmets and coats of mail behind their long shields with spear, sword, or battle-axe. The later Carolingians often adopted the policy of paying them money to go away, but this only made more come the next year. When the Northmen besieged Paris for the fourth time in 885, the Bishop Gauzelin and the Count Odo defended it manfully, and made every effort to secure from outside an army to relieve the city. But when the Emperor Charles at last arrived, he merely bought off the Northmen and allowed them to spend the winter in plundering Burgundy. It was largely on this account that he was deposed, and the incident illustrates the failure of the central government to check the invaders and the fact that the people of each district must look for protection to their local officials and great men such as the count and the bishop.

SETTLEMENT OF NORMANDY

Through the ninth century, then, the Northmen repeatedly ravaged Frankish territory, and sometimes passed the entire winter there ; but the only region where they seem to have made permanent settlements on any large scale was on the lower course of the River Seine. From this position they threatened the interior, and the King of the West Franks, whose capital was at Laon, in what is now North-eastern France, found it advisable to detach the district about Paris as a march against them. The first count of this march was Robert the Strong. The ruler of the Northmen on the lower Seine—or Normans, as we may now begin to call them—during the last quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the tenth century, was Rollo (876–927), a somewhat legendary figure whose exploits are recorded in the later French *Roman de Rou*. He made Rouen his capital, and in 911 or 912 he was definitely granted Normandy by the Carolingian king of the West Franks, Charles the Simple. While Normandy was the only large area conquered by the Northmen from the Franks, they probably made smaller settlements in a number of places, and were gradually absorbed into the native population and everywhere converted to Christianity.

Northmen in the British Isles

In the British Isles the Northmen made numerous settlements and conquests. The Norwegians went to the Orkney and Shetland and Faroe Islands to the north of Scotland, to Caithness and Sutherland on the northern coast of Scotland itself, to the Hebrides and the west coast of Scotland, and to the eastern coast of Ireland. Meanwhile the Danes devoted their attention to England. Both these movements had started before 800, and the famous monastery of Iona on the west coast of Scotland was sacked in 795. In England, as on the Continent, two stages of invasion are distinguished: the first, from about 787 to 855, a purely destructive one of plunder and rapine; the second, of occupation. The monastic culture of the north was practically blotted out by the heathen Danes, and they brought to an end the Angle kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. They overran and occupied the entire north and east of England. But the Kingdom of Wessex in the south-west, which had already become the strongest Anglo-Saxon state under Egbert, was left to struggle successfully against the Danes under its gallant, learned, and truly Christian king, Alfred the Great.

Alfred, who ruled from 871 to 901, united all the rest of England against the Danes, and reorganized the Saxon army and revived the navy. He drove the Danes out of Wessex and recovered London. A line drawn approximately from London to modern Liverpool was made the frontier between the West Saxon kingdom and the Danelaw, as the territory where Danish customs and institutions prevailed was called. Under Alfred's son and grandsons the Danelaw was gradually reconquered and all England united under one ruler. The Danes had done at least the one service of obliterating the petty kingdoms in the territory they had occupied, and Kent, Sussex, and a part of Mercia had forgotten their differences and accepted a West Saxon king in order to escape the Danes. The Danes also brought England into closer trade relations with the rest of Europe than before, and were more inclined to town life than the country-loving Anglo-Saxons. Their armour was a military improvement; and they brought in a large class of freemen to a land where, for a century or two before, the weak had been falling under the domination of the strong.

The Anglo-Saxon State

Alfred and his successors organized their new territory as they occupied it. The land was divided into shires, divisions similar to the Carolingian counties, and the shires were subdivided into hundreds, wapentakes, and other local units. These shires still exist to-day with the same names and boundaries, though no longer of the same administrative importance. Each hundred had a court which met monthly, and the shire had its superior court which met twice a year. The chief official in each shire was the ealdorman (whence is derived our word 'alderman'), some leading noble of the locality whose ancestors had perhaps once been its kings. The bishop also had considerable authority. The ealdorman presided at the shire moot or court, and led the quota for the army furnished by his shire. Alfred had revived against the Danes the old German custom that all freemen should serve in the army, although he allowed them to take turns so that some might be tilling the fields. It is to be noted that the ealdorman was not so much the king's representative as was the Carolingian count, but was more akin to the tribal dukes of whom Charlemagne tried to get rid. The Saxon king had another representative in the shire called the sheriff (shire-reeve); but he was as yet a rather humble individual, who collected the royal revenues from the king's private estates or the proceeds of justice, but who was not comparable with the ealdorman in dignity. Under this system of government parts of England retained in their shire and hundred courts many distinctive local customs, and even the same thing was called by different names and perhaps done in a slightly different way in different places. In the Danelaw many institutions derived from the earlier kingdoms of the Angles or from the Danes survived after Alfred's great-grandson Edgar the Peaceful had become king of all England, and similarly in Kent many Kentish customs were still followed. In other words, Alfred's successors did not attempt to force West Saxon customs on all England, but left much local freedom and autonomy.

If local institutions were the strong point of the Anglo-Saxon state, its weakness lay in the lack of close connexion between the central government and the localities. The kings made laws and issued administrative regulations similar to the Frankish capitularies. To advise them they had their Witan of prominent nobles and clergy similar to the Frankish assembly of magnates. Their system of succession was more favourable to a united monarchy than the Frankish, for while the Witan had the right to elect and even to depose the king, their choice was limited to one royal family, and the land was never divided among several children. The Witan was not likely to depose the king, since he filled it with men whom he had raised to the nobility because of their services and fidelity to him. But the English kings had no *missi* to carry their power to the localities and no method like the sworn inquest for getting information from and concerning the localities.

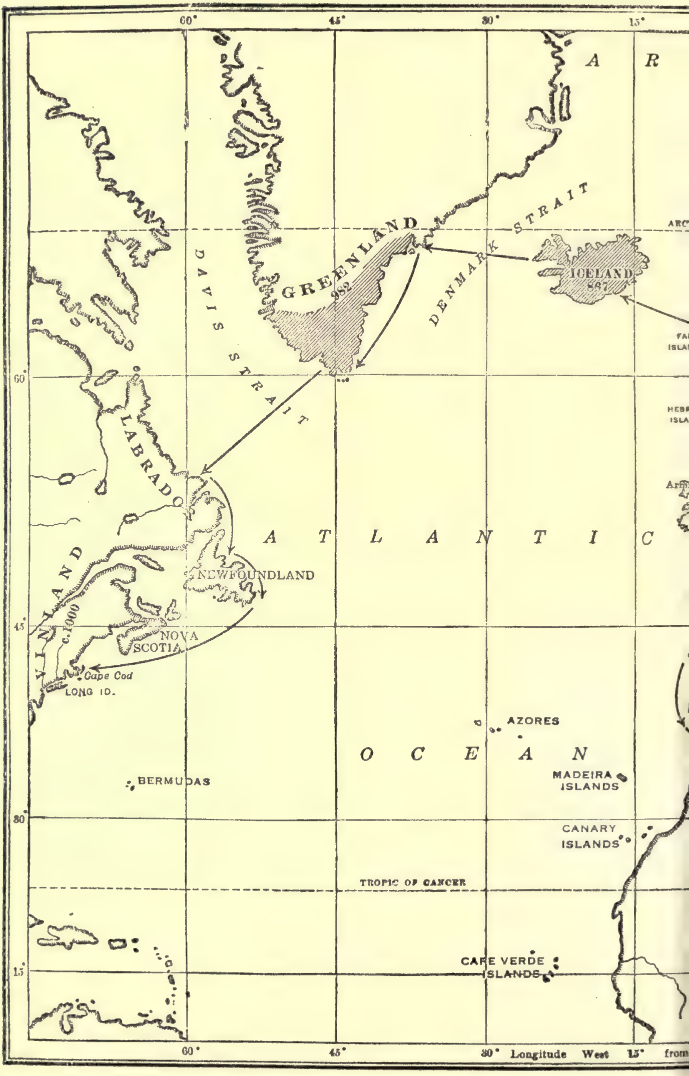
After Alfred had made peace with the Danes, he tried to restore religion and learning in his realm. He had to send to the Continent for monks and to Celtic Wales for teachers, as Charlemagne earlier had been forced to seek his scholars from England and Italy. Alfred, however, went a step farther than Charlemagne. He encouraged the development of literature in the language of the people. He " wondered extremely that the good and wise men who were formerly all over England, and had learned perfectly all the books, did not wish to translate them into their own language." So he himself translated into Anglo-Saxon Orosius' *History,* Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy,* and Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Charge.* The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the oldest historical work written in a modern language, if we may regard Anglo-Saxon as the first stage of the English language. Probably first compiled from earlier Latin annals, it was re-edited and expanded in the middle of the ninth century, and again under Alfred. After his death it was continued at different places and kept up to date in its entries until long after the Norman conquest. We still possess to-day manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, written in England in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon, which show that Alfred's efforts to stimulate learning and literature were not without results. From no other country in Western Europe have we before the twelfth century so many manuscripts dealing with medieval natural science and medicine. But from the constructive government of Alfred and his successors and from the culture of later Saxon England we must turn back again to the wild invaders.

ICELAND, GREENLAND, AND VINLAND

If we would appreciate thoroughly the tremendous vigour and power of expansion, the adventurous spirit and the fearless enterprise of the Norse vikings, and their ability to cover vast distances by land and sea, we must follow them, not only along the coasts of Gaul and of both Christian and Mohammedan Spain and to the Irish Channel or the Mediterranean, but yet farther afield and afloat. Before the ninth century was over they had sailed round the North Cape of Europe and along the shores of Lapland to the White Sea, they had colonized Iceland, and had sighted Greenland, which was at first more appropriately called 'White Shirt,' from its robe of snow. In the tenth century they made settlements in Greenland, and about 1000 visited the coasts of what they called 'Vinland,' which seems to have been either Labrador or Newfoundland or Nova Scotia or New England. Thus they became deep-sea sailors before the invention of the mariner's compass and discovered America five centuries before Columbus. The world, however, was not yet ready to profit by this discovery, and the Northmen themselves seldom visited Vinland and founded no lasting settlements there.

THE NORTHMEN IN RUSSIA

While Norwegians thus pushed on farther and farther into unknown seas, Swedes were crossing and recrossing the great expanse of Russia. Here too they first appeared as small bands of plunderers, called *vaeringjar*, or Varangians. By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NOVA SCOTIA
VINLAND
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Cape Cod
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ATLANTIC
OCEAN
AZORES
MADEIRA ISLANDS
CANARY ISLANDS
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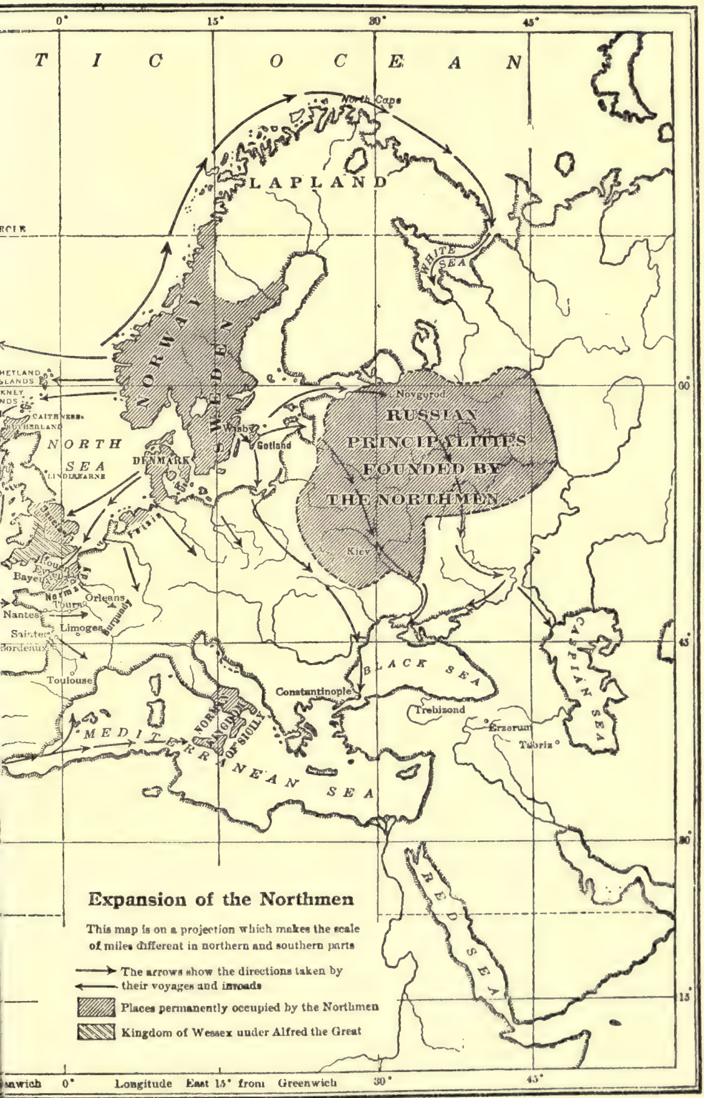
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T I C O C E A N
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RCLE
WHITE SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
HETLAND
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KNEY
NDS
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
NORTH SEA
LINDISFARNE
DENMARK
Wisby
Gotland
Novgorod
RUSSIAN PRINCIPALITIES FOUNDED BY THE NORTHMEN
Kiev
Danelaw
Frisia
Rouen
Evreux
Bayeux
Normandy
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Burgundy
Limoges
Saintes
Bordeaux
Toulouse
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
Erzerum
Tabriz
CASPIAN SEA
RED SEA
60°
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enwich 0° Longitude East 15° from Greenwich 30° 45°

Expansion of the Northmen

This map is on a projection which makes the scale of miles different in northern and southern parts

→ ← The arrows show the directions taken by their voyages and inroads

▨ Places permanently occupied by the Northmen

▧ Kingdom of Wessex under Alfred the Great

them articles of luxury, silks, gold, and silver. Such objects of personal adornment and luxury may still be seen in profusion in the national museums at the three Scandinavian capitals, but many of them represent the workmanship of native artists and not trade or plunder from other lands.

Influence of the Northmen upon European Civilization

Fiends of destruction as the first vikings had seemed, and fatal as their incursions had been to government, religion, economic prosperity, and monastic culture in the lands they invaded, when once they began to occupy the land permanently they displayed a remarkable capacity for adapting themselves to the customs of the countries where they settled. In England they formed one nation with the Anglo-Saxons ; in Normandy they adopted the language and manners of the Romance peoples and became French of the French ; in Scotland and in Ireland they were absorbed in each case by the native population ; in Russia they were Slavicized. Those who stayed at home in Scandinavia did not develop any high culture of their own, although by the eleventh century they had become Christians like their fellows in other lands. Indeed, their vigour both physical and intellectual seems to have declined with their conversion. This was, however, perhaps due to other causes, such as the emigration of the most ambitious and energetic to foreign lands. Those who colonized in other countries not merely took on whatever culture they found there, they also contributed something, as has already been shown in the case of the Danes in England. In general we may say that the Northmen contributed to the countries they invaded and settled the following things. First, their vigorous blood and seafaring instincts and spirit of enterprise. This we may see still at work in later movements such as the Norman conquest of England, the Norman conquests of Sicily and Southern Italy, and the Crusades. Second, a commerce and connexion with other lands which tended to break the isolation and broaden the civilization of the regions with which they came in contact. Third, a capacity for ruling, organization, and government which shows itself in their founding of the principality of Russia, of the Duchy of Normandy, of the republic of Iceland, and later in the Danish and Anglo-Norman monarchies in England, and in the Norman kingdom of Sicily and Southern Italy.

THE SARACENS IN SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY

While the Northmen were sailing up the rivers which flow into the North Sea, the English Channel, and the Bay of Biscay, Mohammedan pirates raided from the Mediterranean, and the shores of Southern Italy are still lined with the ruins of towers built to guard against them. In 827, when they were called in by Christian rebels, a native Berber dynasty in North Africa began to wrench Sicily away from the Byzantine Empire. Palermo, on the northern coast, was taken in 831 and became the Moslem capital; most of the island was subjugated by the middle of the same century; then came a lull before Syracuse, on the eastern coast, was destroyed in 878, and the conquest was not complete until 902. Long before that, however, the Saracens had entered Italy. The Duke of Naples called upon them in 837 to relieve that town from a siege by the Lombard Duke of Benevento. A few years later the Neapolitans returned the favour by helping the Saracens to conquer Messina in the extreme north-eastern corner of Sicily. Meanwhile the Moslems were making conquests in Italy, especially since Benevento had split into two halves which kept fighting each other. Moslems from Crete took one side in this strife and Moslems from Sicily took the other side. They also pushed far up the Adriatic and defeated the Venetians. They made Bari in Apulia their headquarters, and from that point overran Southern Italy pretty much as they pleased. In 846 their fleet entered the seaport of Rome and plundered the suburbs and broke open the graves of St. Peter and St. Paul in their churches outside the walls. Three years later a similar expedition was defeated by a fleet from Italian towns of the west coast, assisted by a storm; and a wall was built round the quarter beyond the Tiber to protect the basilica of St. Peter and the Vatican Palace.

From 847 to his death in 875 the Emperor Louis II, son of Lothair, led frequent expeditions against the Saracens without succeeding in driving them out of Italy entirely, chiefly for the reason that the petty lords who now divided the old Duchy of Benevento between them did not co-operate loyally with him. In 871, acting in unison with a Byzantine fleet, he captured Bari from the Moslems; and the Byzantine emperor Basil, who continued the struggle after Louis's death, at last expelled them from the east coast and southern end of the peninsula. But they still held posts farther up the west coast from which they often plundered Central Italy, until Pope John X finally got rid of them in 915. In Sicily their rule endured into the eleventh century, and Palermo became a centre of prosperity, refinement, and learning comparable with Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova. But the state was weakened by the jealousies between the Arabs and Berbers.

Incursions by the Magyars from Hungary

Toward the close of the ninth century the nomadic Magyars entered the plain of Hungary, whence the Avars had disappeared soon after Charlemagne. The Magyars to-day form the ruling class in Hungary. Again and again during the first half of the tenth century they swept over Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; they frequently ravaged Lombardy beyond the Alps; and their devastations in Gaul sometimes carried them as far as Spain or Flanders. It was the business of the kings of the East Franks to stop these invaders, but for many years they failed to do so. Arnulf (887–899) made an alliance with them. Louis the Child (899–911) was defeated by them and forced to pay them tribute. They invaded four times during the brief reign of Conrad I, who had many other wars on his hands. Henry I (919–936), whose authority was restricted to Saxony and Thuringia, gained immunity for those districts for a number of years by paying tribute, and the Magyars turned their attention to Bavaria, whose duke was practically independent of Henry. By 933 Henry felt strong enough to refuse to pay tribute any longer and defeated the Hungarians; but in the early years of the reign of his successor, Otto I, they continued to invade Germany and even Gaul, until at last he defeated them decisively in 955 in the battle of the Lechfeld. After that they settled down in Hungary ; their conversion to Christianity is especially associated with the name of their first king, St. Stephen (997–1038).

Condition of the Slavs in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries

The poor Slavs during this period were still more invaded than invading, harassed as they were on the east by the mounted nomads and from the north by the Swedish slave-traders. The mortality in the slave trade at that time was even greater than in the later African slave trade with America. About nine Slavs died on the way for every one who was sold as a slave. Yet the population continued to increase. They had already freed themselves to a considerable extent from the domination of the Asiatic invaders. In the Balkan states the nomadic element became absorbed in the Slavic population. In Carinthia, Bohemia, and Poland the enslaved peasants had revolted against the rule of the Avars and founded native dynasties, although by Charlemagne's time Carinthia had a German duke. The Wends between the Elbe and Oder and the Czechs in Bohemia were now able to defend themselves, and also made inroads into German territory. Conrad I had wars with them, Henry I created marks to strengthen his north-eastern frontier against them and founded Meissen and Brandenburg, Otto I was able to take the offensive against them. The Magyar invasion and settlement of Hungary had the important result of driving a wedge which henceforth permanently separated the Slavs to the south of the Danube from those on the north-eastern frontier of Germany.

In the Balkans the expansion of the Bulgarians is the most noteworthy event of this period. In the ninth century they extended their borders to the west and south-west. Boris, their first Christian king, had been obliged to leave his monastic retirement for a time in order to blind his ruling son, who had turned back again toward heathenism. Boris replaced him by a younger brother, Symeon, who had been educated at Constantinople and who lived like a hermit, touching neither meat nor wine. Symeon, however, was ambitious and tried to conquer Rumania and to become Emperor of Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire stirred up against him the Magyars, then located in Bessarabia; but he too found allies in the Turks of the Pontus Steppe. The Magyars were defeated and driven into Hungary, whence they began the series of westward invasions already recounted. Constantinople had to pay the Bulgarians tribute. In 904 Arab corsairs further weakened the Byzantine Empire by seizing Saloniki at the head of the Ægean Sea. In a second Bulgarian war (913–927) Thrace and Serbia, whose prince was a vassal of the Byzantine emperor, were almost depopulated, but Croatia held out against the Bulgarian advance. Before his death in 927, Symeon made an alliance with the Fatimites in North Africa. His pious son, Peter, however, made peace with Constantinople; and during his reign the Magyars ravaged eastward as well as westward, and forced both Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire to pay them tribute. The Serbians, who had been driven from their country in the recent Bulgarian war, took advantage of this set-back for Bulgaria to return to their homes. But of either Serbia or Croatia we know nothing more during the remainder of the tenth century.

The Emperor Constantine VII (911–959), called 'Porphyrogennetos' from his birth in the purple room of the palace at Constantinople, has left us, among his numerous writings on agriculture, economics, laws, morals, tactics, and court etiquette, a treatise *On the Administration of the Empire*, in which he refers to the various barbarian peoples on the northern and eastern frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. What is now Rumania and South-western Russia—in other words, the region from the mouth of the Danube to the Sea of Azov—was then held by the Petchenegs or Patzinaks, a fierce and barbarous people of Asiatic and nomadic origin. North-west of them were the Russians, with the two chief towns of Kiev in the south and Novgorod in the north. North-east and east of the Petchenegs, in what is now Eastern Russia, were the Khazars, the only barbarians in Europe who were converted to the Jewish faith. West of the Petchenegs lay a territory disputed between them and the Magyars of Hungary.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FEUDAL LAND SYSTEM AND FEUDAL SOCIETY

WITH the disruption of Charlemagne's empire and the period of renewed invasions from all sides, we are no longer able to follow the fortunes of one ruler or of several fair-sized kingdoms ; but find ourselves in the complicated tangle of feudalism, with its overlapping areas, its conflicting claims and titles to land and power, its minute subdivisions of sovereignty, its thousands of lords. Feudalism in the strict sense of the word denotes the relationships which existed in the Middle Ages, especially from the ninth and tenth to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, between the members of the fighting and landowning class. In a broader sense it also covers the life of the subjugated peasantry upon the land dominated by the warriors, and all the other economic, social, political, and intellectual results and accompaniments of feudalism in the narrower sense.

As the Frankish state disintegrated and central government and common action ceased to exist, the pieces out of which Charlemagne and his predecessors had put together their empire fell apart again according to old geographical, tribal, and racial lines, or following more recent divisions. Local officials and great landholders again became a law unto themselves, and the former tried to hand on their political power to their sons as the latter did their lands. The Carolingian government had often tacitly admitted its inability to rule all the territory nominally subject to it by granting an immunity to this or that monastery or great man. By such a grant the king renounced his right to collect taxes, administer justice, and send his officials into the lands of the individual or monastery in question. Now the repeated incursions of Northmen, Saracens, and Magyars broke off communications and left each locality in isolation to look after itself. Men would not obey even the local officials unless they had to, since those officials often were no longer legally appointed by a king or emperor and often gave no better protection than king or emperor gave against the incessant invasions of heathen and Moslems.

Therefore other bonds than those of political union must be found to hold society together and ensure each individual some sort of order and protection. Such bonds were found in personal relations between men and in dependent land tenure. Already in the Roman Empire and early Middle Ages men had been in personal subjection to others. Both the Romans and the early Germans had slaves, and although the number of slaves had been on the decline in the Roman Empire, the period of barbarian invasions brought in a new supply. Gregory the Great not only saw the Angle boys in the Roman slave market and planned to purchase heathen lads to educate as missionaries to their own peoples, but in one of his letters he makes a present of a personal servant (*famulus*) named John to another bishop. The Northmen, as we have seen, flooded Europe and Asia with slaves from Russia. In Western and Central Europe, however, there was at this time little but agricultural work for slaves to do, so that most of them were sooner or later set out upon the land and absorbed into the larger class of serfs.

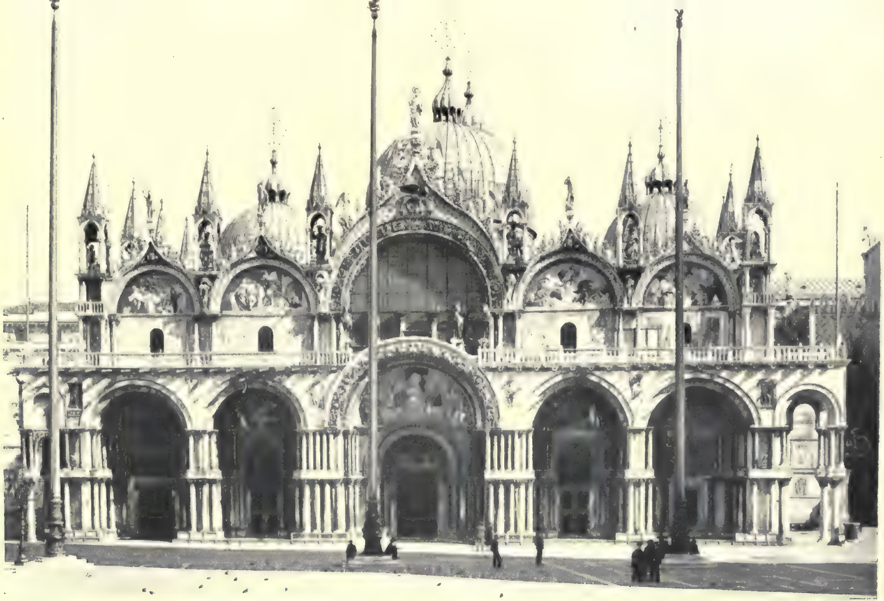
The serfs were peasants who were sold or transferred with the land which they cultivated, as if they had been so many ploughs or cows. When a king rewarded a valiant soldier or his wife's nephew or a new monastery with a slice of fertile soil from his own private estates, or when any one else gave or sold a piece of land, a villa, or so many *mansi* or hides to another, it was understood that the peasantry on the estate would now have to work for the new owner. We have already seen how a law of Constantine bound the *coloni* of the Roman Empire to the soil and thus reduced them to serfdom ; that the prevalent land unit in the Roman Empire and early Middle Ages was the great estate where one man owned all the land

and every one else living on the estate worked for him ; and that in the German kingdoms established upon Roman soil many of the once free German warriors soon sank to a position of economic dependence and social inferiority—in short, to serfdom. The serfs had to cultivate part of the estate for their master, to labour in and about his house, cut wood for his fire, cart his grain and wine and hay, repair the roads and bridges on his property. Their lord usually did not feed or clothe or house them, though he would probably provide breakfast and lunch for them when they had worked all day in his fields or on his errands. But except perhaps in the case of a few domestic servants, he avoided the expense of supporting them by giving them bits of land, of which he had plenty, where they could raise a scanty crop for their own sustenance on such days as they were not engaged in toiling for him. In the course of time it came to be understood that these bits of land could not be arbitrarily taken away from them, and that their children could inherit the same by paying a fee or tax to the lord in recognition of his claim to ownership thereof.

The serfs did not live together in slave barracks, but were allowed to build separate huts of their own. The rude walls were made of crossed or interwoven laths with the interstices stuffed with straw or grass, and with a thatched roof. There was only one floor to the hut, and it was the ground floor, and usually there was but one room inside, with a fire in the centre. There was no chimney ; and if there were any windows, there was no glass in them, and in rain or in winter they would have to be filled up with straw to keep out the damp and cold. If the serf's entire family had a single bed, they were lucky ; it was more likely their lot to sleep with a little hay between them and the soil. Their other furniture was equally scanty.

The lord was far from allowing the serf to keep for himself all that he raised on his own land. Even of his own wheat and oats and barley, and even of his sheep, pigs, hens, and eggs, he had to hand over a part to his lord. The master could not sell his serf's wife or daughter and so break up the family, but he could require that the daughter should marry some fellow serf so that the children of the marriage might also be serfs of the same estate. The lord also compelled his peasants to observe a number of other petty and annoying usages and restrictions. They must grind their flour at his mill and pay the miller a fee; they must use the lord's wine-press; they must drive their sheep at night into his fold so that he would get the manure. In general they had to have everything done, and buy everything that they got, on the estate. However, to be able to grind their flour and shoe their horses on the spot was a certain advantage when robbers and plunderers were about and when there were no towns near. The peasants also had to settle their questions of property or of personal injury at a little court which the lord maintained. King and count and bishop had other fish to cook and paid little attention to such small fry as they. Needless to say, the fines and costs levied at this little court went into the lord's pocket, while most of the judicial work there was done by the peasants themselves. A lord of course might not treat his serfs too badly or they would starve or perhaps succeed in escaping to some other lord who would treat them better. On the other hand, the lord had a natural inclination to squeeze out of his serfs all that he could get. This service rendered by serfs to their masters and the profits acquired by the lords from the peasants may be summed up by the phrase ' seigneurial exploitation,' ' seigneur ' or ' senior ' being the name for the lord or ' old man.'

' Villa ' was still the name in most of medieval France for a large estate, as it had been in Roman times. In England the Norman word ' manor ' came to be used for the same thing. It varied greatly in size, and not every villa or manor was large enough to support a lord. Some lords had several manors, some had hundreds. The *mansus* or *hufe* was the usual unit of land measurement on the Continent, to which roughly corresponded the *hide* or smaller *virgate* in England; but these expressions seem not to have indicated any exact area, but to have varied in different places and according to the fertility of the soil. In some parts of Europe the population was too sparse or the country too difficult for large estates



15. St. Mark's Venice

cultivated by serfs, and we find single houses and farms. But the villa was the rule. Normally the lands divided among the serfs aggregated more than the *mansus indominicatus*, or demesne lands reserved by the lord ; and as time went on the lord distributed more and more of his land to tenants, probably because the population increased and because he found the method of having the peasants pay him a portion of their crops more satisfactory both to him and to them than having them work on his land, which required overseers or they would work none too well. On many villas and manors the serf's holding was not a single compact plot of land and enclosed farm, but consisted of several scattered fields and meadows and vineyard. Nor did every peasant possess a plough of his own, since the number of ploughs on a manor was often considerably less than the number of tenants and serfs. It seems evident, therefore, that the peasants ploughed their fields together, since there were no fences in the way. In those days they did not raise nearly so many different things from the soil as we do to-day. Clover, beet, potatoes, and many other agricultural products were unknown. Scientific farming, irrigation, and fertilizing were little known or practised. Therefore the lack of variety in the crops soon impoverished the soil, and a very general custom was to let a field lie fallow every other or every third year, in order that it might recover its fertility. Consequently each peasant needed to have several strips of arable land scattered through the large fields which the peasants ploughed together, in order that while some of his land remained untilled he might get his subsistence from the rest. The land reserved for the lord was sometimes scattered in strips among the holdings of the peasants, and sometimes consisted of separate fields. Then there were common lands where serfs and lord alike might pasture their cattle or send forth their pigs to feed on acorns under the charge of the swineherd of the villa, to whom every one had to give a loaf of bread for his support.

Enough has perhaps been said to make it clear that the great estate with its group of servile peasants constituted a little world by itself, rather sharply severed from the rest of society. A large villa usually had a few artisans in the employ of the lord, so that the peasants could satisfy almost all of their simple needs without going off the estate. On a smaller manor they might have to make their own clothing and mend their tools themselves, or wait for a chance pedlar or a neighbouring fair. Little spare time, indeed, had they for wandering, nor did the lord encourage it. They would be too apt to run away for good. The villa was not only an economic and judicial unit; it was usually identical with the local religious unit, the parish, and had its own little church, whose priest was nominated by the lord, and whose edifice, humble enough, but larger and finer than any of the huts of the peasants, served as the centre of social life for the wretched community.

Social and Economic Gradations among the Peasants

Not all who tilled the soil were in absolute serfdom. Some are called 'villeins,' or 'men of the vill,' instead of *servi*, or serfs. There are many other appellations applied to them which show that there were different classes and varying gradations of personal subjection or freedom, and much disparity in the size of their holdings and in the amount of service and payment which they owed their lords. Some could marry their daughters to whom they pleased; some could leave the manor if they wished; some did very little work for the lord, but made payments instead; some did not do much more for the lord than attend his manorial court. But most of our records of medieval estates are from later centuries when the peasants had won greater freedom from their lords and had made definite bargains with them as to what services and payments they must render. Otherwise there perhaps would have been no record set down in writing. Earlier, in the ninth and tenth centuries, for instance, there must have been more universal serfdom and more arbitrary exactions by the lords. It must also be kept in mind, however, that at all times there were some peasants who did not live on a villa nor under the control of a lord, but were independent freemen with farms of their own.

THE FEUDAL LAND SYSTEM

We have depicted the position of the peasantry as it was before and during the feudal *régime*, but we have as yet said nothing of the bonds between the owners of the estates, which constitute feudalism in the strict sense of the word. Yet, without the peasants and their useful toil, feudalism, with its tournaments and troubadours and chivalry, could not have existed for a moment. They fed feudal society. Feudalism was based largely upon land, and without serfs the land was of no use to its lords. It is perhaps also true that without feudalism the peasants could not have existed. They needed protection in a world where policemen were scarce and pirates were plentiful. This protection against invaders and criminals the lords were supposed to give, and although they often failed to do so, it was evidently to their interest to preserve the labourers and the harvests from which they themselves drew their incomes.

Besides the serfs and peasants upon their estates, the lords had personally bound to them men who had 'commended' themselves to their protection. Those who could not make an independent living would commend themselves for the rest of their lives to some great man on the understanding that he should support them and that they should serve him in ways befitting a freeman. This might mean that he would employ them as fighting men, but it left problematical the fate of their children, who might sink to a servile status. This practice of commendation was mentioned by Salvian in the fifth century, had been in vogue among the Franks long before Charlemagne, and was also a custom among the Anglo-Saxons. It somewhat resembled the Roman institution of clientage, in which the poorer and weaker citizens had made themselves the dependents and followers of some wealthy and powerful noble.

A less humiliating personal connexion than that of clientage or commendation, because it was cemented between equals and not between a powerful rich man and some poor fellow who was liable to be more or less at his mercy, was the German *comitatus*, described in an earlier chapter. In it men who were themselves nobles attached themselves as personal friends and followers in warlike exploits to some chief. Every king and duke and count tended to gather about him such a band of personal followers, on whose loyalty he could rely and whom he employed in the chief offices and rewarded with gifts—usually of land. Now, when the State disappeared, these personal warrior bands did not. It was no longer possible to collect a national army, but all over the land powerful men had their personal followings, and there was altogether a large warrior class for the peasantry to support.

These powerful local magnates reared on their estates strongholds as a refuge and defence against the raids of the Northmen and other invaders, and with their personal followings beat off outside attacks and held their estates for themselves free from any external control. These strongholds, at first wooden towers or enclosures raised on a hill or other vantage-point or upon an artificial mound, later developed into the elaborate stone castle.

From personal relationships we must now turn back to trace the other element in feudalism, dependent land tenure. We have already seen that the peasants held strips of land, which they usually did not own in the full sense of that word, but which belonged to a villa or manor, and over which the lord had so many lucrative rights that he still seemed the great landowner, and the peasants to be merely his tenants —nay, more, his dependents and serfs. Yet they were not dispossessed of their holdings, and passed them on to their children. They were hereditary tenants on a perpetual lease. Such a servile holding on a manor is dependent land tenure in its extreme form. But, although an extreme illustration, it shows that by dependent land tenure is meant the holding of land from some one else and under some one else, and not by a clear, full, and independent title.

The Roman law had recognized a practice called *precarium*, by which persons lived on the lands of another without any written lease or agreement, but as tenants at will. They were not ordinary tenants paying a rent for a fixed number of years, but held by a precarious tenure; they might be ousted or they might leave at any moment, but in reality the understanding usually was that they might and would stay on indefinitely. The early Middle Ages developed a cognate practice known as *beneficium.* A man who wished to endow an abbey for the good of his soul might resign the title to his lands to the monastery, but continue to live on them and to enjoy the usufruct of them during the remainder of his life. In other words, he endowed the monastery with land and in return received from it an annuity, also in land. Or the transaction might be carried out from the other side; some great landowner might grant the usufruct of a piece of his land for life to one of his friends or warriors, but retain the title to the land.

Kings often rewarded their followers with grants of land. Sometimes these were outright gifts, leaving the giver neither control over the land nor legal claim on the recipient. Still there was always the moral bond of gratitude, and such followers, having been once well repaid for their loyalty, were likely to continue to serve the king in the lively hope of favours yet to come. When the Anglo-Saxon ruler ' booked ' land to one of his thegns, he gave him a written deed or charter which could be adduced in proof of ownership. It also showed, however, that the land had come from the king, and Anglo-Saxon law permitted the king to confiscate such lands if the owners turned traitors or neglected their military duties. The Lombard kings often gave no charter to their followers, but merely the precarious use of the land; and Charles Martel had in like fashion given his soldiers benefices from the Church estates, which did not belong to him anyway, and which still belonged to the Church even after they were thus occupied for life by knights.

TRANSITION FROM SEIGNEURIAL TO FEUDAL *RÉGIME*

The peasants on one manor had practically no concern with the serfs on a neighbouring villa, whom they seldom even saw unless the two estates adjoined. But the owners of the estates, the masters of the serfs, the fighting and governing class, came to have intimate relations with one another, and this system or chaos of relationships we call feudalism. Without their mutual relationships we have only the seigneurial *régime,* a society severed into small agricultural villages or hamlets, each presided over by a petty tyrant. There isolation and local stagnation prevailed; feudalism contained at least an ideal of order and cohesion. It connected not only the lords, but the estates, the land, in a vast network, whose lasting influence may be inferred from the fact that the student of English law to-day must have at least some acquaintance with it.

The central institution of feudalism is the fief. The fief is the *beneficium* become hereditary with the personal bond added or accentuated. Grants of land, which at first had been made for life only, were presently made for two or three lives, and finally became hereditary. The heir, however, has to pay a *relief* to the lord as a token of the latter's ultimate ownership of the land. And should there be no heir, the fief cannot be alienated—that is, willed, or given, or sold—to an outsider; it must *escheat* or revert to the lord who granted it in the first place. Also by misconduct the holder of the fief may *forfeit* his right to it, whereupon the lord takes it away from him—if he can. In general feudal inheritance tended toward *primogeniture,* that the fief should not be split up among several children or heirs, but that the eldest son should inherit it entire. In England this became the rule;[1] in feudal France it was observed with exceptions, and these mainly in the case of small fiefs of little political importance; in Germany the tendency was to divide the fief among all the sons.

To receive a fief one must enter into a personal bond with the one who grants the fief. One must do homage and swear fealty to him; one must recognize him as one's lord and promise to be his faithful vassal. The ceremony of homage consisted in kneeling before the lord and placing one's hands in his as a symbol of the feudal bond. The oath of fidelity might be a general assurance of loyalty or cover specific services.

Military Service and Court Attendance

The feudal service rendered by a vassal to his lord varied greatly with such circumstances as the size and value of the fief held and the relative power and position of the two parties. At first the services were perhaps not definitely stated, and even later the matter was a frequent source of dispute and strife between the two parties. But gradually in most fiefs feudal services came to be fixed by custom or by written agreement. It was generally understood that the holder of a fief should not be required to perform any servile or menial duties, but only honourable service proper for a freeman, a warrior, and a holder of considerable property. The chief form of service was military, and forty days in the year was frequently the period of service required. In addition to fighting for his lord in the field and mounting guard in his castles, the vassal was generally required at stated seasons to attend his lord's court, where his presence contributed to the lord's social prestige and aided him in building up something akin to political power. At court the vassal might be called upon to counsel his lord, or to help to decide disputes between other vassals or between another vassal and the lord. He might also have some ceremonial function to perform, such as waiting upon his lord at table, lighting his way with a candle as he went to bed, or counting his chessmen on Christmas Day. Such services were not considered humiliating, and seldom involved much work. We even hear of a vassal of the King of England whose privilege and duty it was to support the royal head during a rough passage of the Channel. Lords visited their vassals as well as summoned the latter to their courts, and the lord expected free board and entertainment when he came.

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[1] But in Kent, and some other parts of the country, the system of *gavelkind* (division of land among all the sons) prevailed, and survives to this day.

When feudalism started money was scarce, and therefore the vassal was expected to aid his lord financially on certain expensive occasions, and only then. One was when the lord, captured by an enemy, required to be ransomed; another was when his eldest son was knighted; and another was when he had to provide a dowry for the marriage of his daughter. In some places feudal aids were taken on still other occasions. The relief has already been noted, but it should be added that the vassal had to pay it not only when he himself received the fief, but whenever a new lord succeeded over him. Other sources of profit to the lord were his rights of wardship and marriage. When a vassal died, leaving an heir not yet of age, the lord became his guardian and enjoyed the income of the fief until he attained his majority, and even then the heir often experienced difficulty in securing his full inheritance. If an heiress remained, a widow or a daughter, the lord was her guardian until she had with his permission married or remarried. Women usually were not allowed to hold fiefs, since they could not fight, but by the end of the twelfth century their right of succession was recognized in France.

The normal fief was an estate of land large enough to support by the labours of its peasants at least one armed knight and his war-horse. A vassal should have enough of a fief to leave him free to perform his duties to his lord. The normal fief is noble land, whose holder ranks as one of the nobility and performs no servile duties. Yet the fief is not necessarily real estate. The lord might grant to his vassal an official post with lucrative fees, or some ecclesiastical source of income, or anything else desirable and profitable. The wealthy men of the tenth and eleventh centuries did not have money to invest in commercial and industrial ventures, but they did have land which they wished to invest in men; and instead of clipping coupons or drawing interest or receiving fat dividends, they received feudal services, and on certain occasions various feudal aids and other revenues. As money again became more plentiful, they often invested it, instead of in land, in soldiers, and we have money fiefs as well as grants of land. But when feudalism first came into existence land was the chief form of property and source of income, and the easiest thing to grant as a fief.

When once men began to enter into feudal relationships, it is not hard to see how the custom would spread. The great landholder who wanted an army of vassals to fight for him against barbarian invaders and against his rivals, or to throng his castle on court days, divided his land in numerous fiefs among men who lacked estates and who were willing and able to fight. They were, perhaps, not nobles to begin with, but their new estates soon made them nobles. The peaceful bishop or abbot, who had many Church estates under his care, granted part of them to some powerful warrior who would defend the rest. The owner of only one or two villas, who was not strong enough to stand alone with his handful of peasants against the storm of invasion or the cupidity of some great neighbour with a large band of vassals, would be forced to become the vassal of the lord who otherwise might take his land from him entirely, or else the vassal of some other lord who would protect him from that lord.

COMPLEXITY OF FEUDALISM: SUBINFEUDATION

But the spread of feudalism did not stop there. The owner of only one or two villas might deem it advisable to become the vassal of more than one lord, and thus get some more land, especially if there were two or more great men who were in a position to protect or to injure him, and if he could find time to render feudal service to both or to all, and if they were not hostile to one another. Still more likely was the man who owned a number of estates scattered here and there to become the vassal for one of them to one lord and for another manor the vassal of another lord in its vicinity. Moreover, lords who already had vassals under them entered into the feudal relationship with each other. Lord A, who could count on the service of a few vassals, would himself become the vassal of a much greater lord, B, and agree on certain occasions to provide B with ten warriors. Or this great lord, B, having at his disposal vast estates sufficient to support several hundred knights, instead of trying to find all those men himself, would infeudate his land in two or three large parcels to two or three men on condition that each of them supply him with a number of knights. Thus they would each receive a large fief and then would subinfeudate a large part of it, as a modern bank pays its depositors four per cent. interest and then loans out part of its deposits at a higher rate. Their vassals would be his subvassals, and he would be the overlord of their men. In some parts of Europe, notably France, land was subinfeudated in this way several times, so that as many as seven or eight persons might be owing and receiving feudal service and payments from a single manor. It would be hard indeed to say who owned the land in such a case; all had rights in it.

Sometimes very complex situations were created in the course of time. Not only might the overlord of one estate be the subvassal in the case of another villa, but he might even be in some other lord's court the fellow vassal of one of his own vassals. In short, lords and vassals were not two distinct classes; the relationship of lord and vassal was a shifting one, and most feudal nobles were both lord and vassal. This situation, however, can be paralleled in the modern business world, where one may buy shares in any number of different companies, may be both a shareholder and a bondholder, may be the chairman of one corporation and a director in another and a mere shareholder in a third. When a vassal subinfeudated his land he of course did not alienate it, for he still owed his services to his lord for it and still himself had a lordship over it. Infeudation and subinfeudation were sometimes carried so far, in the course of time, that estates were quite dismembered and some very small fiefs created. Sometimes the income from a single villa would be split, and to one man would be infeudated the profit from the beehives, to another the catch from the fish-ponds and income from the mill. Church property was subdivided in a very minute and intricate manner, so that we hear of a parish church receiving from one estate "one eighteenth of the tithe of grain, one sixth of the tithe of wine, and one half of the small tithes, offerings, and legacies," and similar fractions of this or that from other lands.

Feudalism existed in its most highly developed form in the north and east of what is now France, where by the fourteenth century it had come to be the rule that there was no land without its lord, where the feudal aristocracy was most sharply marked off from the rest of society, and where most of the peasants remained serfs into the thirteenth century. In some parts of Europe feudalism prevailed less universally, and society was not divided so sharply into the two extremes of serfs at the bottom and feudal nobles at the top. In Southern France, for instance, many landholders recognized no feudal lord and would not admit that their estates were fiefs. In Brittany serfdom had always been exceptional; in Normandy it early disappeared, and in both these provinces the word 'fief' was applied to the free holdings of peasants as well as to the estates of nobles. In Germany powerful lords sometimes granted fiefs to their servile personal attendants, called *ministeriales,* and thus made knights out of serfs or slaves. Many features of feudalism were found in England before the Norman conquest, but William the Conqueror introduced it in a more developed state from the Continent.

THE FEUDAL CASTLE

The chief extant monument of feudalism is the stone castle. Hundreds of these combined strongholds and aristocratic residences still exist in ruins or with later alterations, as evidence of the long prevalence of feudalism and of the enterprise and power of its many lords. Hardly any two castles are exactly alike, owing in part to the different dates at which they were built, in part to the varying resources and requirements of the feudal nobles for whom they were constructed, but most of all to the diversity of their sites, to which the fortresses themselves were closely adapted. If the castle is perched on an inaccessible peak, the circuit of its walls will be of an irregular shape following the edges of the summit and taking advantage of every precipice and chasm. If the castle is built upon comparatively level ground it will be surrounded by a deep moat full of water, so that the besiegers may not scale its walls with ladders and movable towers, nor make breaches in them with battering-rams. Sometimes the castle is a single rectangular tower; other castles are extensive complexes of buildings and courtyards covering acres. Some castles are in the heart of cities, some are in the fastnesses of the mountains, some stand upon the banks of rivers.

A few common characteristics may be noted. One is the prominence of towers, square, round, or pentagonal, with pyramidical, conical, or flat roofs. Some of these towers line the outer circuit of walls, projecting beyond them to enfilade their sides and bases, and rising above them to command their tops. Oldest and chief of the towers are the donjon, or residence of the lord, and the keep, or central and most strongly fortified part of the castle, where the garrison makes its last stand. Normally the defenders of the castle fight from the tops of its walls and towers, where they will be farthest away from the range of the missiles of the enemy below, and whence their own missiles will carry farthest and fall with most force. For this purpose a walk is built behind a parapet all along the top of the wall. The battlements of the parapet are usually crenelated—that is, openings through which the defenders may shoot alternate with sections of solid wall behind which they may stand protected from the enemy's arrows. Sometimes, especially round the tops of towers, are found machicolations. In this case the battlement is built out beyond the walls of the tower below upon projections called corbels, and the floor of the encircling walk behind the parapet is pierced with numerous openings or trapdoors, through which such things as boiling pitch and molten lead may be poured directly upon those trying to enter the tower below or to scale its walls. The walls of the castle are also pierced with many narrow slits through which arrows may be shot at the foe. These walls are very thick, especially at the base, in order to withstand battering-rams and support the weight above. Indeed, the castle was something like a modern battleship with its heavy armour-plate, its portholes and gun-shields, and its turrets.

Especial care was taken to protect the entrance to the castle, which was approached by a drawbridge suspended by chains, and which could furthermore be closed in an instant by the portcullis, a heavy grating which was let fall from above like a drop-curtain. The gateway might be further protected by flanking towers ; and even if the enemy got across the gap left by the lifted drawbridge and broke through the portcullis, they still might find themselves in a small enclosed court or a dark and winding vaulted passage, with other doors and barriers yet to force before they were really within the castle precincts proper. Similarly, if the foe gained a footing at some point on the wall, they could not easily rush along the walk on top of the wall to other parts of the castle, since the circuit of the walls was frequently interrupted by towers through which one had to make one's way by crooked passages and up steep stairs. Many castles also had subterranean passages of which their defenders could take advantage, but which were unknown to the besiegers.

Although a castle might be impressive by its bulk and massiveness, its exterior was plain, rough, and forbidding in appearance. The towers, battlements, and corbels, however, gave considerable variety and picturesqueness. Unless the castle was large enough to comprise inner courts, upon which windows might safely open and where decorative stone carving and sculpture could be indulged in without fear of its being damaged by stones hurled from catapults—unless this was the case, the rooms of the interior were of necessity dark and cold, since they were enclosed by walls several feet thick with only a rare aperture. Often an entire floor of the castle or of the donjon would be used as the great hall, where the lord and his followers ate their meals, drank their ale or wine, held court, talked together, or warmed themselves before the fire in the huge open chimney-place. When we read of horrible, damp, underground dungeons where prisoners languished, we must remember that even the lord and lady in their apartments of state were none too comfortable. The fireplace, however, represented a great improvement in domestic life, for chimney-flues were a medieval invention. If the Greeks and Romans wished to avoid filling the house with smoke, they had to cook outdoors, although the Romans had hypocausts to warm their floors from underneath.

Although the castle was poorly lighted and heated and dreary enough within, from its lofty battlements a wonderful view often could be obtained of the countryside for miles round. One rather envies the feudal lords of those cheerless keeps, as from their commanding sites one gazes down on the long windings of a beautiful river and the fertile expanse of valley and plain below. Not long, moreover, after the steep climb up to the picturesque ruins on impregnable heights one becomes conscious of a keen appetite, and can to some extent sympathize with the robber baron's descents from his stronghold in order to procure a round of beef or saddle of mutton from such sheep and cattle, or a cask of wine and mess of fish from such travelling merchants, as strayed within his ken while he was surveying, with an even closer scrutiny and intenser interest than that of the modern tourist, the every detail of the surrounding landscape.

FEUDAL WARFARE

As the castle suggests, war was the natural state of the feudal world. Ambitious lords, especially as population increased and land became scarce, waged war upon one another. Younger sons tried to win new fiefs by the sword, since they could not hope to inherit them, and often fought against their fathers or older brothers. Lords perhaps fought more often against their own vassals, or rather against men whom they claimed as their vassals, than they did with other lords. Vassals were ever quarrelling with their lords over the conditions of their vassalage and the services which they were bound to render. In many cases men were unwilling vassals whose fathers had been defeated in war and forced to acknowledge the victor as lord ; such men naturally would revolt at the first good opportunity. The whole situation was one of disorderly rivalry where every one was trying to increase his power at the expense of others. There were, however, some mitigating features about feudal warfare. We must remember for one thing that war was incessant before the day of feudalism and that it has not ceased yet. Then feudal warfare was in the main conducted on a small scale ; it was local or neighbourhood war, and the numbers of men engaged were never very large nor the number killed very great. Their armour protected the knights fairly well, and they were more often captured, imprisoned, and ransomed than they were slain. One reads of bitter strife between lord and vassal or father and son drawn out for many years, and finds both contestants as hale and hearty at the end as they had been at the beginning. The peasants, whose crops were destroyed and homes burned, and who had neither armour nor the prospect of large ransom to protect their lives, were the ones to suffer most from these neighbourhood wars and from the ravages of robber knights who got their living largely by plundering raids.

A French bishop, intent upon reforming this evil of feudalism, proposed in 1023 that feudal nobles should take the following oath : " I will not take away ox nor cow nor any other beast of burden. I will not seize the peasant nor the peasant's wife nor the merchants. I will not take their money, nor will I force them to ransom themselves. I do not want them to lose their property through a war that their lord wages, and I will not whip them to get their nourishment away from them. From the first of March to All Saints' Day I will seize neither horse nor mare nor colt from the pasture. I will not destroy and burn houses ; I will not uproot and devastate vineyards under pretext of war ; I will not destroy mills nor steal the flour." A measure more generally adopted by the clergy was the Truce of God, by which bishops forbade fighting in their dioceses over the week-end and on a number of Church holidays. It can readily be imagined that this ecclesiastical prohibition was not easy to enforce. It is, however, possible to exaggerate the amount of robbing and slaughtering of the common people done by the feudal nobility and such atrocities attributed to them as burning churches full of people or gouging out babies' eyes with their own hands. The passages in contemporary writers expressing disapproval and horror at such cruel deeds are not a proof that they were common practices, but are a proof that there was a strong public sentiment against such conduct.

Chivalry and Knighthood

Vassal and lord alike belonged to the noble class and passed their lives in the same round of warlike occupations and amusements. To their life is given the name 'chivalry,' derived from the Romance word for 'horse,' and denoting the life of cavaliers or knights. The earliest literature of feudal times extols physical hardihood and bravery, condones brigandage, and shows war brutally waged as almost the only ideal of the early chevalier. Later history indicates that it too often continued to be his practice. But this military aristocrat in time developed, or rather had constructed for him by the Church and the poetical romancers, a set of social ideals of which our present-day use of the term 'chivalry' is a reminiscence. The medieval clergy insisted that the true knight should be a manly Christian, should respect and defend the Church, should fight against heathen and heretics, and should protect the needy and those in distress. The minstrels and romancers, who sometimes found the lords away and only the ladies at home when they visited the castles, depicted the true knight as an accomplished gentleman and perfect lover. The duty of court attendance brought knights together, sometimes in the society of the other sex, and so helped to develop the social virtue of courtesy or good manners and various chivalric conventions.

A ceremony of initiation was necessary to admit one to the ranks of knighthood, just as the young warrior had to be admitted to the German tribe in the days of Tacitus. The prospective knight was supposed to perform some deed of arms to prove his worth, and then could be dubbed a knight by some one already of that station. Kneeling he received the accolade, originally a hard blow on the neck with the flat of a sword which he would remember for a long time. Sooner or later a religious element entered the ceremony in a vigil observed over his arms in a church the previous night and in the hearing of mass before being knighted. Sometimes bishops conferred knighthood. Before becoming a knight one was an esquire or squire, a condition in which some remained permanently, not so much through failure to win military renown as because of the expense of being a knight. Knights were often accompanied in war by men-at-arms, who were heavy-armed foot-soldiers, and who were usually of lower birth and less wealth. The regular course of feudal education and path to knighthood was for the aspirant at an early age to serve as a page at some feudal court, and there to learn good manners, how to ride and hunt and hawk, and to fight with spear, sword, and battle-axe, and to distinguish different knights and noble houses by the colours and devices on their shields and coats of arms—the science of heraldry. Next he would attend some knight in the field of war as his squire, and finally be knighted himself.

If the feudal noble was at home alone with his family and peasants, hunting would probably be his main diversion, and it also served to supply his larder. If other knights were present, they would amuse themselves and keep in training by tilting or riding at each other with spears. Such mock fighting might take the form either of jousts, which were single combats, or of tournaments, where two sides were formed or the knights participated in a general *mêlée.* Nobles were moving about from one of their estates to another much of the time. The ladies played chess and games of chance with dice, and devoted much attention to dress, judging from the tirades of preachers against their long trains, false hair, and rouging. The literature of chivalry made much of woman; but nobles, as well as peasants, sometimes beat their wives, and the contemporary chronicles tell of many cases of lords and even kings who dealt shamefully with their wives. Divorce was frequent among the upper classes, despite its prohibition by the Church, and was secured by alleging that the married pair were too closely related and should not have been married to begin with.

To the modern observer who looks back on it feudalism seems an intricate and almost hopeless tangle. Such confused conditions were due not merely to war and violence and anarchy, nor further to the complicated network of feudal relationships at any given time, but also to the continual change and shifting and re-shaping of those relations with passing years, making society assume new forms, as when one shakes up the bits of glass in a kaleidoscope. Death, inheritance, forfeiture, escheat, vassals' changing lords, partition of fiefs, subinfeudation, union of fiefs by marriage, conquests in war—all these changes kept the feudal world in a constantly fluctuating condition.

CHAPTER XIV

FEUDAL STATES OF EUROPE

THE lack of strong central government had been one cause of that feudalism which fills the political gap between the break-up of Charlemagne's empire and the development of the national European states of modern times. The various kingdoms founded by the German invaders, even including the Frankish Empire and the administrative efforts of Charlemagne, had not proved successful experiments in the political art. Their efforts to combine the last embers of Roman administration with their primitive institutions, imported like green wood from German forests, had resulted in failure—in a steady decrease in the amount of government and a constant development in the direction of feudalism, which was only partially interrupted by the energy of the first Carolingians. Indeed, the Carolingians were already ruling in large measure by feudal methods. With the disruption of Charlemagne's empire, kings, though still existing in name, had even less power than before. They kept resigning their prerogatives, surrendering Normandy to the invaders, granting immunities from their government here, there, and everywhere, and giving away their private estates in the vain hope of securing followers upon whom they could rely. In the localities political powers and offices had been turned into private property and were exercised chiefly for the sake of personal profit. Any one who wished waged war, coined money, held a court of justice. But no one fought in his army, accepted his money, or attended his court except the few whom he could compel to do this.

But along with such division came the feudal bond, which united men and united territory, though primarily only in a personal and private way. It gradually led, however, to the growth of political units and to new forms of government. The great lord who had many vassals could by means of their military service command a small army, and so was in a position to exercise the military functions of the state and to enforce obedience to his commands. It was furthermore the duty of his vassals to attend his court, and this supplied him with a council of state and the opportunity to employ judicial powers. They owed him occasional feudal aids and reliefs ; he could also fill his treasury by means of the rights of wardship and marriage ; thus feudalism had its equivalents for state taxation and revenue. But in feudalism everything is expressed in different terms from those employed in the modern state, or in the ancient city-state, or in the Roman Empire. It has its peculiar names for its own peculiar institutions : feudal aids instead of taxes, knight service in place of standing armies, court attendance rather than a Parliament or Congress or Chamber of Deputies, vassals in place of citizens, personal lordship and dependent land tenure instead of nationality and territorial sovereignty.

LIMITATIONS ON THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE FEUDAL LORD

Although feudalism could in some measure approximate to the military, legislative, judicial, and financial functions of the state, the lord's power was greatly limited in all these respects. He could require military service of his vassals, but he could not keep them from fighting also for some other lord or from waging war on their own account. He could make war, but he could not preserve the peace in the fiefs of his vassals. He could procure the assent of his vassals assembled at his court to certain laws or policies, but he could not send his officials into their fiefs to see to the execution of these measures. He had to leave all that to the vassals themselves. He had no power of local administration save in his own domains. At his court he could judge his vassals and settle their disputes ; but the subvassals, to whom they had subinfeudated portions of their fiefs, did not attend his court, and he found it difficult to exert any control over them, since all their services and payments were rendered, not to him, but to their lords who were his vassals. He could impose no new taxes on his vassals, but could take only the customary and stipulated feudal dues. He might establish tolls and customs duties on merchants and travellers through his own domains, but his vassals would undoubtedly claim that right within their fiefs. Moreover, the obligations of individual vassals to him might vary greatly. There was no necessary uniformity in the loyalty and services that they owed. Finally, his hold upon many of them was so slight that for them to throw off his rule entirely and attempt to maintain their independence did not seem so heinous an offence as rebellion in a modern state, and was much easier to carry through than revolution against the well-organized states of to-day.

A very important feature of the feudal state was the limiting of the lord's power by the rights of the vassal and by the terms of a contract expressed or understood between lord and vassal. It was generally recognized that there were things which the lord could do and things which he could not do. If he exceeded his rights, his vassals were entitled to take up arms against him, a privilege which they were never slow to exercise. Moreover, meeting together at his court, they shared in his government and came to act as a body which possessed in itself possibilities in the direction of representative government.

The sphere of influence of a feudal lord—in other words, the lands held of him by his vassals—did not necessarily form a compact and clearly defined territory like that of a modern state. His vassals were apt to be somewhat scattered about, with territory intervening which he could not bring into vassalage to himself, either because it belonged to the Church or was defended by castles too strong for him to take. However, feudal divisions tended to follow geographical and racial lines pretty closely. Also feudal lords made every effort to extend their control over a compact and easily accessible territory, though they often could not resist the temptation of adding some distant possession, if opportunity offered. But of course as a rule it was easier for them to keep their neighbours in vassalage than to exact service and fidelity from far-off fiefs.

Feudalism, in theory at least, would not admit of distinct states with distinct territories, but would require a succession of lordships within lordships. At the head would be the king or emperor. Then would come his great vassals, the dukes and counts with their feudal courts, owing duties to the king as their suzerain, but free to govern their subvassals. Many of these subvassals might boast strong castles and considerable lands which they had subinfeudated to vassals of their own, over whom they might claim some powers of government. And any vassal or subvassal would at least have his manorial court, where he lorded it over his serfs. No one had complete governmental power or sovereignty, just as no one person had complete private ownership of the land of the fief. The functions of government, as well as real estate, incomes, and services, had been feudalized.

Actual States of the Feudal Period

Feudal theory, however, was never fully accepted in medieval politics, just as all the land was never divided into fiefs and manors, and just as there were always some persons who were neither lords nor vassals nor serfs. Kings still claimed to be something more than mere feudal overlords. The lords who built up local feudal states usually tried in practice to exercise greater powers than strict feudal theory would allow. Sometimes they possessed some other title or inherited position than that of a feudal lord upon which to base their claim to rule. The Dukes of Normandy and Bavaria, for instance, had once been the leaders of independent peoples. Many a feudal state had a natural or historical unity not given to it by feudalism. Not all feudal lords were able to build up states, and a state based solely upon feudalism was not likely to last long. But for several hundred years all states were greatly affected and coloured by feudalism. Even kings found themselves not only limited in power by feudalism at every turn, but exercising most of the power that they did have through feudal channels and ruling by feudal methods.

We should further realize that the so-called feudal states of medieval Europe, instead of being perverse and regrettable obstacles to true geographical and racial and linguistic union, instead of being ugly, broken fragments of a once splendid empire of Charlemagne or of an ideal France or Germany or Italy, really often were the organic units of their age and represented local life and vigour and enterprise and governable groups a great deal better than did the impossible empires aimed at by Charlemagne and Justinian and Otto the Great and the English Henry II. We should also realize that there was as yet no such thing as the France of to-day, nor even a French language and a French people, nor an Italian tongue and an Italian people. When the King of ' France ' forced his rule upon Toulouse, he was not uniting peoples already one in language, spirit, and customs, and everything else except government ; rather he was doing violence to national spirit and blotting out a beautiful language and terminating a brilliant period of culture. The Prussian annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 is as nothing to the extermination of Toulouse in Southern France by orthodox crusaders and by the Lord of Paris in the thirteenth century. In that century we find mentioned among the different nations at the University of Paris not Frenchmen and Italians, but Lombards, Romans, and Sicilians, Flemings, Burgundians, Poitevins, Bretons, and Normans.

The modern European states are simply historical growths and the outcome of a vast concourse of varied circumstances, rather than the systematic working-out of any fine principles of nationality. To-day the peoples of these states have grown into homogeneous nations, distinct from one another. But in their origins these states consisted of elements by no means homogeneous. The advent of our modern state often meant an increase of centralization at the expense of local enterprise and prosperity. France of our day is dotted with remote ruins of castles and with dull towns of depleted population which in the Middle Ages were busy centres of military, political, economic, and artistic life. We must therefore not approach the feudal period with the assumption that a modern 'national' state is necessarily vastly superior to a 'feudal' state, still less with the idea that the national state is the guiding star of all European history and the goal toward which everything moved. We must be careful not to see modern nationalities before they really exist. If one is studying the history of some one European country, like France or Germany, it is well enough to go back to Julius Cæsar or to men of the old Stone Age in that region, if one wants to; but as for the states that we call France and Germany and Italy to-day, there was nothing like them in the feudal period. There was an England even then, it is true, but no United Kingdom.

KINGDOMS DERIVED FROM CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

What we now turn to, therefore, is a survey of the feudal states of Western Europe during the period from the end of the Frankish Empire to the twelfth century. Certain kings traced back their claim to authority to the Frankish Empire, which, as we have seen, had split into several divisions. There came in the ninth century to be two kings of the Franks: one of the East Franks, and one of the West Franks. These vague designations, which replace the old Austrasia and Neustria, leave the precise extent of their kingdoms discreetly doubtful. As for the third Merovingian kingdom, Burgundy, it was for a time divided into an Upper Burgundy in the mountains and a Lower Burgundy down the Rhone. In 934 the two were reunited, but henceforth were known as the Kingdom of Arles, from the capital city. This kingdom lasted for a century, to 1032. In Italy practically no one was king in any real sense from the death of Louis II in 875 until the coronation of Otto I as emperor at Rome in 962, although a Hugo of Provence for some time claimed the title.

Among the East Franks, Arnulf of Carinthia succeeded the deposed Charles in 887. A contemporary has well summed up his reign in the sentence, "While Arnulf was frittering away his time, many petty kingdoms arose." The brief reign of the six-year-old Louis (899–911) was filled with feuds between the nobles, and it seemed as if the great tribal Duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Lotharingia, Thuringia, Suabia (formerly Alemannia), and Bavaria would become independent states. With the death of Louis the Carolingian house ceased to rule among the East Franks. Conrad of Franconia (911–918) had to fight all the other duchies to secure recognition as king. Henry of Saxony (919–936) seldom left his own domain lands and had to assign many of his sovereign rights in Bavaria, although he was able to force the Dukes of Suabia and Bavaria to recognize him as king. He also, as we have seen, checked the inroads of the Slavs, and finally won a victory over the Magyars. At the coronation of Henry's son, Otto I (936–973), all the dukes did homage, and those of Lorraine, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria served him in the court offices of chamberlain, steward, cup-bearer, and marshal respectively; but within the next five years three of them and also his own brother and half-brother revolted against his rule, and later there were other rebellions.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Otto gained prestige by repelling the invaders of German territory, and in 962 he went to Rome and was crowned emperor, reviving on a smaller scale the empire of Charlemagne. Henceforth the German duchies and portions of Italy were united in a loose and weak union known as the Holy Roman or Medieval Empire. In theory the emperors claimed a wider jurisdiction than this, regarding themselves, on the one hand, as successors of the old Roman emperors and, on the other hand, as feudal suzerains of the kings of other European countries, just as these were the overlords of their great vassals. But the emperors were unable to develop this feudal overlordship and imperial ideal into actual sovereignty, as some kings finally were to succeed in doing. One reason for their failure was that the popes too were soon to assert their claim to treat kings as vassals, and to exercise a portion at least of the prerogatives of Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Of this

we shall have further occasion to speak in connexion with the history of the Papacy during this period. For our present purpose it is enough to note that the Medieval Empire, although it encouraged commerce and some interchange of ideas between the Germans and the Italians, in the long run assisted rather than checked the prevalence of feudalism and local division in both Italy and Germany. The emperors claimed to be overlords of so much territory that they did not become real governors of any one locality. Had they remained in Germany and painstakingly developed a machinery of government of their own, or had they devoted their entire attention to Italian affairs, they might have developed a strong kingdom in one place or the other. Instead they roamed about, posing as international arbiters and forcing the kings of lands like Poland and Bohemia to become their vassals.

The rule of the Holy Roman Emperor seems to have been for the most part personal, offhand, and unsystematic. For the first century after Otto there is extant no imperial law or ordinance directed toward the maintenance of peace and order. There were no permanent imperial law courts, no professional judges or legal advisers. There was no central exchequer, and no financial literature by imperial officials has reached us. The emperors allowed many other lords to coin money and made no effort to keep up the standard of the coinage. Customs duties and tolls also passed from the emperors into the hands of other lords. Private war was tolerantly regarded by public opinion, even when it was directed against the emperor himself; and Germans at feud with their countrymen not infrequently made alliances with the Slavs and Hungarians. The fact that the emperor was elected by the other great lords, and that, while sometimes son succeeded father, the office did not remain permanently in the hands of any one dynasty, also weakened the power of the central government.

The emperors left the local government largely in the hands of dukes and other lords, and were content if the dukes were loyal to them in imperial matters and furnished them with contingents to make up an army with which they might further their schemes. But the dukes were not inclined to do anything of the sort, and the emperors were constantly having to bring them to book. The emperors tried making members of their own families dukes, but even these did not remain loyal. Finally Henry III (1039–1056) tried to be duke everywhere himself, but found this plan scarcely a success, and all its results were lost during the minority of his son. Even in the marks or new frontier territories, established against and won from the barbarians, as well as in the old duchies with their lingering tribal or national spirit, the emperors failed to establish a strong government of their own, and allowed them to become the fiefs or family possessions of the margraves. Some of these local princes developed a machinery of government which the Empire as a whole lacked. By the end of the twelfth century the Duke of Bavaria kept court in royal style and exercised many sovereign rights. He had his privy council, his chancery, and his court of justice, to which cases might be appealed from the courts of the counts, his vassals, who might be deposed if they failed in their duties. The duke could summon a general assembly of the land, which was divided into administrative and judicial districts. If he had no son to follow him, the duke could name his successor.

The emperors could so little rely on their lay vassals that they turned for support to the bishops and showered lands and favours upon them in the hope of building up a loyal party. Thus began the numerous ecclesiastical states of Germany, where bishops and abbots ruled much like secular lords and sometimes fought as other feudal nobles did. Once they even fought in a church in the emperor's presence. Another instructive incident took place in Mainz Cathedral at Easter 1184. The Abbot of Fulda and the Archbishop of Cologne quarrelled as to who should sit at the emperor's left, and the emperor asked the archbishop to yield the point. Thereupon the angry archbishop rose to withdraw to his lodgings. The Count Palatine of the Rhine, although as his title indicates he was supposed to be closely connected with the palace and the emperor, promptly rose to follow the archbishop, excusing himself to the emperor by saying that he to Hugh's brother. By the time Hugh ended his reign in 996 he had given away so much land to secure supporters for his dynasty that only fragments remained of the extensive territory controlled by his father. His territorial power as king was really less than it had been as duke. It is true that from the English Channel to the Pyrenees public documents were dated by the year of his reign, but this was merely nominal recognition of his royalty. Of his personal appearance and private life we know nothing with certainty. His immediate successors were no more powerful than many feudal lords of the time, and were not nearly such interesting personalities as some of the barons. One hundred years after Hugh Capet's death, Philip I still found interspersed among his villas the castles of men who defied his power and acted as seemed good to them. However, he pushed as far south as Bourges, when the viscount of that town sold his lands to him in 1101 in order to go to the Holy Land.

It was a decided step in advance when the energetic and warlike Louis VI (1108–1137) took the donjons of the castellans in the neighbourhood of Paris, who had been giving the Capetian kings so much trouble. But this was accomplishing only what many feudal lords had achieved already—namely, the bringing of a comparatively small and compact territory directly under their control. However, Louis was also powerful enough to undertake an expedition as far south as Clermont-Ferrand in order to punish the Count of Auvergne for having injured the Church; and even the powerful Duke of Aquitaine decided that it would be best to render homage, when he saw the size of Louis's army. The Abbot Suger was the right-hand man of Louis VI and of his successor, and kept down avaricious and corrupt favourites at court and maintained order and system at home while the King was away at his wars. Suger also has left us a Life of Louis VI. Besides being a great fighter, the King was a great hunter and a great eater. The latter pursuit finally triumphed over the former pastime, for at forty-six Louis became too fat to mount a horse. Louis was good-natured, and simple and unaffected in his manners. His slight paleness contemporary gossip attributed to an attempt by his stepmother to poison him. He was not persuaded to marry until he had reached the age of thirty-five, when he wedded a very ugly niece of the pope, by whom he had six sons and three daughters.

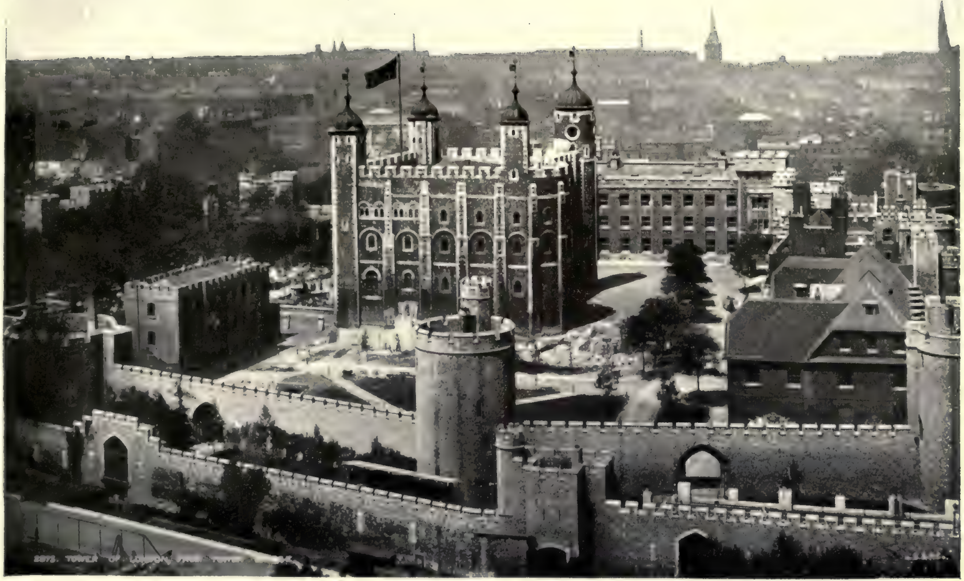
THE CAPETIAN CONSTITUTION

Despite the small territory actually under their rule, the early Capetians continued to regard themselves as successors of Charlemagne. They retained the court ceremony which Charlemagne had borrowed from Constantinople, and their proclamations and State papers had the same high tone, compounded of Biblical and of Imperial Roman phrases. But their machinery of government was slight and in the main feudal. There were the usual household offices of chancellor, seneschal, chamberlain, butler, and constable, held as hereditary posts by their chief vassals. Their feudal court, the *curia regis*, was attended for the most part only by those vassals within easy reach of Paris, but these were remarkably faithful in their attendance, although the king often summoned them as frequently as once a month. He seems to have initiated all the business brought before them, and only a few of them ventured to discuss and debate his proposals ; but he evidently wished to secure their assent before taking action. To look after his own estates the king had local officials called *prévôts*, who collected the revenue from his villas, led the local soldiery, and judged criminals and lawsuits among his peasants, or summoned persons of great consequence before the king's court. The king claimed that he was the fountain of all justice, that keeping the peace was his special prerogative, and that he had the right to see that the feudal lords did justice by their subvassals and tenants. Having been anointed king by the Church, he also claimed the right to protect it everywhere in the kingdom. He depended a good deal on the bishops and monks, made generous grants to the Church, and also secured revenue from it even outside his own domains. The Church for its part found the king on the whole a better friend and defender than the general run of feudal lords, who were prone to be a godless set of plunderers.

Feudal States of France

Situated in whole or in part within the boundaries of modern France were some forty feudal states, whose lords were practically independent sovereigns, though they might nominally recognize the overlordship of king or emperor. We shall take up in detail about a third of this number, which were ruled by hereditary dynasties of dukes and counts, and which were of the most importance. But some mere viscounts and seigneurs had the right to declare peace and war, had supreme legislative and administrative power, judicial power in the last resort, the right of coinage, and claimed authority over the churches within their districts. Then there were ecclesiastical states where officials of the Church were also the supreme governing power, although these states never became so great and numerous as the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany.

The compact possessions of the Counts of Flanders included portions of present France, but more of Belgium, and both the Flemish with their German *patois* and the Walloons with their French dialect. The count was a vassal of the Capetian king for some of his lands ; others he held as fiefs from the Holy Roman Emperor. He had no strong vassals of his own to weaken him, and about 1100 began to call himself ' Monarch of the Flemings.' Before this, in 1030, he had issued a decree that all within his territories must keep the peace—the first such order extant in the history of the Holy Roman Empire. He also deprived the lords of feudal castles in Flanders of most of their judicial powers, which were henceforth exercised by *baillis* of his own selection, and his example in this reform was afterward widely followed in Western Europe. Count Baldwin V (1036–1067) was successful in war against the Holy Roman Emperor, whose palace at Nimwegen he burned ; he was guardian of young King Philip I of France ; he helped his son-in-law, William of Normandy, to conquer England.


TOWER OF LONDON

16. The White Tower

His younger son, Robert, led the adventurous career characteristic of many feudal nobles. Before his father's death he had made expeditions to Spain, Norway, and the Byzantine Empire, but without succeeding in carving out a lordship for himself in any of those distant lands. Then he married the widow of the Count of Holland, and, during the minority of her sons, defended that land well against the attacks of covetous barons and of the savage Frisian peasantry. Meanwhile his elder brother, who had succeeded their father as Count of Flanders and had married the heiress of the County of Hainault, died, leaving Flanders to his elder son under Robert's protection and Hainault to his younger son under the mother's guardianship. She tried to seize both territories, thinking Robert too fully occupied in Holland to interfere, but he won everything away from her, though she called to her aid the Capetian king, the Duke of Normandy, the Bishop of Liége, and the Holy Roman Emperor. Having settled that matter, Robert made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with other Flemish nobles. He remained two years in the East, and struck up a friendship with the Byzantine emperor. A few years later he died peaceably at home.

South of Flanders and east of Paris lay Champagne, where during the tenth century a considerable power had been built up by the union of the Counties of Troyes and Meaux and by further acquisitions. When the holder of these counties died childless, Eudes II (995–1037), the Count of Blois and Chartres, places to the south-west of Paris, outstripped King Robert in the race for Champagne. He further augmented his territories at the expense of the Archbishop of Rheims and the Duke of Lorraine, but a coalition of King Robert and the Emperor Henry II forced him to restore his conquests. But he was a candidate for the Italian crown in 1024 in opposition to Conrad II of Germany, and for that of the Kingdom of Arles in 1032. Five years later he was slain in an attempt to capture Aachen while Conrad was absent in Italy. In 1152 Blois and Chartres passed to a younger son, and Champagne again became a distinct state by itself. The counts of Champagne did not develop a strong centralized government, perhaps owing to a number of minorities and of regencies by widows. But they have left us a valuable specimen of a feudal register. This book, covering the fifty years from 1172 to 1222, illustrates admirably the intricate and complicated personal relationships of feudalism. It contains lists of all their vassals, 2017 in number in 1172, and states the services owed by each. Of them 158 were also vassals of some 85 other lords, while the Count of Champagne himself held the 26 castellanies which composed his state from ten different suzerains—namely, the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy, two archbishops, four bishops, and an abbot.

South of Champagne was the Duchy of Burgundy, ruled by a collateral line of the Capetian family. The dukes had few domain lands of their own and little authority over the local nobility, while the Burgundian bishops held their fiefs directly from the king, and the great abbots claimed to be answerable only to the pope. After the Kingdom of Arles came to an end in 1032, the regions from the Rhone to the Alps were nominally parts of the Holy Roman Empire, but really broke up into a number of independent lordships—among them, Franche-Comté or the free County of Burgundy, located east of the duchy, Savoy, Dauphiné, and Provence.

The regions south of the Loire differed from Northern France in language, geography, race, and the entire life and spirit of the people. In literature, art, and trade they were more closely connected with the Mediterranean, with Constantinople, and with Italy and Spain. Their architecture shows Byzantine influence; their language, the Provençal, was more like Latin than French in sounds, and more closely related to the Catalan of Northern Spain. These southern districts retained more Roman influence, especially more Roman law, more town life had survived, and social classes were less sharply distinguished than in the north. The population was more Gallo-Roman and more of the Mediterranean racial type. The Frankish kings had seldom visited this region except on warlike expeditions and plundering raids. Much of the country was mountainous high land intersected by ravines and raging torrents, a topography more suited to the existence of many small lordships than to unified government and large states.

The south, however, divided into three chief regions: the County of Toulouse, or Languedoc, a Mediterranean land stretching from the Rhone to the Pyrenees and shut off from the north by the mountain barrier of the *massif central,* and the most southern in spirit of all; the Duchy of Gascony, extending from the Pyrenees north to the river Garonne; and the Duchy of Aquitaine, reaching from the central plateau to the Bay of Biscay. The Counts of Toulouse first gave themselves the title 'Marquis of Gothia' and later 'Duke of Narbonne,' but we know almost nothing of their history in the eleventh century. During the first half of the twelfth century they displayed considerable political ability and activity, and were influential in Spain as arbitrators between rival kings there. Gascony got its name from the Vascones, or modern Basques, who invaded from Spain in the sixth century, although their peculiar language and blood have never prevailed except in a very limited section of Gascony. Duke William VIII of Aquitaine (1058–1086) conquered Gascony and added it to his duchy. Aquitaine was the largest feudal state in France, and had the greatest geographical and linguistic diversity in its different parts, such as Poitou, Périgord, Limousin, and Auvergne, and the duke found it hard to control his many powerful vassals. The ducal coronation ceremony was almost royal in its character, and a ruler like William V (990–1029) had felt himself quite the equal of his Capetian contemporary and had been so treated by the other monarchs of his time.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPALITIES OF NORTHERN SPAIN

Since the barons both of Languedoc and Gascony frequently intermarried and fought with those of Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, since the Archbishop of Narbonne had territory on both sides of the Pyrenees, and since troubadours sang in both Provençal and Catalan, we may well interrupt for a moment our survey of the feudal states of France to note the similar divisions in Northern Spain as they were in the tenth century, leaving their subsequent expansion at the expense of the Mohammedans in Spain for a later chapter. The County of Barcelona represented the remains of Charlemagne's Spanish March, and included Catalonia and Roussillon, a little province destined later to figure often in treaties of peace between French and Spanish monarchs. Next, going west, came the tiny kingdoms of Aragon and of Navarre. The latter, overlapping the Pyrenees like a pair of saddle-bags, half French and half Spanish, was founded by a Gascon count with the aid of the King of Asturias in North-west Spain, to whom he paid homage. Between Navarre and Aragon and Barcelona were intermingled several small semi-independent Moorish states. The Christians of Spain who escaped Mohammedan conquest were at first confined to Asturias in the extreme north, with their capital at Oviedo. Alfonso II (791–842) added Galicia. Then Leon, a devastated plain, which served for a time as a march between Christians and Moslems, was repeopled, and henceforth gave its name to the kingdom. Presently a new march against the Moors was established in Castile.

BRITTANY, ANJOU, AND NORMANDY

Returning from Spain to the remaining feudal states of France north of the Loire, we may first note in the extreme west the peninsula of Brittany, forming a separate geographical unit and distinct in its history from the rest of the Frankish territory. Here the influence of the Celtic clan was still felt. From 952 to 1066 was a period of anarchy and endless war, during which various ferocious barons contended, with many crimes and atrocities, for the ducal or regal title. From 1066 to 1148 a line of dukes managed to maintain themselves, but this required all their energies and left them no leisure to develop an organized government. They had to recognize the neighbouring Dukes of Normandy as their feudal superiors, and Louis VI, King of France, surrendered to Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy, the right to receive homage directly from the Duke of Brittany.

Between Brittany and Paris lay the possessions of the Counts of Anjou, with their capital at Angers on the Loire.

Fulk the Black (Foulques Nerra), the founder of the dynasty and a hero of many legends, was a pitiless slaughterer of his foes on the battlefield, treacherous to his enemies, a great builder of churches and feudal keeps. He burned monasteries and then atoned for his sin by sensational public penances. The story also goes that he made his rebellious son, conquered after four terrible years of war, do penance by travelling several miles with a saddle on his back and then kneeling before his father, who placed his foot on his head and asked him if he were broken in yet. Fulk also made conquests at the expense of his neighbours of Blois and Brittany. But there was one person whom he could not conquer, the martyr St. Florent. When Fulk burned the monastery of St. Florent and started to remove the precious relics of the martyr to grace his capital at Angers, the rowers could not move their boat on the Loire. The furious Fulk abused the dead saint as "an ungodly hayseed to prefer to stay at Saumur and not to allow himself to be conveyed to the great city of Angers." But his wrath was unavailing; at Saumur the body of St. Florent remained. Fulk's son, Geoffrey Martel (1040–1060), was once as saucy to the pope as his father had been to the saint, yet he endowed many churches and abbeys. He was no less brave a fighter, and more versed in military science and statesmanship than his father. During the remainder of that century Anjou was weakened by misrule and civil war, but in the first half of the next century two red-headed counts, Fulk V and Geoffrey the Fair, created a strong state. Geoffrey was also a noted patron of learning and literature.

Our circuit of feudal France brings us back to Normandy, lying along the sea-coast and the river Seine between Brittany and Flanders. Here the descendants of Rollo the Northman—three of the first six dukes were the sons of concubines—had built up the strongest and best-organized state in France at this time. The duke kept better order in his duchy than the king did on his domains. With the exception of the Count of Flanders he was the only feudal lord who had direct control over his subvassals, who placed garrisons in their castles, and who insisted that certain classes of cases even between subvassals should be tried in his court. He kept the bishoprics and counties of Normandy in the hands of members of his own family. From 1035 to 1087 the Duke of Normandy was William, an illegitimate son of Robert the Devil. In 1066 he crossed with an army to England and conquered that kingdom, and brought it thereby into closer relations with Continental feudalism, Church, and culture.

Transition to Norman Rule in England

After the death in 975 of Edgar the Peaceful, a great-grandson of Alfred the Great, the Anglo-Saxon monarchy began to decline in strength. The Danes had begun again to attack England, and for a time were paid tribute or 'Danegeld.' Finally, in 1013, Swein, King of Denmark, conquered England, and his son Cnut reigned there from 1016 to 1035. Since he also conquered Norway, he had an empire about the North Sea that made him perhaps the most powerful potentate of his time. After the disorderly reigns of Cnut's two sons, Edward the Confessor, so called for his piety, came to the throne in 1042. He had been a refugee in Normandy, and during his reign many Normans came to England and were influential at his court. Duke William himself paid him a visit, and afterward asserted that Edward had promised to make him his successor. William had the lust for conquest and domination in his blood and had already absorbed Maine, defeated the Duke of Brittany, and wrenched fiefs away from the Capetians. But when Edward died childless, the Witan chose Harold, son of Godwine, the leader of the anti-Norman party in Edward's reign. William thereupon determined to invade England. The pope approved of his expedition because Harold's party had ousted the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Norman, and replaced him by an Englishman without papal permission. William's vassals were as keen to conquer more territory as he was, and various feudal nobles from outside Normandy were allured by the prospect of new fiefs and plunder to join his forces. He also stirred up Tostig, an unworthy brother of Harold, who was in exile, and who was aided by Harold Hardrada of Norway and by contingents from the Norse colonies in Ireland, the Orkneys and Shetlands, and from the King of Scotland. Tostig and Hardrada invaded Northern England and defeated the Earls of Northumbria and Mercia, but Harold hurried north to the rescue and defeated and killed both Tostig and Hardrada in the battle of Stamford Bridge. But meanwhile William's army had been enabled to land unopposed on the south coast. Harold hurried south to meet him, but now he in his turn was defeated and slain at the battle of Hastings or Senlac. William soon took London and forced the Witan to elect him king, and by 1071 he had crushed all opposition.

Before the Norman conquest the Anglo-Saxon monarchy had shown a tendency to fall apart into four or five great earldoms, which, as the names Northumbria and Mercia mentioned above show, followed the lines of the former independent kingdoms. The earls replaced the former ealdormen in the various shires. Besides this tendency in the direction of feudal states, it should be noted that the kings had come to rely chiefly in their government and wars upon a nobility of service called 'thegns.' It was with these personal followers that they filled up the Witan to secure a subservient majority, and to them they granted or 'booked' lands. Immunities, too, had been granted, and some private individuals had military retainers or held courts of justice. Also both serfdom and seigneurial exploitation were familiar before the Norman conquest. William further introduced feudalism by depriving most of the English who had resisted him of their estates and giving these out as fiefs to his Continental followers. He wished, however, to keep the government in his own hands as in Normandy; so he increased the number of earls and reduced their power, transferring some of their functions to the sheriffs representing him in each shire. And toward the close of his reign he required all his subvassals to take an oath of allegiance to himself.

William showed that he was a businesslike ruler by his *Domesday Book*, a record of the landed property of England, its tenants, serfs, animals, agricultural equipment, fish-ponds, and other sources of income, and what was owing from it to the King. William and his two immediate successors greatly strengthened the central government of England, but, like Cnut, they wisely continued the old local organization and the old English customs and laws. They were arbitrary rulers who punished wrongdoers severely and squeezed more money out of the land than it had been wont to pay in the easy-going Anglo-Saxon days. Yet their rule, though absolute and even tyrannical, was feudal in form. An army was raised from their vassals by knight service. William built rectangular stone ' towers ' or castles all over the land to hold it in truly feudal style. There were the same household officials and the same feudal *curia regis* as the Capetians governed by. Except that the kings continued to levy the Danegeld, their financial oppression was exercised largely by stretching their rights to feudal dues, by abusing their powers of wardship and marriage, and by demanding excessive fines and fees in their feudal court of justice. They were accustomed to feudal methods in Normandy and continued to employ them in England, although they gladly retained any Anglo-Saxon custom that was useful to them, just as in Normandy they had preserved some Carolingian institutions.

The death of Henry I in 1135 raised the question whether England and Normandy should go to his daughter Matilda or to his nephew Stephen, and civil war rent England for nearly twenty years over this disputed succession. The two rivals imported paid soldiers from the Continent to fight their battles, and while these devastated the land, the feudal nobles built castles and lorded it over their localities as they pleased. Matilda, a rather haughty and disagreeable lady, had married the able Count of Anjou of the Plantagenet house, Geoffrey the Fair (1129-1151), who was fifteen years her junior. After ten years of fighting he gained Normandy in 1144 ; ten years later their son, Henry Plantagenet, on the death of Stephen, became Henry II of England. When the Capetian king, Louis VII, had committed the political error of divorcing for personal reasons his wife, the imperious and capricious and frivolous Eleanor, heiress of the great Duchy of Aquitaine with its attendant fiefs of Poitou and Gascony, young Henry had married her in 1152. He was only twenty-one when he became King of England in 1154. This made him ruler in his own and in his wife's name of territories from Scotland to the Pyrenees—he also later occupied a small portion of Ireland—and lord of over half the fiefs of Gaul. He did not, however, thereby become the monarch of a vast empire; instead, he was the lord of a number of distinct feudal states, which were out of sympathy with one another, and most of which were only too ready to rebel against their lord, even if he had been a native of their own locality instead of a foreign intruder, such as Henry seemed to them. Henry, however, was a ruler of great energy and ability who played an important part in English history, as we shall see later.

With the disruption of Charlemagne's empire and the incoming of the feudal period which we have just been describing, almost all the written law of the previous period went out of use. Several new sources of law now existed; one was the feudal court for vassals and another was the manorial court for peasants. Sometimes there were intermediate courts between these two. In Germany, besides *Lehnrecht*, regulating the relations of fief-holders to their lords, and *Hofrecht* or manorial law, there was *Dienstrecht* regulating the status of the *ministeriales*. There were vast numbers of feudal and manorial courts, and consequently there was great variety in the laws produced by them, especially since their attendants were not trained lawyers, but simple warriors or peasants and rough lords, who reached a decision as best they could. Royal law as yet did not have a very wide influence and was itself largely feudal in character. By the thirteenth century some lawyers endeavoured to reduce feudalism and its manifold customs and local diversities to a system. The business of the average feudal court was in the main limited to questions of personal status and personal injuries, crimes of violence, rights over land or other fiefs, and the feudal bond.

CHAPTER XV

THE GROWTH OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

CHARLEMAGNE had ruled Church as well as State, but the popes rather turned the tables upon Louis the Pious and other later Carolingians. While local magnates increased their power at the expense of the central government, the Church gained independence too. The Church, however, also ran the risk of dismemberment and local isolation. Bishops were revolting from the control of their archbishops just as dukes and counts were throwing off the royal yoke. During the first half of the tenth century the Papacy fell into the hands of local factions at Rome, and exerted little or no influence outside Italy. Once a boy of sixteen was made pope and dishonoured the office by his wild life and neglect of duty. When Otto became emperor he found it necessary to intervene and put nominees of his own in the papal chair He also issued a decree that henceforth a pope should not be consecrated until he had taken an oath of fealty to the emperor. None the less the German Churches recognized the pope's spiritual supremacy, asking his consent for the creation of new bishops, his confirmation of ecclesiastical charters, and welcoming the presence of his legate at their councils.

About the middle of the ninth century were composed the *False Decretals*, purporting to have been collected from the documents of early popes. These forgeries were probably not made at Rome, like the *Donation of Constantine*, but at Le Mans in France, with the object of freeing bishops from the control of their archbishops by magnifying the authority of the Papacy, which the bishops seem to have hoped would not press upon them so much. These pseudo-Isidorian decretals, with their theories of papal absolutism, were generally accepted in the Middle Ages.

The chief allies of the Papacy, however, were not discontented bishops seeking their own ends, but the monks. Bishops had many worldly concerns; some were rulers of small states themselves, others were advisers and helpers of kings. Their selection was usually influenced by the secular rulers, and as a result they were often ambitious nobles or relatives of king or feudal lord. They sometimes, therefore, did not care greatly for the religious side of their office, and they almost always sympathized with the locality or nationality to which they belonged. Monks had less interest in worldly things, and were apt to be devoted to the Papacy, to which they looked for special favours and for freedom from episcopal or other local control. Feudal nobles, however, looked covetously upon the richly endowed monasteries, and often sought the office of abbot for the sake of the lands

THE CONGREGATION OF CLUNY

About 910 the Abbey of Cluny had been founded in the Duchy of Burgundy with complete immunity from feudal or ecclesiastical control except that of the Pope. It soon acquired great fame by its revival of monastic ideals. Its monks really lived up to their rule and were models of ascetic devotion. They were well educated, engaging in intellectual rather than manual labour, although they spent a few hours daily shelling beans and digging weeds in order to make themselves feel properly humble. They conducted excellent schools and were very hospitable, and their charity to the poor won them both great popularity and many donations. Cluny was fortunate during the first two centuries of its existence in a remarkable succession of abbots, some of whom had very long terms of office. Each one practically chose his own successor and trained him for his task. Finally it became the custom that the Grand Prior should always succeed to the abbotship. Cluny became so celebrated that there was not room in one monastery for all who wished to join So the ‘Congregation of Cluny' was formed. More monasteries were founded in other places, but instead of each being an independent community under its own abbot, as had hitherto been the case with Benedictine monasteries, all were subordinated to the abbot of the mother monastery at Cluny, who appointed a prior for each instead of allowing the local monks to elect their head. He also visited these priories to see that their discipline conformed to Cluniac standards, and the priors met in general assemblies under his presidency. The popes showered favours upon Cluny; Christians deluged it with gifts and legacies; by 1150 there were over three hundred priories.

Church Reform in the Eleventh Century

A reform movement now began in the Church at large, which was perhaps due in large measure to the influence of Cluny, whose branches were scattered over Catholic Europe and whose monks were often called to high posts in the Church. Moreover, the Cluniac monasteries to some extent reformed the parish priesthood by the following method. Usually the lord of the manor or some other person or institution that had endowed the local parish church with most of its property possessed the right to nominate to the bishop a candidate for the office of parish priest. In other words, most parishes had lay 'patrons' who had the right of 'presentation' to the ecclesiastical 'living.' Cluny now made it an especial object to acquire among its extensive properties as many 'advowsons' or rights of patronage of this sort as possible in order to be able to fill the priesthood with holier men. It was now felt that the Church as a whole should be freed from the control of kings and feudal lords as Cluny had been, and more than that, that the spiritual power should always take precedence over the temporal power, and that kings and lords should be subject to the correction of the clergy and the pope. To ensure further that the clergy should not become worldly it was felt that the rules against the marriage of the clergy must be strictly enforced, as is the case to-day in the Roman Catholic priesthood.

In the West since the later Roman Empire the clergy above the rank of subdeacon had been forbidden to lead married lives,[1] but the rule was often poorly observed, and Gregory the Great had to instruct the bishops of Gaul concerning it in his day. In the tenth and eleventh centuries there were many married clergy in England, in Northern Italy, in Germany, and elsewhere. Those who believed in the celibacy of the clergy not only regarded such priests as leading impure and sinful lives, but had another cogent reason for prohibiting clerical marriage. Married priests were too liable to transmit to their sons their ecclesiastical offices and the Church property under their care. If the Church was to remain a career open to every one, an institution where ability might rise to high position regardless of social rank, and if the clergy were not to become an hereditary caste, it was felt that they must remain single.

Feudalism was threatening to overwhelm the Church as it had overwhelmed almost every other institution and phase of society. The Church was the greatest landholder in existence ; in the Carolingian period one-third of all Gaul belonged to the Church, a fact that would have caused Julius Cæsar to rub his eyes in amazement had he awakened from the grave then. Most Church lands were now in the form of fiefs which the clergy either held as vassals or had granted as lords to others. Therefore, there was danger that the clergy would become mere feudal nobles and forget their religious duties, or that greedy feudal nobles who cared nothing for religion would become bishops and abbots to get the use of the Church lands. If bishops and abbots were worldly self-seekers, there was little hope that the monks and priests under their surveillance would be what they should.

This entrance of unworthy men into Church positions, this climbing of wolves into the sheep-fold, seemed to thoughtful persons of that age to be effected in two ways, by simony and by lay investiture. Simony was an abuse of long standing. The term is derived from the name of Simon the magician, who tried to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit from the apostles. It meant in particular the purchase and sale of Church offices, and might more broadly refer to the acquisition of such offices by unworthy persons or by any improper methods, and to almost any corruption or ' graft ' in the Church. Purchasing an office was nevertheless quite a usual occurrence in the Middle Ages, and outside the Church was often not regarded as illegal, while even within the Church we have instances of good men buying offices to keep bad men from getting them. But this last fact only illustrates how much corruption there must have been in the Church.

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[1] In the East, on the other hand, a Church council at Constantinople, in 688–694, declared that those who were already married before taking higher orders need not separate from their wives unless they became bishops, but that one must not marry *after* one had been ordained a subdeacon.

LAY INVESTITURE

Lay investiture was the power exercised by kings and feudal lords of investing with his office and fiefs the new incumbent of a bishopric or abbey. By this method the rulers kept somewhat under their control the clergy and Church property within their borders. A large part of the Church lands had been royal or ducal grants, and kings were supposed to be protectors and defenders of the Church ; in return they claimed that all the higher clergy within their territories were their vassals. The new bishop or abbot must do homage to his king or feudal lord and receive from him not only the Church lands as a fief, but also the symbols of his religious functions, the ring and the staff, with the words "*Accipe ecclesiam*"—"Take this church." The lay lords were also accustomed to seize for their own use the goods and lands of bishoprics and monasteries during the vacancies between the death of one incumbent and the selection of his successor. The theory of the Church, on the other hand, was that monks should elect their abbot, and the clergy and people of the diocese their bishop, and that the feudal lord should unquestioningly accept such choices. In practice, however, the latter not only did the investing, but usually let it be known beforehand whom he wished chosen, and might refuse to invest any one else with the office and the property. This power the Church wished to take away from the feudal lords and political rulers; and it was repulsive to ecclesiastical sensibilities that the bloodstained hands of some lord, who was a terror to all his peasants and neighbours, and who had perhaps ill-treated and divorced several wives, should bestow the emblems of spiritual functions upon a successor of the blessed apostles, or upon the head of a community vowed to perpetual chastity.

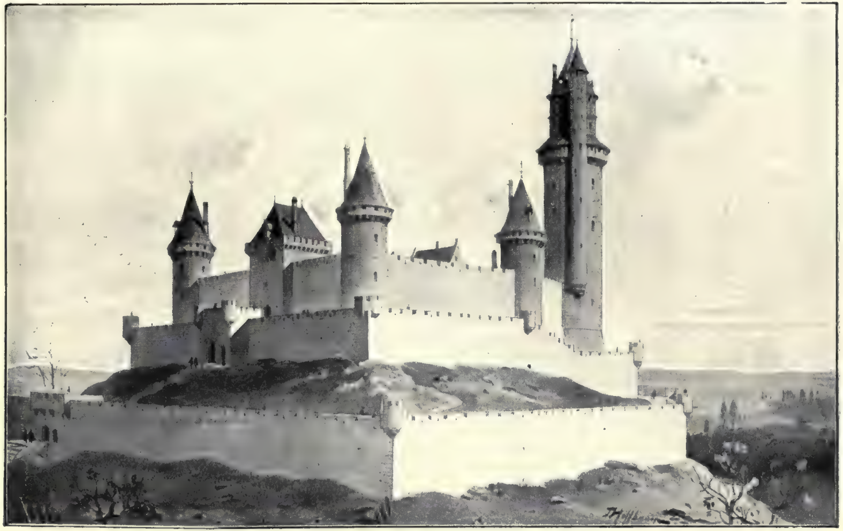
Yet for a time the Holy Roman Emperors assisted in the reform of the Church. Henry II, called 'the Saint,' did much to improve the monasteries, and co-operated on several occasions with the pope, who in 1018 held a council at Pavia which forbade the marriage of the clergy. The next emperor, Conrad II, was absorbed in politics and gave the Church little thought. Meanwhile the Papacy fell again under the control of a powerful Roman family, and Henry III (1039–1056) found it in much the same predicament as in the time of Otto the Great. Again a mere youth had been made pope, one chronicler says at the age of twelve; and his pontificate, according to the gossip of the time, was a worse orgy than that of any of the spoiled boys among the Roman emperors. Presently there were three claimants to the Papacy. At this point Henry III interfered, deposed all three popes, and nominated a good German bishop to the Papacy. Henry was a pious ruler, earnestly desirous of Church reform, and held a synod at Mainz, at which the pope was present, and which condemned simony.

Growth of Papal Independence during the Minority of Henry IV

Through the remainder of his reign Henry III saw to it that fit men occupied the papal see. But when he died his son was but a child, and was still only fifteen when he was declared of age in 1065. In the meantime, in 1059, Pope Nicholas II had decreed that henceforth the pope should be elected by the cardinals, certain clergy connected with the churches in Rome. This is essentially the method of election followed to-day, and, although many of the cardinals reside in other countries, they still hold nominal positions in the city churches of Rome. This took the election of the pope out of the hands of the Roman mob and influential families, but also out of the control of the emperor. A number of decrees forbidding the clergy to receive investiture from laymen were also issued at about this time. During this period, moreover, a man was rising step by step toward the highest power in the Church, in whose breast burned with the fierceness of intense conviction those ideals of ecclesiastical purity and supremacy which have been already outlined.

CAREER OF HILDEBRAND TO 1073

Hildebrand, born of poor peasants in Tuscany about 1025, was educated at the Lateran school, was nourished from his infancy, as he himself more than once said, by the Apostle Peter, and spent his entire life in the papal service. He accompanied the simoniacal pope Gregory VI when the latter was deposed by Henry III and exiled to Germany, and he returned to Rome with Pope Leo IX, who in 1050 made him a subdeacon and cardinal. Three years later he was sent to France as a papal legate and became acquainted with the Abbot of Cluny, but it is certain that he never became a Cluniac monk, and doubtful if he was a monk at all. On Leo's death he went from France to Germany, where Henry III appointed a German bishop as Pope Victor II. When both this pope and the emperor soon after died, the Romans chose a new pope without consulting young Henry IV or his mother, the regent. This new pope sent Hildebrand back to Germany again as one of two legates to announce his election, and, he too dying within a year, before his death he forbade the Romans to elect his successor until Hildebrand should return. They, however, elected another pope without waiting for Hildebrand. But when Hildebrand did return, he disregarded their action and at Siena secured the election of Nicholas II. It is uncertain whether in this Hildebrand was executing instructions from the empress; at any rate, it shows his increasing prominence in Church affairs. He now became a deacon and then an archdeacon, and was entrusted



17. The Castle of Montlhéry

with the making of a treaty with the Normans, who had by this time occupied Southern Italy. What part he had in the decree of 1059 regulating papal elections is doubtful. This decree and the treaty with the Normans produced a breach between the imperial court and Pope Nicholas. On his death there were two rival popes: one, whom Hildebrand supported, was Alexander II, elected by the method prescribed in the decree of 1059; the other was nominated by the imperial court. But at this point the great nobles of Germany deprived the empress of the regency, and Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, held a synod at Mantua which decided the disputed election in favour of Alexander II. During this pontificate of nine years Hildebrand was undoubtedly, next to the Pope himself, the leading figure at the papal court, and in 1073, when Alexander was being buried in the Lateran, the people tumultuously shouted for Hildebrand as his successor and forcibly placed him upon the vacant throne as Pope Gregory VII, without paying any heed to the election decree of 1059.

POLICIES OF GREGORY VII

Gregory VII was determined to enforce strictly the decrees against marriage of the clergy, simony, and lay investiture, which his predecessors had already promulgated. He also regarded the pope as entrusted by God with supreme oversight and control of all human society; he believed himself to be above kings, and empowered to issue orders to them and to punish them if they did not obey. He thought the State a worldly institution built up by sinful men who often were violent and unjust, whereas the Church was a divine foundation. Consequently the pope should correct erring or incompetent monarchs. Gregory was not content to try to free the Church from the control of feudal lords; he also attempted to bring various European states into feudal subjection to the Papacy. Corsica and Sardinia he regarded as his fiefs; the Norman ruler of Southern Italy had become the vassal of the pope in 1059; and Gregory endeavoured to make the rulers of Spain, England, Hungary, and Denmark his vassals. It illustrates how universal were feudal conceptions that even a pope who tried to free the Church from feudalism could not free his own mind or government from feudal methods.

Among Gregory's papers is found a list of twenty-seven propositions concerning powers possessed or claimed by the popes, known as the *Dictatus*. This brief memorandum was not written by Gregory, however, since some of its propositions are contradicted in his undisputed works; but it illustrates the vast powers claimed at about this time for the Papacy. It asserts that the pope never errs; that he is above criticism, supreme over bishops and even a Church council; supreme also over the State, the law, and literature. These were prerogatives even more extensive than Gregory VII attempted to secure in practice, but the programme was one which his successors tried to realize in the next few centuries.

Gregory is distinguished by the violent and extreme methods which he did not hesitate to adopt in the effort to enforce his ideals. In order to root out the married clergy, he deprived them of their revenues, forbade the laity to recognize them any longer as priests, and even required their parishioners to rise against them and drive them out. He not only excommunicated worldly rulers with whom he had differences, but deposed them and encouraged their vassals and subjects to revolt, thus inciting to sedition and civil war.

THE CONFLICT WITH HENRY IV

The pontificate of Gregory was full of struggles, but the chief conflict was with the young emperor, Henry IV. Whether we believe that the power of the Holy Roman Emperors reached its height under Henry III, or think that it had already in his day begun to decline from the power of his predecessor, Conrad II, there is no doubt that the imperial authority was greatly weakened during the long minority of Henry IV, and that he had his hands full of political problems when Gregory VII became pope. Henry was at odds with the great nobles and was trying to build up a military power based upon the *ministeriales*. He also was trying to create a royal domain in Saxony, and thereby encountered a dangerous rebellion of the freedom-loving Saxons. Before Gregory became pope, members of Henry's council had been excommunicated for their interference in ecclesiastical appointments, and Henry would incur excommunication if he continued to associate with these advisers.

Since in 1073 the Saxons had got the better of Henry and there was danger that another king might be set up in his place, he wrote a very humble letter to the Pope, admitting that he had sold Church offices and named unworthy bishops, and promising henceforth to co-operate with the Pope in the cause of Church reform. The next year he did penance before papal legates at Nürnberg and received a letter from Gregory congratulating him upon his 'devoted servitude' to the apostolic see.

By 1075, however, Henry was victorious over the Saxons and pressed the Pope to agree to his immediate coronation at Rome as emperor. Gregory was inclined to stipulate conditions before proceeding to the coronation, and had held a synod which passed new decrees against lay investiture and forbade the King of Germany to dispose of bishoprics. Henry, on the contrary, continued his interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of Northern Italy, and tried to come to an understanding with Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of Sicily and Southern Italy. Our sources for this important year, 1075, are scanty, but it terminated with a rough letter from the Pope to Henry, and a still more threatening verbal message brought by papal ambassadors, to the effect that Henry's private immorality and public policy were both so offensive that he was liable not only to excommunication, but to deposition. Henry thereupon summoned to Worms a council of German bishops who charged Gregory with a variety of sins and declared him deposed from his papal office. Gregory promptly replied by both excommunicating and deposing Henry, and not only released all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, but positively forbade them to obey him. The great lay lords took the side of the Pope, just as the bishops had supported Henry. The nobility ordered Henry to refrain entirely from the exercise of his political functions until he had been released from the papal excommunication. Such a release must be secured within a year and a day or his crown would be forfeited. They invited the Pope to visit Germany the next spring and arbitrate their grievances against Henry.

Henry saw that the time had come for another submission. He crossed the Alps in the depth of winter and met Gregory on his way north at the castle of the Pope's friend, the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, at Canossa. By his penitent attitude, standing, one source says, for three days barefoot in the snow, Henry practically forced the reluctant pontiff to raise the ban of excommunication. Outwardly the scene appeared a great humiliation for Henry, but it was not a very substantial triumph for Gregory. Henry had satisfied public opinion by his apparent reconciliation with the Pope, and when the great lords ignored it and elected another king in his place, they failed to receive general support. Henry in his government had shown regard for the welfare of the common people, and they saw no reason for disloyalty, now that he had apparently made his peace with the Church. The real objection of the great nobles and the Pope to Henry was not that he was a bad and incompetent ruler, but that he was exerting too much influence in spheres which they regarded as their own.

Gregory hardly knew what attitude to take between Henry and the rival whom the princes had raised against him. He tried to arbitrate between them, and as a result alienated both parties. Finally, in 1080, when Henry threatened to set up an anti-pope unless Gregory excommunicated his rival, Gregory came to a decision and again excommunicated and deposed Henry. The German bishops thereupon held various synods, preferred more charges against Gregory, deposed him, and named in his stead the Archbishop of Ravenna, a good and learned man. Henry's rival was slain in battle and Henry proceeded to attack Rome. Many of the cardinals deserted Gregory, and in 1084 Henry won the city and was at last crowned emperor by the anti-pope. Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of Southern Italy and the Pope's vassal, but who had done nothing to help him during the two-year siege of the city, now at last appeared to relieve Gregory, who was still holding out in the castle of Sant' Angelo, formerly the tomb of the great Roman emperor Hadrian. Henry had returned to Germany, but it was only by treachery that the Norman gained admission to the city. A sack followed, which was possibly more destructive of property and life than that of Alaric in 410 or that of the Vandals in 455; many of the people were slaughtered and the greater part of the city was burned. Naturally the Romans became more alienated from Gregory than before. He deemed it prudent to leave the city with his Norman allies, and died the next year at Salerno, asserting with his last breath, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." But the manner of his death was not unfitting for one who had resorted to such violent methods.

SETTLEMENT OF THE INVESTITURE QUESTION

The end of Henry was no happier, though he seemed for the moment to have triumphed and lived for a score of years longer. Gregory's successors renewed his excommunication; his anti-popes soon became powerless; he lost control of Italy, and his sons rebelled against him in Germany. Despite this, Henry V, on succeeding his father, pursued the same policy in regard to the question of investiture. In 1111 he marched upon Rome and secured from Pope Paschal II the remarkably fair proposal that the bishops and abbots should give up their secular power and their estates, and that the emperor should renounce the right of investiture. This proposal proved, however, too idealistic and revolutionary to be tolerated by the bishops and abbots in question or by the German princes generally. Instead, it was finally agreed by the Concordat of Worms in 1122 that nowhere should the clergy any longer receive the symbols of their spiritual functions from the hands of secular rulers, but that in Germany ecclesiastical elections should take place in the royal presence, and that the bishop, before he could be consecrated, must be invested with his temporal fiefs by the king or emperor, while in the kingdoms of Arles and of Italy the secular ruler must invest the bishop with his temporalities within six months after his consecration. This made the Italian clergy practically independent of the emperor, whereas the German Church was likely to remain still under his control. For England the question was compromised in about the same way as for Germany, but in France the Church came nearest to settling the questions of ecclesiastical elections and investitures to suit itself. In 1139 a papal decree that bishops should henceforth be elected by the clergy of their cathedral chapter excluded the people of the episcopal city from participating in the election, but does not appear to have lessened royal interference much.

Of the three reforms which Hildebrand and his predecessors and successors in the papal chair had attempted, they had been most successful in regard to celibacy of the clergy. Simony had been partially and temporarily checked, but was an abuse that could scarcely ever be prevented entirely. Against lay investiture they won only a limited success and one that was not even so considerable as it at first seemed. But in a general way the Church and the Papacy had shown vast strength and endurance; as a whole their power and prestige had greatly increased, and were to continue to do so for another century.

For another century, too, the popes and emperors were to be at bitter strife. The chief reason for this was the occasional appearance of the Holy Roman Emperor in Italy. As a result he kept getting into difficulties with the Papacy and usually bore the brunt of the pope's displeasure, while the English and French monarchs were able to exercise a control over Church affairs that the pope might not have tolerated, had his attention and energy not been so absorbed by the emperor.

CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND

William of Normandy, for example, although he had conquered England under papal auspices, paid no attention to the decrees against investitures and refused to take an oath of fealty to Gregory VII when the latter requested it. William further affirmed that his royal permission must be obtained before Church councils could be held in his kingdom, before papal bulls might be published there, and before any of his officials or vassals might be excommunicated. Yet Gregory did not excommunicate William or threaten to depose him, partly probably because he was a generous patron of churches and monasteries and was bringing the English Church service and clergy into conformity with Continental practice; but partly in all likelihood because it was hopeless to think of deposing William, who had just thoroughly conquered England and held it submissive under his strong rule. Henry IV seemed easier to fight with.

But the Church was sure to press its claims as it found a good opportunity, even in France and England. The successor of the Conqueror, William Rufus, whose immorality, profanity, and tyranny gave the Church a handle against him, had an indecisive struggle with his archbishop, Anselm, as to whether the latter should obey the pope or the king on disputed points. In the next reign, of Henry I, the investiture question reached England, and was finally compromised as above indicated. But then during the long civil wars between Stephen and Matilda the Church slipped away from the royal control, was granted liberties by Stephen in an effort to secure its support, and through its own ecclesiastical courts tried to supply some of the justice and security that were just then so woefully lacking.

Rise of Ecclesiastical Courts: Their Jurisdiction

We have in earlier chapters noted the judicial privileges and powers granted by the Theodosian Code to the Christian clergy of the declining Roman Empire, and that with the disappearance of imperial and municipal government in the West the bishop often became a sort of local ruler. Naturally his court acquired an increasing amount of judicial business, especially in those departments of law which were inadequately dealt with by the customs of the barbarian invaders and the tribunals of the feudal lords. As the Church service continued to be in the Latin language, so the Church courts preserved a considerable amount of Roman law, and they were usually more merciful and equitable in their judgments than the secular courts of those times. For these reasons and others, the Church courts came to claim jurisdiction not only over all cases in which a clergyman or Church property was concerned, or where a man was charged with heresy or irreligion, but also over many other matters which are to-day and had been in Roman times settled by the ordinary law courts. Since baptism was a sacrament performed and recorded by the clergy, it was natural for the Church courts to settle lawsuits where questions of birth were involved. Marriage, too, was regarded as a sacrament and performed by clergy, and subject to rules made by the Church, such as that near relatives might not wed. Consequently cases concerning matrimony and applications for separation or divorce came before a Church court. The barbarians had seldom made wills, but let their property pass in accordance with fixed custom to the nearest kin; persons who wished to controvert this rule were apt to desire to do so in order to leave something to the Church; moreover, the clergy were about the only persons who could write a will or anything else, and they were likely to be present at deathbeds to render the last ministrations to the dying. For all these reasons the ecclesiastical courts had secured well-nigh a monopoly of the law of testaments. Since an oath was a religious act, the Church courts also took cognizance of cases involving sworn contracts. The ecclesiastical courts further took it upon themselves to forbid and to endeavour to punish a number of practices which were believed to be prohibited by the Bible or by the principles of Christianity, although they might not be proscribed as torts or crimes by the secular courts. Blasphemy is one example. Another is the lending of money at interest by Christians, which was absolutely prohibited by medieval canon law.

Had the bishops remained under royal control to the extent that they were in the reigns of Clovis and Charlemagne and William the Conqueror, kings might have raised little objection to this extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, although of course the fees and fines of an ecclesiastical court did not go into the royal treasury. But the bishops were coming to look more and more toward Rome, and although the investiture strife had left the kings a large influence over episcopal elections, they no longer found it as easy to control a bishop once he had been elected. Moreover, the custom had grown up of appealing cases from the local episcopal courts, presided over by the archdeacons, to the papal court of Rome, which was becoming the supreme court of Christendom. Indeed, very important cases were often brought before the papal court in the first instance. A uniform system of law came to be accepted throughout the Church in the West, based upon the decrees of the popes and Church councils and upon the decisions rendered in the ecclesiastical courts, and called 'canon law.' A few years before Henry II became King of England a monk named Gratian at Bologna in Italy had made a compilation of the canons, or rules and decrees of the Church, which was generally accepted.

HENRY II AND THOMAS BECKET

Henry II speedily restored order and the royal power in England, and deprived of their castles the feudal nobles who had been making trouble. It was one thing to crush rebellious vassals who were disorderly and lawless and of whose anarchy and evil deeds the English people were heartily tired; it was quite another thing to try to restrict the growing power of a great organization with a systematic body of law, which had at that time a greater hold upon the popular mind than royalty had, and which was more beloved by the people than was the stocky, red-headed young foreigner who could spend but a fraction of his time away from his vast Continental fiefs. Yet Henry elected to struggle against the Church as well as against feudalism, to try to regain from it the powers which it had assumed of late in England, and to bring its property, its clergy, and its courts under the royal jurisdiction and to shut off all appeals to the papal court at Rome. To accomplish this, the busy Henry in 1162 secured the election, as Archbishop of Canterbury or Primate of the Church in England, of his friend Thomas Becket, on whose devotion he thought that he could rely and who was already serving him faithfully in political matters as chancellor. Becket protested, however, against being made archbishop, and as soon as he was elected resigned the chancellorship and devoted himself henceforth solely to the interests of the Church and the Papacy. Instead of co-operating with the King in the latter's effort to check the growing independence of the Church and the clergy, Thomas now opposed him at every point.

A crucial instance was the question of the treatment of clergymen who had committed crimes such as murder and robbery, or at least were accused of such deeds. The ecclesiastical courts would not shed blood, and were apt to let such 'criminous clerks' off with a light sentence, if they found them guilty at all. Henry was much dissatisfied with this state of affairs, and felt that he could not keep due order in his realm unless all criminals, whether clergy or laymen, were alike severely punished. He therefore demanded that his own judges should be present at the trial in the ecclesiastical court to see that the accused was not unduly favoured, and that if the accused clergyman was found guilty he should be turned over to the royal officials for condign punishment. But Becket held that this "would be bringing Christ again before Pontius Pilate," and carried the other bishops with him in opposition to the King.

THE 'CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON'

Henry, however, finally induced them to agree to obey the customs of the realm, and then called a meeting of his barons and appointed a committee of the oldest to draw up a list of the customs bearing upon the relations of Church and State from the reign of Henry I. These are known as the 'Constitutions of Clarendon.' They upheld the King in the matter of 'criminous clerks'; gave the royal courts the right to determine whether cases concerning ecclesiastical lands and persons should be tried in the Church courts or the king's courts; stated that the king's tenants-in-chief or his officials or the men on his own estates could not be excommunicated without his consent; forbade the clergy to leave the realm without his permission; and did not allow appeals to the papal court. After a vigorous protest Thomas unwillingly accepted the 'Constitutions,' but immediately after repented of his action and appealed to the Pope to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to observe them.

Becket then fled from the wrath of Henry to the domains of Louis VII of France, where Pope Alexander III had also taken refuge from the hostile emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and an anti-pope. The Pope was shocked by the tenor of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and absolved Thomas from observing such as infringed upon the rights of the Church and of the clergy. But the Pope did not wish to make an enemy of Henry, who controlled half of France as well as all England, and who had thus far supported him against the anti-pope set up by the Emperor. The Pope therefore left it to Becket to carry on a struggle for six years, in which Thomas excommunicated many of the King's followers and threatened Henry himself with the same treatment. Meanwhile the papal legates made repeated efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the King and his archbishop.

Finally Becket agreed to return to England, but as soon as he arrived issued a fresh batch of excommunications. When news of this reached Henry in Normandy, he flew into a fit of rage, and, incited by his bitter words, four of his knights crossed the Channel and murdered the archbishop in the cathedral at Canterbury. This was a disastrous event for Henry and turned public opinion quite against him. Becket was regarded as a martyr who had died for the Church; within three years the Pope canonized him, and his shrine at Canterbury became the great resort of pilgrims in England throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages, although it was plundered and destroyed by Henry VIII after his break with the Church of Rome. The pilgrimages to Canterbury have been immortalized in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Henry II found it necessary to say no more about the Constitutions of Clarendon, to allow clergy accused of crimes to be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and to permit appeals to Rome. He also did penance both before papal legates at Avranches in Normandy and later at Becket's tomb, where he was scourged so that he was ill the next day. Henry, however, laid the foundations in England of the common law and its courts, destined in the end to prevail throughout all England, and no future Archbishop of Canterbury was so aggressive against the Crown as Becket had been.

MONASTIC MOVEMENTS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

From the strife of Church and State let us revert a moment to Cluny, where the movement for Church reform and ecclesiastical independence and supremacy had first become apparent. The Congregation of Cluny, because of the too great wealth it had acquired, had itself declined in influence and in popular esteem. But many new monastic orders with stricter rules came into existence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially in France. Prominent among these were the Carthusians, who wore haircloth shirts and lived each in a separate cell, and the Cistercians, who even gave up education and all ornamentation in their churches, where there must be no sign of wealth. There was now also a widespread movement to revive the custom that priests and other secular clergy in any town should live together under a monastic rule, especially those clergy called canons who formed the chapter of the cathedral church. We saw that Augustine introduced this practice into Africa about A.D. 400, and that consequently such clergy called themselves 'Augustinian' or 'Austin' canons. More than one such order of canons was founded, however. Especially prominent were the Premonstratensians, founded about 1120 at Prémontré, in North-eastern France, by Norbert. Thus, while Cluny had declined, the monastic movement had grown.

The most influential Churchman of the twelfth century never became pope. This was St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), who, as a Cistercian monk, refused all ecclesiastical offices and honours. But he decided a disputed papal election and healed a schism; he preached the Second Crusade; he often settled disputes between princes and prelates, and he arbitrated international difficulties. He was of noble descent, with a beautiful face and graceful manners, but gave himself over to a life of rigorous asceticism and mystic devotion.

Some of the hymns ascribed to him are still familiar to-day and are sung in English translation even in Protestant churches; for instance, those beginning:

> Jesus, the very thought of Thee
> With sweetness fills the breast;

and

> Of Him who did salvation bring,
> I could forever think and sing.

St. Bernard was as outspoken concerning the faults of the clergy and abuses in the Church as he was fearless in rebuking kings and lords whom he believed to be offending God. He could move both kings and crowds by his eloquence; but he had little sympathy for the secular learning which was by this time beginning to appear again in the West. He always put faith above reason.

THE CRUSADES

Besides the widespread monastic revival, there was another great movement which was at least as semi-religious in character: namely, the Crusading movement, which will be discussed in the next chapter on the expansion of Christendom. The First Crusade was inspired by the Pope in a speech made at Clermont-Ferrand in South-central France in 1095, and the Crusading movement as a whole illustrates the great hold which the Church had upon the men of that time.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM AND THE CRUSADES

WHILE feudal lords were busily engaged in acquiring power over various localities and the popes aimed at world-empire, there was one work in which they cordially co-operated: namely, the expansion of Christendom and the Crusades. The Christian world in the West of Charlemagne's time had covered a very restricted area, which the invasions of Northmen, Saracens, and Hungarians during the break-up of his empire had threatened to reduce further. But these new invaders had been finally checked or absorbed. The Northmen had been converted even in their homeland, Scandinavia, and the Magyars accepted Christianity during the reign of St. Stephen of Hungary (997–1038). At the same time there were political divisions rife in the Mohammedan world, and there was a temporary lull in the pressure which the nomads of Asia had been exerting upon the West almost continuously since the first appearance of the Huns. Finally, in Western Europe the population was now increasing, instead of declining as in the time of the Roman Empire. The supply of land to give out as fiefs was becoming exhausted, and younger sons and other would-be vassals must migrate elsewhere to satisfy their desires. Also the villas were overcrowded with tenants and serfs, many of whom could readily be drawn away by an offer of new lands and slightly better conditions of holding.

NORMANS IN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

Into Southern Italy, where Byzantines and Saracens and local nobles and towns were contending, came in the early eleventh century Norman pilgrims returning from Jerusalem and Norman soldiers of fortune still possessed by their race's old spirit of wandering and adventure. After serving the contending parties for a time as mercenaries, they entered the fray in their own interest. In 1053 they defeated and captured Pope Leo IX, and in 1059 Pope Nicholas II recognized Robert Guiscard (the Wary) as Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily —land which he agreed to hold as a fief from the Papacy. He proved a troublesome vassal, and conquered a number of papal possessions, and had to be excommunicated more than once; but the popes needed his aid to put down the robber barons in the vicinity of Rome, and later to resist the Holy Roman Emperor. Southern Italy was not entirely in Norman hands until the fall of Bari, the last Byzantine stronghold, in 1071; and twenty more years passed before the conquest of Sicily was completed, although the Saracen capital, Palermo, was taken in 1072. Western Christianity not only gained at the expense of Islam by these Norman conquests, but those regions of Southern Italy which the iconoclastic Emperor Leo had transferred to the Patriarch of Constantinople were now brought back under papal control. In 1130 the Norman rulers were granted the title King of Sicily. They built up a strong form of government, but their dynasty ended with the twelfth century, when the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, who had married the Norman heiress, made good his claim to the Sicilian crown.

Christian Expansion in the Spanish Peninsula

In the Spanish peninsula, after the dismemberment of the Caliphate of Cordova in the early eleventh century, the Christian states gradually pushed their boundaries south at the expense of the Moslems, although this was not accomplished without occasional setbacks and vicissitudes. The Christians often stopped to fight among themselves. Leon and Castile were at times united under one ruler into a strong military kingdom, and then again divided among several heirs. The progress of the Christian arms was also twice checked by fanatical hosts of Mohammedan barbarians from Africa who extended their sway into Spain and were called 'Almoravides' and

'Almohades' respectively. For example, in 1085, Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon, following up the successful campaigns of his father, took Toledo; but the next year he was decisively defeated by the Almoravides at Zalaca in West-central Spain. The advent of these barbarous tribes of the desert was unfavourable to the civilization which had hitherto flourished in Mohammedan Spain, nor did they build up a strong state. More intolerant than previous Mohammedan rulers, they provoked their Christian subjects the more to revolt.

Christian knights from beyond the Pyrenees, especially from Southern France, participated in the recovery of the Spanish peninsula from the Moslems, and received lands for their pains. The Cistercian monks, at St. Bernard's suggestion, spread to Spain in the twelfth century. Various military orders—some of them general European organizations like the Templars and Hospitallers, others special Spanish and Portuguese orders—also established themselves in the peninsula and received vast grants of land.

Portugal began its separate history in 1095, when the aforesaid Alfonso VI of Castile gave his natural daughter, together with the Counties of Oporto and Coimbra, to Henry of Burgundy, one of the foreign feudal nobles who had been aiding him in his struggle against the Almoravides. In the first half of the twelfth century the Count of Portugal became a vassal of the pope and agreed to pay him four ounces of gold a year. When in 1179 the pope added the royal title, he received a thousand byzants on the spot and the annual payment was increased to a hundred gold pieces.

The King of Aragon, too, was a papal vassal, and since the eleventh century had paid a handsome yearly tribute. Aragon began to extend its borders early in the twelfth century, and in 1137 it was enlarged by the marriage of its infant queen with Ramon Berengar, Count of Barcelona and Provence. This transformed Aragon, hitherto an inland kingdom, into a great maritime power with a long Mediterranean coast-line. Provence passed to a French line in the thirteenth century, but Catalonia or the County of Barcelona remained a permanent part of the Kingdom of Aragon henceforth.

The Almohades replaced the Almoravides in Mohammedan Spain about the middle of the twelfth century, and toward its close came into hostile contact with the Christian states. The Portuguese defeated them in 1184, but they won a victory over the King of Castile in 1195. The King of Leon fought against his Christian neighbours, especially Castile, and was a secret ally of the Moslems. The King of Navarre, too, was inclined to side with the Moslems against his Christian neighbours. But Pope Innocent III did all he could to arouse the Christians both of the Spanish peninsula and other lands against the Moslems, and in 1212 the Kings of Castile and Aragon, with the lukewarm aid of the King of Navarre, gained a great victory over a vast host of Moslems at Navas de Tolosa in Southern Spain. This event was soon followed by extensive conquests by the Kings of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal. James I of Aragon conquered the Balearic Isles one after another in the years from 1229 to 1235, and in 1238 added Valencia to his kingdom. Meanwhile Castile and Leon had been again united under one sovereign, who proceeded to capture Cordova in 1236 and Seville in 1248.

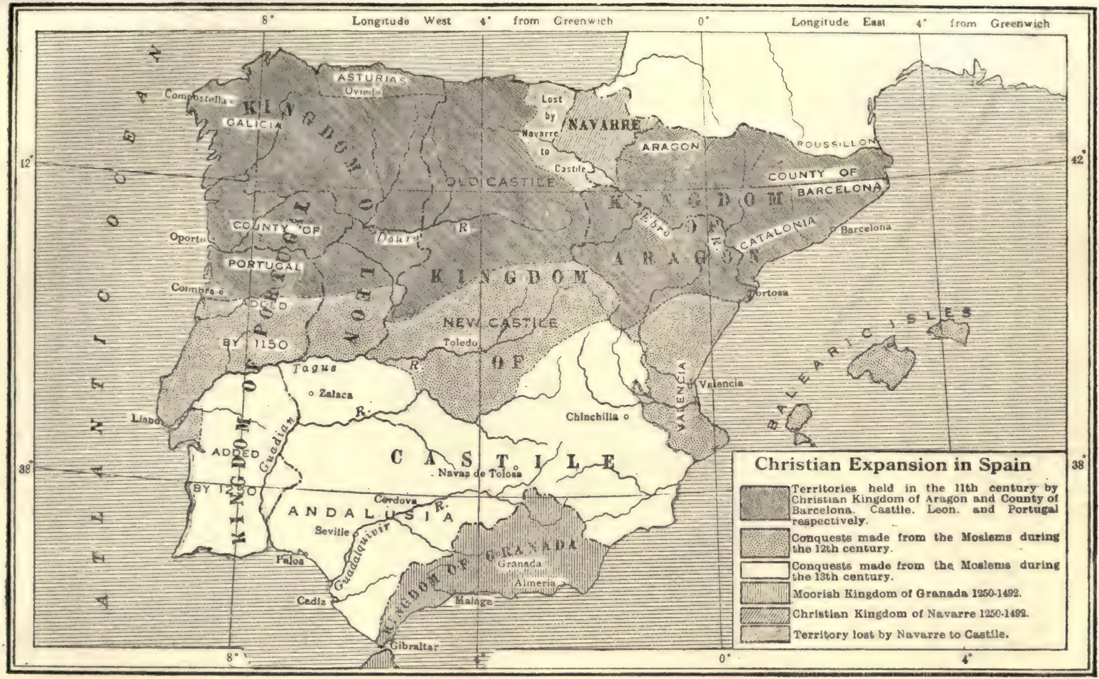
Within a few years the Mohammedans retained only the Kingdom of Granada, a small fraction of the peninsula, extending along the southern coast from Gibraltar to somewhat east of Almeria. Portugal had attained its present boundaries. Little Navarre, cut off on the south by Castile and Aragon, had failed to expand at all. In fact, in 1200 the King of Castile had taken from her the provinces of Alava and Guipuzcoa. Roughly speaking, Aragon formed a triangle, bounded on the north by the Pyrenees, on the east by the Mediterranean from Montpellier to beyond Valencia, on the west by Castile. The united realm of Castile and Leon was the largest in the peninsula, being a union of earlier states like Asturias and Galicia, and having profited most by conquest at the expense of the Moslems. It occupied the central plateau and extended from the Atlantic on the north-west and the Bay of Biscay on the north to the valley of the Guadalquivir in the south, touching the Mediterranean coast a little between Aragon and Granada, and the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the

Guadalquivir between Granada and Portugal. Such for over two hundred years remained the political geography of the Spanish peninsula, until the close of the Middle Ages.

GERMAN EXPANSION NORTH-EAST IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

After Henry I and Otto the Great in the tenth century checked the invaders who had threatened the East Frankish kingdom from north and east, the Holy Roman Emperors who succeeded them gave but slight attention to the problem of their eastern frontier. They were too much occupied with Italian projects, with the investiture struggle, and with other problems. When invasions of the Empire by the Slavs forced them to interfere, they usually contented themselves with enforcing a vague recognition of their overlordship from the Slavic princes and perhaps a more substantial payment of tribute, but they made little effort to Christianize or to settle the Slavic territory. It was therefore left to the local lords of the petty states along the eastern border to carry on the work of eastward German colonization. On the whole, not much was accomplished until the twelfth century. Then, under the leadership of the Counts of Holstein, of Albert the Bear, Count of the North Mark (1134–1170), and of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, a great advance of the German frontier was made from the Elbe to the Oder, while the Danes made haste to secure the island of Rügen in the Baltic.

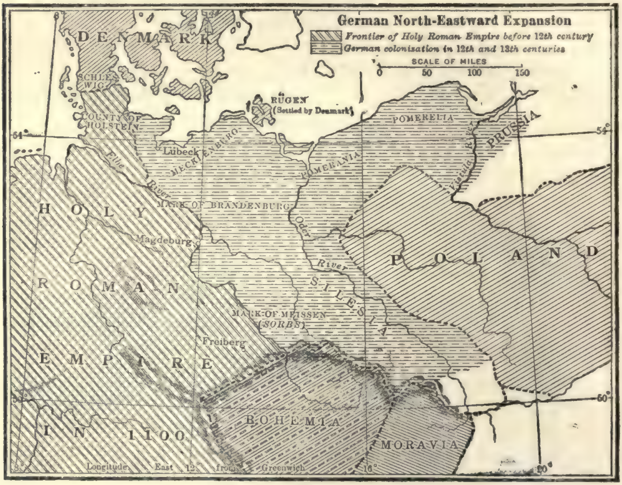
The previous inhabitants of the region between the Elbe and the Oder, Baltic Slavs in the north and Sorbs in the south, were for the most part either ejected from their lands or fell to the position of serfs or wretched cottagers without any legal title to the small plots of land which they occupied. The Slavs, whose wooden ploughs merely scraped the surface of the soil, had generally occupied only the more easily cultivated land, and had left swamps, forests, and thickets unreclaimed. Now German colonists with their superior ploughs entered the land, while Flemings and Hollanders, who had learned at home the art of reclaiming fens and morasses, were introduced in large numbers by the new lords of the soil. To get colonists,



Christian Expansion in Spain

Longitude West 4° from Greenwich
Longitude East 4° from Greenwich
8°
0°
4°
12°
42°
38°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ASTURIAS
Oviedo
Compostella
GALICIA
KINGDOM OF LEON
Lost by Navarre to Castile
NAVARRE
ARAGON
ROUSSILLON
COUNTY OF BARCELONA
OLD CASTILE
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
Ebro R.
CATALONIA
Barcelona
Tortosa
COUNTY OF PORTUGAL
Oporto
Douro
R.
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Coimbra
ADDED BY 1150
NEW CASTILE
Toledo
Tagus R.
Zalaca
R.
BALEARIC ISLES
Valencia
VALENCIA
Lisbon
Chinchilla
Guadiana
ADDED BY 1250
Navas de Tolosa
Cordova
ANDALUSIA
Seville
Guadalquivir R.
Palos
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
Granada
Almeria
Malaga
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Territories held in the 11th century by Christian Kingdom of Aragon and County of Barcelona. Castile. Leon. and Portugal respectively.
Conquests made from the Moslems during the 12th century.
Conquests made from the Moslems during the 13th century.
Moorish Kingdom of Granada 1250-1492.
Christian Kingdom of Navarre 1250-1492.
Territory lost by Navarre to Castile.

however, to settle the waste, it was necessary to offer them attractive terms and to free them from most of the restrictions imposed by feudal lords upon their peasants. Usually they merely paid a moderate money rent. They received larger allotments of land than the average peasant had at home; and in these new settlements the individual's holdings were not scattered about as on the ordinary medieval villa, but comprised one large strip which its holder was free to cultivate as he pleased.


German North-Eastward Expansion
Frontier of Holy Roman Empire before 12th century
German colonisation in 12th and 13th centuries
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
COUNTY OF HOLSTEIN
RÜGEN (Settled by Denmark)
Lübeck
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
POMERELIA
PRUSSIA
Vistula River
Elbe River
MARK OF BRANDENBURG
Oder River
Magdeburg
SILESIA
MARK OF MEISSEN (SORBS)
Freiberg
POLAND
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN 1100
Longitude East 12° from Greenwich
16°
20°
8°
54°
50°

In 1143 was founded by the Count of Holstein the first German city on the Baltic Sea, Lübeck, destined soon to be a great centre of trade. In 1165 the discovery of silver in the land of the Sorbs caused a great inrush of fortune-hunters and the growth of the city of Freiberg, not far from modern Dresden. But on the whole towns did not develop much until the thirteenth century. When they did, the Slavs were allowed only in certain streets and in certain occupations. Germans, on the other hand, were attracted by offers of personal freedom, exemption in large measure from tolls and other vexatious dues, and by grants of partial self-government. The result was that, especially in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, the country was thoroughly Germanized. Slavic traditions and folk-lore disappeared even among the common people, and in the eighteenth century more persons speaking a Slavic dialect could be found in German territory west than east of the Elbe. In Mecklenburg, however, a Slavic prince who had been allowed to rule as a vassal of Henry the Lion became the founder of the present reigning houses in both Duchies of Mecklenburg.

In the south-east, in the Mark of Austria and in parts of the Duchies of Carinthia and Styria, there had been some German colonization since the close of the tenth century, but the movement was at its height there in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. In the north-east after the twelfth century German expansion went on beyond the Oder farther east in Pomerania, Silesia, and Prussia. The Slavic princes themselves, in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, often called in the superior German labourers as settlers ; and the frequent marriage alliances of the same Slavic princes with daughters of the German nobility facilitated the spread of Christianity.

The new religious orders of the twelfth century were prominent in the colonization of the north-east. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians, was from 1126 to 1134 Archbishop of Magdeburg, the ecclesiastical metropolis nearest to that frontier. In the later decades of the twelfth century the Cistercians played the greatest part, and their monastic settlements sometimes advanced to regions where the power of German lords had not yet penetrated. In the thirteenth century came the military and crusading orders, the Teutonic Knights and the Brethren of the Sword, who were to make conquests far beyond the Vistula.

Not long after Otto had repulsed the invasions of the Hungarians their kings became Christians and tried to convert their people forcibly to the same faith by the aid of numerous clergy from Western Europe and knights from Germany. In the next century came a relapse of part of the country into paganism; but in the twelfth century the Gregorian reforms and the Cistercian monks revived Christian influence. Hungary was now a powerful state, and about 1100 absorbed Croatia and gained access to the Adriatic, and annexed the cities of the Dalmatian coast, which had hitherto owed allegiance to Constantinople. By the close of the twelfth century Hungary had the same religious and political institutions as the rest of Western Christian Europe, and shared also in its culture to a large extent. The monks, who were numerous in Hungary in the twelfth century, came from France. But in the second half of that century the Magyars called in Flemish and German colonists to settle and defend Transylvania or Siebenbürgen, a debatable territory away over on their eastern frontier.

In the East, as the power of the Arabs and Bulgarians had declined in the course of the tenth century, the Byzantine Empire had begun to expand again. The islands of Crete and Cyprus, the city of Antioch, and a large part of Syria were recovered from the Saracens, and the frontier was extended to the upper Euphrates. Farther north an advance was made to the Caucasus Mountains. In Europe, especially during the reign of Basil II (976–1025), all Bulgaria was brought under Byzantine rule. Once Basil blinded 15,000 Bulgarian captives and sent them home as a warning, leaving one prisoner out of every hundred one eye in order that he might serve the others as a guide. Basil's sister married the prince of Russia, who thereupon adopted Christianity. While the Serbs were allowed local autonomy under their own rulers, they were forced to recognize the overlordship of Constantinople, by whose territories they were surrounded on the east, south, and south-west. For both the politics and the culture of Constantinople at this epoch our chief sources of information are the hundreds of treatises on varied subjects, the history, and the letters, of Psellus, a prolific writer of the eleventh century who was interested in everything under the sun as well as in theology.

RISE OF THE SELJUK TURKS

In 1057, after reigning at Constantinople for nearly two centuries, the Macedonian dynasty died out, and for a generation there was confusion and anarchy in the Byzantine Empire. Meanwhile the perennial migration of Asiatic nomads westward had been renewed by the Turks. A branch of this race, known as the 'Petchenegs' or 'Patzinaks,' had been for some time on the lower Danube. It was to protect their eastern frontier against this tribe that the Hungarians introduced German settlers into Transylvania in the later twelfth century. Another branch, known as the 'Seljuk Turks,' from their legendary hero-founder, became in the eleventh century the ruling element in the Moslem world. After conquering Persia they accepted Islam and entered the service of the Abbassid caliphs at Bagdad. The result was that the caliph soon ceased to be anything more than the nominal religious head of the Mohammedan world, while a Turkish sultan held all the military and political power. The Seljuks spread into Syria, Armenia, and Asia Minor; in 1071, at Manzikert, in Armenia, they won a decisive victory over the Byzantines, and soon had taken away all of Constantinople's Asiatic territories.

The Turks were ignorant and fanatical barbarians like the Almoravides and Almohades, and had a like evil effect upon Arabian culture. The heyday of Bagdad, like that of Cordova, as a centre of civilization was now over, and the days of Constantinople were numbered. It was time for the teeming and expanding population of feudal Western Europe to take up the torch of civilization. The Turks not only showed no bent for the remains of Greek, Persian, Syrian, and Arabian arts, sciences, and industries scattered through their territories; they also failed to reunite the Moslems into a political whole. Various leaders broke away from the control of sultan and caliph and conquered independent principalities for themselves. This naturally led to many wars between rival Mohammedan princes.

For the present, however, the Turks were none the less a pressing danger to Constantinople, and when Alexius (1081–1118) firmly established the Comnenian dynasty on the throne, he still found many problems confronting him. Robert Guiscard, whose daughter had married the son of a preceding emperor, invaded the northern part of the Greek peninsula and penetrated as far as Thessaly. He was then called back to Italy to succour Pope Gregory VII, and in his absence his forces were expelled from Greece. He continued the war until his death in 1085, however, but then his son Bohemond made peace with Alexius. Meanwhile the Patzinaks had been invading Thrace, and it was only after nine years of war that Alexius finally drove them out of his empire. He was next confronted by the far more arduous task of repelling the Seljuk Turks, but in this enterprise he was destined to receive assistance from vast armies of crusaders from Western Europe.

THE CRUSADES

Our sources concerning the Crusades are more ample than for any other wars or migrations of the Middle Ages. Besides numerous chronicles concerning them, there are diaries and letters written by the crusaders themselves. There is also a wealth of official documents bearing in one way or another upon the Crusades and the states founded by the crusaders in the East. There were also numerous allusions to the Crusades in the popular literature of the time. Yet many important points are still left in dispute ; for instance, whether Alexius summoned the crusaders or not. Moreover, the narrators of the Crusades introduce so many portents and miracles, and are themselves so convinced that these expeditions were especially favoured by divine guidance and by providential intervention at critical moments, that their accounts sometimes seem to belong more to the realm of mysticism or romance than to that of sober history. One fears that they may even have exaggerated the losses and sufferings of the crusaders in order to make their victories seem the more remarkable.

The word ‘ crusade ’ is derived from the practice of ‘ taking the cross ’—after the example and precept of Christ—which was adopted by those who went on the First Crusade and was then followed in the subsequent expeditions. The crusader wore a cross of cloth upon his breast on his way to the Holy

Land; upon his return after fulfilling his vow he bore the cross upon his back between the shoulders. A crusade has been defined as 'a religious war, preached in the name of the Church, stimulated by solemn grant of ecclesiastical privileges, made by a more or less cosmopolitan army, and aiming either directly or indirectly at the recovery of holy places.' Or we may say more specifically that the Crusades were initiated by the pope; that remission of sins was promised to sincere crusaders; that the various feudal states, monarchies, and city republics of Western Europe shared in the movement; and that the main object was to recover Jerusalem from the Mohammedans.

The crusading movement was launched by the pope Urban II, at a council at Clermont-Ferrand in South-central France, in 1095, in a speech before a great concourse of 250 bishops, 400 abbots, many feudal lords and knights, and a multitude of the people. It is possible that the Emperor Alexius had appealed to the Pope for aid against the Turks; at any rate, if he had not, one of his predecessors had already made such an appeal to Gregory VII. But in either case the Byzantine Emperor merely wished some auxiliary mercenary troops to help him to reconquer Asia Minor from the Turks. On the other hand, at Clermont the Pope broached the idea of an independent Western enterprise, having for its chief aim, not the helping of the Byzantine Empire, but the recovery of Jerusalem and the holy places. The Turks had taken Jerusalem in 1078, since when the pilgrims had brought home tales of ill-treatment of themselves and of the native Christians living there. Also Urban offered the participants in the crusade, not the wages of mercenaries, but the hope of an eternal reward. The result was that, while in 1074 the lords of Western Europe had received Gregory's request for troops to aid the Byzantine Emperor rather coldly, and he himself had finally dropped the project, in 1095 Urban's eloquent appeal brought forth from the assembled throng shouts of "It is the will of God," and within a year hundreds of thousands had been persuaded to undertake the perilous pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

There were yet other reasons why so many hastened to take the cross. For a long time Western Christians had been in the habit of making pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre, and of late they had often gone in large numbers and armed. The Crusades were a further development of this practice upon a still larger and more warlike scale. We have seen, too, that the feudal noble had wandering and adventurous instincts, that he loved fighting, and that he ever craved to gain new territory. Recently William the Conqueror had led a host against England, and Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger had invaded Saracen Sicily, in each case with the approval of the Pope and with a consecrated banner ; while in Spain many knights from other lands had helped the Christian princes to win lands from the Moslems. The taking of Toledo in 1085 had been followed, however, by the defeat of the Christians at Zalaca in 1086 by the Almoravides. Perhaps the Pope thought to offset this repulse in the West by striking a blow against the Mohammedans in the East. Moreover, the princes of the West were already of their own accord beginning to cast covetous eyes upon the East, as the recent effort of Robert Guiscard to conquer the Byzantine Empire had demonstrated. France was now an over-populated country where there were frequent famines and economic distress, but it was also a land overflowing with vigour and enterprise. Many of its knights would eagerly seize an opportunity to conquer new fiefs for themselves in foreign parts. Pope Urban himself was a native of Champagne, and he proclaimed the crusade in Auvergne, another region of France. In the coast cities of Italy, too, were a commercial enterprise and a growing sea power which did much to make the Crusades possible. Indeed, the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi had already made attacks of their own upon the Saracens of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and North Africa.

But while such political and economic forces and worldly motives probably would of themselves have resulted in some sort of secular expeditions directed toward the East, there would have been no Crusades without the leadership of the Pope and the influence of the Church, without the offer of indulgences and other spiritual benefits to those participating, without the medieval susceptibility to religious emotion and excitement, and without the spirit of self-sacrifice to Christ. "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." Such was the true watchword of the crusader. It is a fact that many bad men went on the crusades—beggars, vagabonds, outlaws, criminals—but some even of these were actuated in this case by a good motive. It is true that many who took the crusading vow in a moment of contrition and devotion afterward sullied their cause by their actions along the route. But the fact remains that for thousands the crusade was primarily a religious act, and that multitudes laid down their lives for the cause in the arid mountains of Asia Minor or among the hot sands of Syria, victims to famine, plague, and thirst, as well as to the swords of the Seljuks, but, in their own opinion and in that of the Church which sent them forth, "more than conquerors."

THE FIRST CRUSADE

After the council at Clermont Urban visited many other places in France, preaching the crusade, and many other clergy did the same. Chief among them was Peter the Hermit, who stirred especially the common people, women and children as well as men, of Central France and the Rhine valley to seek the Holy Land. William Rufus, Philip I, and Henry IV, kings of England, France, and Germany respectively, were at this time all under papal excommunication, and not one of them went on the crusade. But the feudal nobility from both Northern and Southern France and from Norman Italy took the cross with avidity. The Pope, who was still engaged in the investiture struggle, sent a French bishop as his representative.

The bands, made up partly of simple pious folk and partly of unruly vagabonds, which Peter the Hermit and similar popular preachers had gathered, contained few armed knights, and either never reached even Constantinople or were cut to pieces by the Turks in Asia Minor. Their depredations in the countries of South-eastern Europe through which they passed often led the natives to attack them. Or, if the crusaders were in too great force to be attacked, the peasants of the country would flee to woods and mountains until they had passed by. The feudal armies were more thorough and took longer in their preparations than the ill-organized bands which had preceded them, and crossed the Balkan peninsula to Constantinople in several contingents and by different routes. Godfrey of Bouillon led a great army from North-eastern France and Lorraine in a quiet march across Germany and Hungary, reaching Constantinople just before Christmas 1096. The Duke of Normandy, the Count of Flanders, and others from Northern France took about the same route as the Normans of Italy under Bohemond, whose march was to Brindisi and then from Durazzo to Saloniki. The knights from Southern France, under Raymond of Toulouse and the papal representative, crossed Northern Italy, and then skirted the Adriatic to Durazzo, and had to fight the Slavonians on their way. All these contingents arrived in the course of the spring of 1097. There were yet other leaders than those mentioned and the feudal lords were not inclined to take orders from one another, so that there was not likely to be much co-operation or maintenance of discipline. In Bohemond, however, they had an able military commander, who, by waiting with a reserve force of cavalry and then making an attack at the critical point at the critical moment, won most of the battles in which they engaged with the Turks.

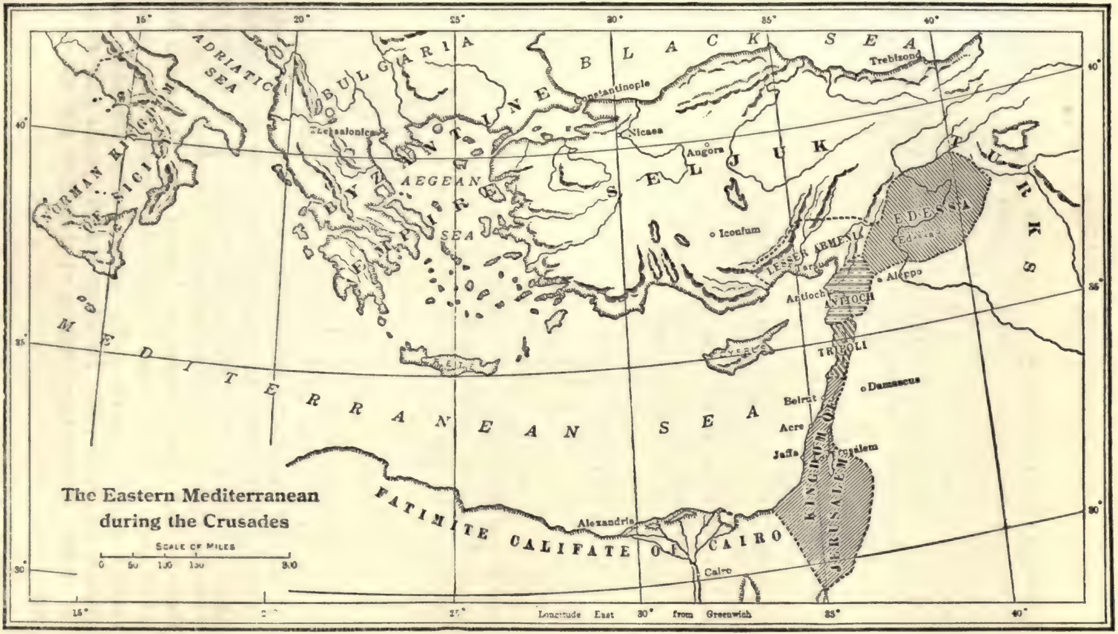
Alexius must have been astounded when he heard from the Pope that 300,000 men would be on their way to Constantinople. He was perhaps still more amazed when the motley following of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless arrived. Both in their case and that of the better equipped armies which arrived later, his policy was to get them out of the city and across the straits into Asia as rapidly as possible and before their numbers should be too greatly swelled by further arrivals. In the case of the later, well-organized armies he also endeavoured to have all the leaders take an oath of fealty to him and agree to hold all conquests that they might make as fiefs of the Byzantine Empire.

This they were naturally loath to do, and he had to attack some of them and bribe others to secure their oaths, while some never took the oath. In brief, Alexius's position was that he would allow the crusaders to reconquer for him the territory which he had not been able to prevent the Turks from taking away from him, and which he unaided would probably have been quite unable to recover.

When the various bodies of crusaders had finally joined forces in Asia Minor before the walls of Nicæa, not far from Constantinople, and were just on the point of reducing it, Alexius procured by secret negotiations that the city should surrender to him rather than to the crusaders, whom he refused to admit within the walls, although he tried to satisfy some of the leaders with presents. Thus he showed that he did not trust the pledges which the crusaders had recently made, and the result was that henceforth they did not trust him. He had been offended by the insolent manners of some of them at his court in the city, and by their plundering the country as they marched through his territories. They had against him the deeper grievance that instead of co-operating generously with them in their great enterprise, he tried by diplomacy, bribery, and tricks to make use of them for his own ends. From Nicæa they marched on, and soon won a victory in the field over the Turks that opened up to them the route across Asia Minor. Alexius loitered in their wake, gathering up in Western and Southern Asia Minor the fruits of the victories which they had won, and later attempting to wrest from them the territories which they had occupied in Syria. Naturally subsequent relations between the crusaders and the Byzantine Emperor were seldom cordial.

After a terrible march across Asia Minor the crusaders reached Little Armenia, a Christian state founded by fugitives from Greater Armenia, and hostile alike to the Saracens and the Byzantine Empire. As the crusaders approached Syria, the leaders began to bethink them of the territorial conquests which each might make. One of them left the main army and penetrated east of the Euphrates to Edessa, where he established a lordship of his own. This was nevertheless a useful exploit, as Edessa served to protect Syria from attack from that direction. The main army laid siege to Antioch for seven months. It finally fell, owing to the treachery of one of the garrison with whom Bohemond had entered into secret negotiations, but in return for this service by Bohemond the other leaders had to relinquish Antioch to him, despite their oaths to Alexius and their own ambitions. But immediately the Christians were themselves penned up in Antioch by a Turkish army, which had arrived just too late to save the city from their excesses. The crusading army was by now sadly depleted by famine, plague, and the desertion of many who had sailed away home. But the digging up of what was supposed to be the lance that pierced the side of the crucified Christ suddenly inspired the host with renewed vigour and enthusiasm, and the Turkish force was driven off. But then for several months longer the crusaders tarried at Antioch, recuperating while their leaders quarrelled. At last the murmurs of the mass of the crusaders forced their chiefs to lead them on to Jerusalem.

The Fatimite caliph of Cairo, whom the crusaders had been trying to obtain as an ally against the Turks, had recently captured Jerusalem from the Seljuks, but refused to surrender it to the crusaders. Therefore they marched south against Jerusalem, supported by the fleets of Genoa and Pisa, which followed the coast and kept them supplied with provisions. On July 15, 1099, the Holy City fell to them after a siege of two months, although they had but 40,000 men left. After slaughtering Saracens all day long in the temple precincts, at nightfall the crusaders, "sobbing for joy," paid their devotions at the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace. Their object had been gained; and when we consider all the obstacles and difficulties which they had to surmount, we must agree that despite its shortcomings the First Crusade was one of the most daring and brilliantly successful military expeditions recorded in history. The news of the taking of Jerusalem was received with boundless joy in Europe, and many pilgrims hastened east to the support of their fellows. Unfortunately most of the reinforcements were massacred by the Turks in Asia Minor.



The Eastern Mediterranean during the Crusades

ADRIATIC SEA
NORMAN KINGDOM
SICILY
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
AEGEAN SEA
SELJUK TURKS
Thessalonica
Constantinople
Nicaea
Angora
Iconium
Trebizond
EDESSA
Edessa
LESSER ARMENIA
Tarsus
ANTIOCH
Antioch
Aleppo
TRIPOLI
CYPRUS
CRETE
Damascus
Beirut
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
FATIMITE CALIFATE OF CAIRO
Alexandria
Cairo
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
150
200
Longitude East
from Greenwich
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°

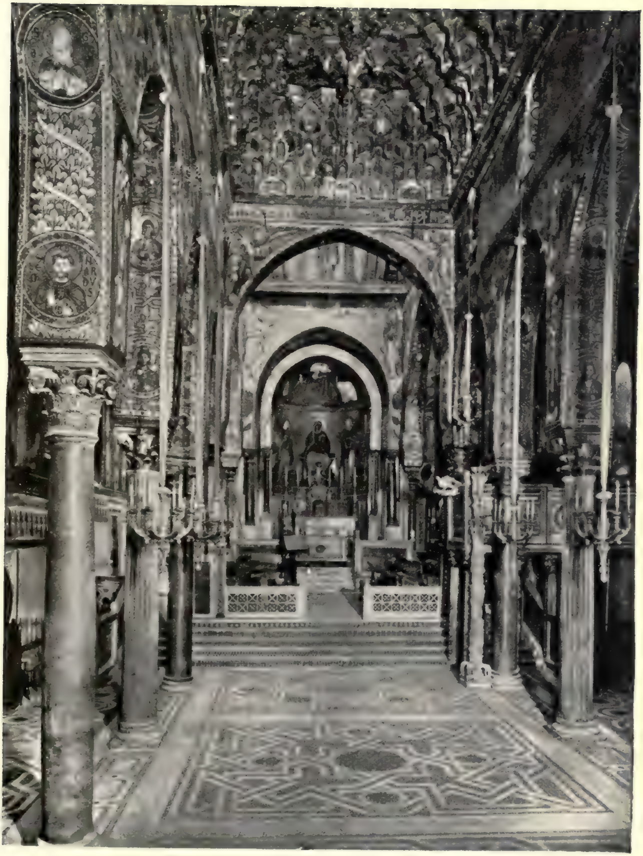
LATIN STATES IN SYRIA

Nevertheless, the Christians continued to hold Jerusalem, and with the aid of the ships of the Italian cities they soon gained the towns of the Syrian coast. Godfrey of Bouillon, the first ruler of Jerusalem, took the modest title of 'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre,' but upon his death in 1100 his brother was made king. The other three principalities in Syria founded by the crusaders, Edessa, Antioch, and the County of Tripoli, which Raymond of Toulouse began to conquer in 1102 to the south of Antioch, soon became dependencies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which extended its frontier south to the Red Sea. Thus Western Christendom had acquired a strip of territory bordering the eastern end of the Mediterranean from the Euphrates to Egypt. It was, however, a narrow strip, with Turkish emirs and fortresses lining its eastern frontier.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem was important for its trade as well as its holy places, especially so long as it touched the Red Sea waterway to the Far East and also intersected the caravan routes from Cairo to Damascus. The Italian cities which aided the crusaders—Genoa, Pisa, and later Venice—received quarters of their own in coast towns and exemptions from tolls. In these quarters they had their own courts; in fact, such Italian trading settlements were practically colonies ruled by their mother cities.

THE ASSIZES OF JERUSALEM

Through the Assizes of Jerusalem, a code of law of the middle of the twelfth century, we are well informed concerning the constitution of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which had a form of government that could be found only in the Middle Ages. It was a sort of ideal feudal state, as one might expect from the fact that a feudal army had founded it. Just as Baldwin had seized Edessa for himself and Bohemond had taken Antioch, so the lesser lords of the crusading host seized various strongholds along the route before Jerusalem was reached and captured. Therefore the new-made king found his vassals already in possession of their fiefs and his power



18. Cappella Palatina, Palermo

considerably limited in consequence. Besides a central feudal court there were over a score of feudal courts in the various fiefs of the kingdom. We have seen, however, that the humbler crusaders could make their wishes felt on occasion, and we shall see in the next chapter that this was a period of the growth of towns and of the acquisition of political rights by townsmen. Therefore it is not surprising to find an independent class of burghers recognized in this new kingdom alongside of the feudal nobles. Indeed a burgher might rise to knighthood, while feudal nobles were forbidden to acquire property in the towns. There were thirty-seven local courts for burghers as well as a central court of this type. There were also independent Church courts, and the military crusading orders came to have large powers in the kingdom.

Not very many Westerners settled permanently in the East, and the population remained for the most part native Syrian Christians and Moslems. Some of the newcomers intermarried with the natives. Pilgrims arrived in goodly numbers every year, and would perhaps tarry to fight for a year or two, but seldom stayed for long. Indeed, it was difficult to get enough troops, and the King made much use of native cavalry. Two new religious orders, however, whose members took monastic vows but whose chief business was to fight, were established for the defence of the Holy Land; namely, the Knights Hospitallers, or 'Poor Brethren of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem'—originally a sort of medieval Red Cross organization—and the Knights Templars, or Knights of the Temple. Magnificent fortresses, whose remains are still visible, were constructed both by the members of these two orders and by the other crusaders in Syria.

The new lords of the land soon lost their bloodthirsty attitude toward the Mohammedans, and made little distinction of race or creed in their government. The coinage of the Kingdom of Jerusalem imitated the Arabic even to the extent of retaining verses from the Koran, until the Pope forbade this. The Westerners soon adopted Oriental dress and ways. They employed Mohammedan agricultural labourers, physicians, and dancing-girls. They sometimes formed alliances with

Moslems against one another, like the Christian states of the Spanish peninsula. They often came to prefer to live on terms of peace and commercial intercourse with their Mohammedan neighbours, and so did not always co-operate heartily with, nor cordially welcome, the new pilgrims and crusaders who came out eager to slaughter paynims.

THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES

These Latin states in Syria were not to be a permanent possession of Europeans. In 1144 the Mohammedans captured Edessa. St. Bernard took the lead in preaching a crusade to counteract this, and Louis VII and Conrad III, Kings of France and Germany, took the cross. Their armies started separately, and were almost annihilated in traversing Asia Minor; the remnants that reached Syria failed to accomplish anything. Those who reckon seven (a sacred number) chief crusades from among the many expeditions of the sort have called this the Second Crusade.

In 1171 the rule of the Fatimites in Egypt was brought to a close by a young Moslem named Saladin, who seized the throne and soon extended his power over most of the Moslem emirs to the east of the Latin states of Syria. In 1187 he took Jerusalem. This caused the Third Crusade, in which three well-known monarchs took part, Frederick Barbarossa, King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lion-hearted of England, Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine. Frederick, who was now advanced in years, took the land route *via* Constantinople, and was drowned in crossing a small stream in Southern Asia Minor. Most of his army thereupon dispersed.

Richard and Philip embarked their armies at Marseilles and Genoa, and wintered in Sicily. There they began to quarrel, and Richard broke off his engagement with Philip's sister. At last they set sail for Acre on the Syrian coast, which the Christians had been vainly besieging for the past two years. But Richard, who was always ready for adventures, stopped to conquer the important island of Cyprus and to capture the Byzantine emperor. In Cyprus, too, he married his new *fiancée*, Berengaria of Navarre, who had already joined him in Sicily. Then Acre was taken, and Saladin agreed to restore the true cross and many Christian captives and to pay an indemnity. But now news came that the Count of Flanders had died, and Philip, anxious to secure his territory, announced that he was ill and must return to France, where he was soon plotting to deprive Richard of his fiefs on the Continent. Richard, remaining in the Holy Land, performed many knightly exploits and deeds of valour, which made him the hero of romances for a long time to come, but failed to recover Jerusalem. He won, however, the respect of the chivalrous Saladin, who sent him snow and fruit when he was sick with a fever. They finally made a truce, which left a portion of the coast in the hands of the Christians and allowed pilgrims free passage to Jerusalem for the next three years. The Christians also still held much of Northern Syria. On his way home Richard fell into the hands of his enemy the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, and his subjects had to pay a huge ransom to set him free.

END OF CRUSADES TO THE EAST

Many other crusades followed. In 1197 a German expedition took Beirut, but accomplished little else. A crusade in 1202–1204 which was turned against Constantinople will be described later in another connexion. In 1212 there was a crusading movement among the children, whose innocence it was hoped might prevail where sinful knights had failed. Most of these bands of children wandered about Western Europe a while and then broke up. Some came to Rome and were sent home by the Pope; some reached the Mediterranean and were disappointed that a dry path to Palestine did not open up through the sea for them, as had happened of old in the Red Sea for the benefit of the children of Israel. Some of these were induced to embark by rascally shipowners, who carried them off to Mohammedan lands and sold them into slavery. The King of Hungary went to Syria on crusade in 1217, and during the four years following an expedition was directed against Damietta, in the Nile delta. The Holy Roman

Emperor, Frederick II, went out in 1228, and by skilful diplomacy with little fighting secured from the Moslems the cession of Jerusalem and the country between it and the coast, and reconstituted the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It lasted until 1244, when the Turks retook the Holy City. By 1291 the Christians had lost Acre, their last stronghold in Syria. The Italian cities, however, retained their quarters and trading privileges even under Mohammedan rule. Meanwhile the last crusades of any importance were those of the saintly King of France, Louis IX, who in 1248 went to Egypt, where he was taken prisoner and ransomed, and in 1270 went to Tunis, where he died. The Christian people of Western Europe did not, however, entirely drop the idea of the crusade. They continued to think and talk about crusades for the next two centuries; many popes had such a movement at heart, and princes sometimes planned a crusade. But no great expedition directed toward the recovery of Jerusalem actually took place.

OTHER TYPES OF CRUSADES

Meanwhile the name and idea of a crusade had been extended to other expeditions than those to the Mohammedan East, as indeed the crusades against Constantinople and Tunis have already shown. When St. Bernard preached the Second Crusade, he at the same time permitted the Saxons to engage in a crusade against the Baltic Slavs. Several bands of crusaders to the East had halted in Portugal and aided its monarchs against the Moslems in the Spanish peninsula; and military religious orders were founded in Spain as well as in the East. The Teutonic Knights, founded at Acre by Germans in 1190, forty years later transferred their activities to the shores of the Baltic and engaged in the conquest of the heathen Prussians. In 1208 a crusade was preached against the heretics in Southern France. Finally, Pope Innocent IV went the length of offering the privileges of crusaders to those who would join in his war against an orthodox Christian prince and former crusader, Frederick II. To those joining his crusade against Frederick's successor, Conrad IV, he "granted a larger remission of sins than for the voyage to the Holy Land,

and included the father and mother of the crusaders as beneficiaries."

This leads us back to the theme of the privileges granted to crusaders. Urban II at Clermont had simply decreed that "if any one, through devotion alone and not for the sake of honour or gain, goes to Jerusalem to free the Church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance." In subsequent crusades an increasing number of material privileges had been offered to induce men to take the cross, such as a respite from debts and lawsuits, permission to mortgage their lands without the consent of their lords, and the protection of the Church for their families and property during their absence.

Results of the Crusades

As wars the crusades were unusually expensive and destructive for those times. The loss of life was enormous, but perhaps helped to solve the problem of over-population in France. Whether this great sacrifice of blood and treasure checked to a large extent the spread of Mohammedanism, and whether it saved or weakened the Byzantine Empire at Constantinople, are disputed questions. But we may note that hardly had the last Christian fortress in Syria fallen than the Turks began to threaten Constantinople again from Asia Minor. It thus seems as if Western Christendom, by taking the offensive, had held back Islam in the East for two centuries. The crusades increased the prestige of the pope and the influence of the Church, and show how religion coloured every side of medieval life. The crusades seem on the whole to have weakened the feudal nobility, many of whom impoverished themselves in order to go on the crusades or neglected their fiefs by long periods of absence. On the other hand, the association of so many knights in these expeditions stimulated the social side of feudalism and developed greatly the usages of feudalism, such as tournaments, heraldic devices and coats of arms, family names and genealogies. The new military orders and the wide currency given to the exploits and adventures of the crusaders abroad added a new glamour and dignity to knighthood.

The crusaders were travellers to strange and far countries as well as soldiers, and those who lived to return brought back with them new things, words, and ideas. We must remember, however, that what any one gets out of foreign travel depends a great deal upon himself. He may see splendid works of art or strange inventions without appreciating them. If the crusades served as an education to the Westerners, it was because they were no longer ignorant barbarians. We must also remember that Western Christians could borrow from Arabian civilization in Spain and Sicily without going to distant Syria. Probably the most lasting result of the crusades was the trade which the Italian cities established with the Orient, and this might well have developed without any wars at all. The crusades, however, at least served to give European society a shaking-up. Holders of fiefs died in Asia Minor and their lands passed to other lords. Crusaders sold their property and borrowed money and bought supplies and hired ships and took out letters of credit on Italian or Jewish bankers in Syrian ports. All this brought money and land and goods into circulation, and made more business, and caused activity and change and bustle and excitement. The crusades were in a sense a failure, but there was enterprise behind them, and enterprise is a good thing of itself.

We shall next turn to two even greater movements at home, which accompanied the expansion of Christendom abroad—namely, the rise of towns in Western Europe, and a great development of art, literature, and learning through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These two parallel movements were not caused by the crusades, but were, like the crusades, symptoms and products of a new energy and enterprise and life and civilization in the society of Western Europe.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF TOWNS AND GILDS

AS the decline of the ancient city-state had sounded the knell of classical culture, so the revival of town life was a chief factor in medieval civilization. The destructive work of war and the productive toil of agriculture were the chief occupations in the early Middle Ages and the basis of feudal society. There were a few scattered industries in monastery and manor, but really skilled artisans had to be sought from Constantinople. What towns there were in Southern Italy or on the Mediterranean coasts of France and Spain owed their existence to their trading relations with Constantinople. In most regions an occasional market or fair sufficed for the business life of a large area. Roman municipal institutions had given way to the rule of bishops or of feudal lords, and the people had to a large extent lost even their personal freedom. But after the break-up of Charlemagne's empire and the renewed barbarian invasions, Western Christendom began to increase in population, to develop industries and commerce and cities and a free working class of its own. Indeed, it is thought that the very incursions of Northmen and Hungarians caused the building of protecting walls about settlements and so contributed to the growth of towns.

But it is difficult to speak with any certainty concerning town life in the West before the twelfth century, since we do not possess records until then. As a matter of fact, our information is scanty until some time after that. Consequently, when first we begin to hear of the towns, the gilds, and the burghers, they are often already full-fledged and their origins are lost in a dim past. For a long time most writers were priests and were little interested in business and commerce except as the monasteries kept records of their own property. Nor had the authors of literature for the knightly and feudal class much inclination to dwell upon the affairs of despised traders and working men who had struggled up from serfdom. It is only when the townsmen become well educated enough to speak for themselves or rich enough to hire writers that we get adequate records of their life.

To some extent medieval towns occupied the sites of previous Roman colonies and *municipia*, either because the situation was so advantageous that a town was sure to be located there in any period or because a portion of the Roman town had remained inhabited through the early medieval period. But many Roman sites were now abandoned and many new urban centres grew up about castle, monastery, and other points favourable to the changing requirements of trade and industry. For example, many of the large cities of France to-day were places of importance in Roman Gaul, but not more than eighty out of five hundred French towns in all can be so identified. In medieval England towns were larger and more numerous than in Roman Britain, while beyond the Rhine and about the Baltic cities arose where once barbarians had roamed. On the other hand, some regions where cities had flourished under the Roman Empire failed to revive in the Middle Ages, especially in the Balkan peninsula, including even Greece, home of the city-state, and North Africa, which under the repeated attacks of wild tribes from the Sahara became little different from the desert. To the east and west of this ruined area the Arabs had established prosperous cities like Cairo and Bagdad in the East, and Cordova and Seville in Spain ; but these were now menaced by the advance of Turks and Almohades and the future lay with the cities of the Christian West. To-day many of these in turn, if their sites have not been actually abandoned, survive with a much diminished population and amount of trade, since machinery and factories, steam and railroads, and changes in trade routes and in political boundaries and capitals have turned men and money to other centres. Considerations of defence seldom determine the site of a modern city, but were paramount in the Middle Ages when a town must not be too much exposed to the attacks of invaders, pirates, or robber barons. Towns were therefore often situated upon hills like castles. In any case they were enclosed by walls and could be entered only through guarded gates which were shut at night. Rivers were then more important paths of trade than now, and many towns were situated on their banks, especially at fords, ferries, or bridges.

EMANCIPATION OF THE PEASANTS

In the declining Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages men had sought protection and the means of subsistence from others and had commended themselves to the great and powerful. Now an opposite tendency becomes evident. Men feel able to feed, clothe, and defend themselves, and are seeking freedom from their lords. Individual serfs run away from their masters and entire communities rise in revolt or bargain with their lords for their collective freedom. There are traces of this movement even in the tenth century. In 997 the peasants of Normandy made an organized though ineffectual revolt against their masters, and a few years later the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto III, issued a law to check the attempts of the unfree classes to escape from their servile position. As the expansion of Western Christendom brought new soil under cultivation and the owners of these new estates offered favourable terms to attract tenants and labour, the lords of the older manors found it advisable to improve the lot of their peasants if they wished to keep them. They also seem to have discovered that ambitious freemen work better than disheartened slaves. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the practice spread rapidly among manorial lords of emancipating their serfs in return for a considerable lump payment by the peasantry. In fact, so attractive to the lords was this prospect of the immediate payment of a large amount that they sometimes forced charters of emancipation upon communities of serfs who had not asked for them.

The granting of such a charter did not mean that the peasants would no longer work for and pay rents to the lord.

But now such rents and services were stated and fixed in the charter; the lord could not henceforth exert arbitrary power over the peasants and demand payments and labour from them at will. They could move about freely, marry outside the manor without paying fines, and perhaps sell or bequeath their land. Usually, however, they continued to attend the manorial court. Finally, we must remember that many peasants were not emancipated, especially in the less progressive portions of Europe, and that, on the other hand, some peasants had never sunk to serfdom, but had remained free through the early Middle Ages.

If the peasants whose lands lay exposed to ravaging and plunder could thus acquire at least some measure of freedom, the inhabitants of walled towns would obviously acquire far more. Their denser population enabled them to organize more effectually; their trade and industry gave them more money with which to buy concessions from the lord. Indeed, it was the existence of walled towns, where runaway serfs could find a hiding place and an opportunity to engage in other than agricultural labour, that helped to make possible the emancipation movement among the peasantry.

RISE OF A MERCHANT CLASS: 'HANSES' AND GILDS

Gradually there grew up in the West a native merchant class, men who devoted most of their time to buying and selling. They found it advisable to band together for mutual support and protection and to form within each town a merchant gild or *hanse* of all the business men—a sort of medieval chamber of commerce. Since such an association increased the town's prosperity, the lord was generally willing to grant its members some special privileges, such as personal liberty, exemption from agricultural labour and payments, freedom to leave the manor for purposes of trade, protection on their journeys, and trading privileges in other places under the lord's control. In return they would make payments to him from their business profits instead of rendering personal services. In the twelfth century, when Normandy and England were under the same ruler, the merchants of Rouen were granted practically a monopoly of trade between Normandy and Ireland and several special trading concessions in England.

Other unions for economic purposes which accompanied and assisted the revival of town life were the gilds of artisans. By the second half of the twelfth century many were already completely organized in France and Italy and were in existence in Germany and England, although not so numerous and important in those lands until the next century. It is doubtful if any of them were survivals from the hereditary gilds of the declining Roman Empire. They may have grown out of servile groups of artisans on great estates or they may have originated only with the revival of town life. Then their formation was facilitated by the clustering together in the same street of men of the same occupation, either because the place was convenient for their work or because it permitted them to watch one another. This jealous competition gradually changed to harmonious co-operation in the prices and quality of goods sold, and in caring for the poor and sick, the widows and orphans, of members' families.

In a gild there were apprentices, journeymen, and master-workmen. The apprentices were boys learning the trade under the guidance of a master-workman, in whose house they lived and worked without wages for several years. Indeed, at the start the lad's parents had as a rule to pay the master a sum of money; but at the close of the boy's apprenticeship he often received a parting donation from his master, or sometimes was paid wages during the latter years of his term of service. The time of apprenticeship varied from three to eleven years according to the difficulty of the craft. When this term had been completed, the lad became a journeyman and worked for wages under the master-workman. The English word 'journeyman' comes from the French *journée*, referring to the fact that they often worked by the day, but the French name for artisans is *ouvriers*, or *valets*. Finally many journeymen became full-fledged members of the gild, or master-workmen. To attain this stage it was usually necessary to prove one's skilled workmanship by passing an examination or producing a 'masterpiece,' and to have saved enough money to be able to set up in business for oneself.

While the master-workman was an employer of labour, since he had journeymen and apprentices under him, he also belonged to the labouring class because he had himself passed through the preliminary stages and because he usually continued to work at his craft along with his employees. He further differed from a modern employer in that he employed but a handful of men in his own house, and was constantly in close personal relations with them, instead of employing large numbers under foremen in a factory. The entire industrial situation was different from that of modern times; there was not the same cleavage between capital and labour, for there was not much capital, nor between employer and employee; and the craft gilds only faintly resembled our trade unions.

The members of a gild elected officials, made rules, had a court to settle their own disputes, and a common treasury to which all made contributions. One of their chief concerns was to maintain a common standard of "good and honest workmanship" in the output of every member. Since they worked by hand and usually made a complete article or product instead of merely feeding a machine or attending to some stage in the manufacture of a bolt or shoe, the medieval artisans took a personal pride in the artistic quality of their work. This feeling was enhanced by the fact that the workman usually sold his product direct to the consumer and so could be held personally responsible for any defects. Members of a gild charged the same price, since the quality of their goods was supposedly identical and since the organization often supplied the raw materials at cost price to its members. Moreover, the ideal then prevailed of a just price, that a workman should charge for his manufactures only enough to recompense him for the cost of the raw material and to provide a decent wage for his time and labour. As most workmen sold direct to the consumers and towns were small and individuals well known, this ideal was comparatively easy to enforce. It was strongly supported by public opinion, and butchers or fishmongers who tried to raise prices without necessity were liable to find themselves in serious trouble. Hours of labour were regulated by the gilds, and as a rule the medieval artisan had a long working day, far exceeding the present eight-hour standard. But besides Sundays there were numerous religious holidays, in fifteenth-century France as many as fifty a year. It was usual for the gilds to restrict the number of their apprentices, partly because a master-workman could not teach the trade so well to a number of boys as he could to one or two, partly because the members did not wish to admit more men to the exercise of their craft than employment and a sufficient livelihood could be found for. In most towns only gild members could engage in those occupations which were represented by gilds, and articles made outside the town were heavily taxed before they could be sold within its limits. In short, the gilds exercised a sort of protection.

NUMBER AND IMPORTANCE OF THE GILDS

The gild system was not universally adopted, just as all the land was not divided into fiefs and manors. In Brittany and Central France, for example, it took little hold, and some large towns of Southern France, like Lyons, Narbonne, and Bordeaux, had no gilds. In such cases, however, the town governments regulated the various crafts and trades in much the same way that gilds did elsewhere. There were still other parts of France where gilds existed, but where it was possible for an artisan to exercise his craft without joining the gild. Furthermore, not all occupations in a town necessarily formed gilds. Crafts in which there were not enough workmen engaged in that town to form a gild might either remain unorganized or attach themselves for the sake of protection and association to a gild representing another trade somewhat similar to their own craft. The number and size of the gilds varied greatly in different places. Florence, one of the most populous of medieval cities, had only twenty-one gilds, but they were very influential in town affairs. On the other hand, by 1500 Hamburg had a hundred, Cologne eighty, and Lübeck seventy.

The number of crafts in a medieval town, considering its relatively small population, was often surprisingly large and indicates a minute specialization among the artisans. Sometimes an entire gild devoted itself exclusively to the manufacture of a single part of a suit of armour, such as the helmet or hauberk. One gild might make harness and another polish it. Metal-workers in general were minutely subdivided. At Paris, for example, where at the close of the thirteenth century from four to six thousand persons were enrolled in tax lists as engaged in mechanical arts, we find farriers, cutlers, locksmiths, men who make handles for knives, coppersmiths, beaters of brass, beaters of tin, workers in tin, wire-drawers, makers of copper lamps, makers of seals, makers of nails and rivets, makers of pins, makers of buckles, makers of clasps, and so on. The manufacture of woollen and linen goods occupied a great many men in the Middle Ages; others manufactured hemp, flax, rope, and thread; tanners and furriers were numerous; a smaller number was engaged in making silks and other fabrics. There were special gilds for makers of particular articles of clothing, such as tailors, hatters, glove-makers, belt-makers, shoemakers, cobblers, slipper-makers, stocking-knitters, hosiers, button-makers, sheath-makers, comb-manufacturers. Then there were the various dealers in articles of food, in beverages, and in spices. There were carpenters, masons, plasterers, mortar-makers, potters, porringer-makers, glass-makers, bead-makers, jewellers, goldsmiths, makers of gold thread and gold leaf, workers in wax, toy-makers, and various other artisans and artists.

But the gilds were important in social and political as well as in industrial and economic life, as indeed is shown by their power in town politics and the mystery plays which some of them presented for the general entertainment. We turn now again to the social and political aspects of town life. Medieval men were fond of all sorts of societies and founded them not only for business purposes, but for religious, philanthropic, and social reasons. These brotherhoods, as they were called, usually each had a patron saint, whose day was celebrated both by religious services and by banquets and social gatherings. The members helped one another in case of need, attended the baptisms and marriages and funerals in their associates' families, and paid for masses to be said for their souls after death. Indeed the associations of merchants and the industrial corporations usually had these features too. Such brotherhoods also sometimes had a concealed political character and under the cover of social and religious meetings hatched schemes to win concessions or liberty from their lords.

Movement toward Municipal Independence

Such particular societies, then, often prepared the way for a more general organization representing the town as a whole. Or the emancipation of or grant of privileges to some particular group of merchants or artisans by the lord was often followed by concessions to all the townsmen. Sometimes the townspeople, forming a *commune* or union of the whole community, succeeded in throwing off the rule of the lord entirely and became a self-governing and independent unit in the midst of feudal society and feudal states. The rise of towns reached its height at different periods in different parts of Europe. The degree of freedom and self-government gained by the townsmen and the forms under which they exercised it also varied in different places. Therefore, in the two following chapters we shall consider first the cities of Italy and then those of lands beyond the Alps. In the remainder of this chapter we may note a few more characteristics of medieval town life in general.

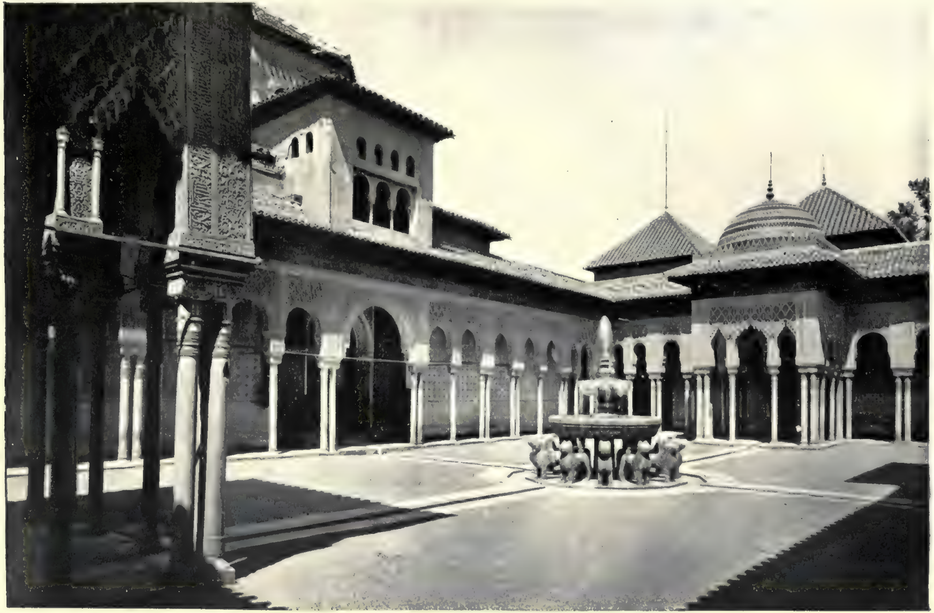
The medieval towns had a considerable influence upon the development of European law, first through their local customs and second through the growth of the law merchant in the Mediterranean cities. Every town, especially if it was self-governing and had a court of its own, had its own customs, its own set of penalties for offences, its particular methods of court procedure, and its local legislation and ordinances prescribing how much jewellery and what quality of raiment its citizens might or might not wear, how expensive and showy funerals might be, what prices shopkeepers might charge, what should be done with persons who sold short weight or used measures with false bottoms or peddled rotten fish. Cities sometimes, however, copied one another's laws as well as charters, and in such instances knotty cases might be referred for decision to the courts of the city whence the laws had been borrowed. The laws of some German towns were carried eastward by colonists far into Poland and Hungary. But on the whole the town courts and customs added further variety and confusion to the chaos of courts, feudal and ecclesiastical and manorial and royal, which already existed.

Town life, especially if industry and commerce and banking develop extensively, requires a more elaborate system of laws than will suffice for persons living a simple agricultural existence and not moving about much from place to place. Hence it was that lords early found it advisable to make special provision for merchants. For the sea, too, it is necessary to have somewhat different rules from those for the land. The law merchant was the customs of the Mediterranean Sea worked out by the cities of Italy, Spain, and Southern France engaged in trade in its waters. Some of its provisions perhaps dated back to the days when Babylon had been the commercial centre of the world. It later had influence upon the admiralty courts of England, and from it come those parts of modern law dealing with trademarks, the protection of a firm's name, agency, brokerage, and bookkeeping. This law was also applied to a large extent at inland fairs.

THE MEDIEVAL TOWN

What was the external aspect, what were the material conveniences and comforts of a medieval town? Seen from a distance the town as a whole, with its walls, towers, and church spires, presented a very picturesque appearance.

> And hills all rich in blossomed trees,
>   And fields which promise corn and wine,
> And scattered cities crowning these
>   Whose far white walls along them shine.



19. Alhambra: The Court of Lions

Medieval writers describe their cities as wonderfully beautiful and attractive, and no doubt they were more interesting than the bleak castle of a feudal lord, and their life more animated and comfortable than the weary round of existence of the villein in his hut on the manor.

Since most towns grew up around a castle or monastery or market, or followed the irregular contour of a hillside, a river-bank, or the shore of a harbour, the streets tended to be steep, crooked, and labyrinthine. They were also narrow like those in an ancient city, for the circumscribing walls limited the town area and made space within the fortifications valuable. The main streets ran to the town gates, which were the only points where one could pass in and out of the town. The value of land within the walls soon led to the practice of building overhanging upper stories to the houses. Goods exposed for sale in front of the shops, swinging signboards for the benefit of those who could not read, fountains providing a water-supply for the neighbouring houses, statues of saints and little shrines for the devotional purposes of passers-by, further obstructed one's view and one's path. In some places the rule existed that at least one clear thoroughfare must be left through the centre of the town, so that a horseman with lance across his saddle could ride the length of the street without encountering obstructions. This experiment was performed annually, and any part of a building that interfered with the progress of the lance had to come down.

Street cleaning and lighting, sanitation and sewerage were still in a primitive state. Nevertheless, modern plumbing is based upon a medieval invention. Thomas of Cantimpré, a writer of the thirteenth century, says that formerly in the case of aqueducts laid underground the lead pipes were soldered together with tin, which after a while would rust out, but that in recent times men had discovered the process of employing molten lead to join pipes together, "for lead lasts forever underground." Again, while the streets were often dark and narrow and sometimes filled with refuse, and while the towns were crowded and unhealthy, we must remember that they had no 'skyscrapers' and not many tenement houses, that a beautiful countryside usually lay just beyond the walls, and that since the town area was small a short walk would bring one from any part of the town to green fields and fresh air. Men, women, and children in medieval towns did not, like the denizens of the crowded slums in some modern cities, go from one end of the year to the other with scarcely a glimpse of nature or a moment under the open sky.

The first habitations of the townsmen were probably little superior to the huts of the peasants. That they were small and of perishable materials is indicated by an old English law which directs that a house which has been contaminated by the presence of heretics shall be carried outside the walls and burned. But since the town walls afforded a protection which the peasant's fields and dwelling lacked, as the burghers grew prosperous through trade and industry, they naturally satisfied both their personal ambition and their civic pride by building better and larger and more durable houses and filling them with substantial furniture. Indeed, a master-workman required a residence large enough to include his shop and sleeping-apartments for the apprentices who lived with him, as well as quarters for himself and his family.

Of course very few houses from as long ago as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are in existence to-day, and from those which have survived we perhaps derive a too favourable impression of medieval domestic architecture, since only the best-built houses would last so long. On the other hand, it is mainly in small, out-of-the-way places that such houses have been left unchanged, so that they are not representative of the mansions in the largest medieval cities. Moreover, their present decrepit and disfigured condition gives little idea of how they looked when new. Allowing for this we find that the medieval houses which have survived in small French provincial towns compare favourably in appearance, size, and construction with those inhabited by men of the same class in those towns to-day, and suggest a municipal prosperity and spirit which passed away with the disastrous wars of religion in the sixteenth century. We have seen that medieval artisans were often artists as well, and it is not surprising if the appearance of their homes reflected this.

It is hard to give one general description of the medieval house which will fit all, since not only were there differences between different countries, but it seems to have been customary to construct houses with a view to the particular needs and even the personality of the owner. Instead of having the windows all of one size and placing them in regular rows, the medieval architects made the size of the windows correspond to the size of the room and placed the windows so as to admit most light. Glass windows by which the rain and snow and cold could be excluded without shutting out the light now came into domestic use for the first time, and chimneys with flues which enabled one to heat the interior without filling it with smoke were another medieval innovation. Such improvements did much to develop home life. In some French houses of the twelfth century the front of the ground floor is occupied by the shop of the owner. Behind it is a little courtyard, along one side of which a passage runs to the kitchen, situated at the rear and separated by the court from the main body of the house. Above the shop is a large living-room occupying the entire front of the house and containing also the bed of the father and mother. Over the kitchen was a smaller room or rooms, reached from the living-room by a gallery overlooking the court. Here perhaps would be the bedrooms of the older children of the family, while the apprentices slept in garrets on the second floor over the living-room.

Although few houses or other town buildings, with the exception of the churches everywhere and the stone towers of the nobles and town-halls and gild-houses in Italian cities, have come down to us from as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the towns did not alter greatly in their genearl appearance and character until after the great industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since then the old has been rapidly swept away, and even the picturesque walls have been levelled and replaced by monotonous and dusty ' boulevards.' But in many cities there are still a few old houses left, though their exact age is often uncertain ; and some towns, like San Gimignano in Italy, Dinan in Brittany, Schaffhausen in Switzerland, and Rothenburg on the Tauber in Germany, still preserve a great deal of their medieval atmosphere and charm. Larger cities like Rouen and Nürnberg are fast losing it before the increasing inroads of modern business, factories, and motor traffic, although it is hard to get rid of the old, narrow, crooked, and hilly streets.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ITALIAN CITIES

THE Italian cities were the first to become prominent; they were the largest in wealth and in population; and they won the completest independence and self-government. Conditions in Italy for several centuries were favourable to the growth of independent city-states. First, the struggle for the peninsula between the Lombards and the Byzantine Empire gave coast settlements like Gaeta, Amalfi, Naples, and Venice the chance to develop their own government under their local dukes, and to protect themselves from the invaders by their own fleets, while still nominally professing allegiance to the Byzantine Empire. Second, when Charlemagne's empire first weakened and then dissolved, the towns of Northern Italy or Lombardy were left pretty much to themselves under the rule of their bishops, who had in general succeeded in displacing the lay counts. Third, during the investiture struggle Henry IV and sometimes Gregory VII granted privileges to the towns in order to secure their support. Thus the maritime laws of Pisa were approved by the Pope in 1075 and again in 1081 by the Emperor. Finally, as we shall see, the protracted strife of popes and Hohenstaufen emperors gave the cities the opportunity to make good their complete independence.

Moreover, Italy was well situated to control trade between the eastern and southern Mediterranean and the west and north of Europe. Therefore, as Constantinople lost its hold on the coasts of the western Mediterranean and was also driven from the island of Sicily and the Adriatic Sea, it lost much of its trade, and its place was taken by western ports such as Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. These three cities early displayed their enterprise and sea-power; Venice, under the Doge Pietro Orseolo II (983–1008), by clearing the Adriatic of pirates; the other two by their activity against the Saracens, whom in 1015 they drove out of the island of Sardinia. That already at this early date the Venetians were engaged in transporting wares of the Far East to European lands north of the Alps is indicated by a passage in which the German chronicler Thietmar, of the eleventh century, bewails the shipwreck in 1017 of four Venetian vessels laden with spices.

ORIGINS OF VENICE

Since we know rather more of the earliest period of Venetian history than we do of that of other Italian towns, since its institutions and culture were unique, and since it became the leading medieval sea power, we shall speak first of it in this chapter. Situated on a number of small islands or banks of mud in a lagoon a little north of the mouths of the Po and Adige rivers, Venice was secure from attack by either land or sea. The original scanty population of fisher-folk was gradually augmented by fugitives from the successive waves of barbarian invasion that swept over Northern Italy. Theodoric the East Goth sought the aid of these islanders in transporting supplies across the Adriatic from Istria; and Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, made use of their boats in the siege of Ravenna. In 697 they are said to have elected their first doge, a single ruler for life, in place of the twelve tribunes representing as many island communities. The doge seems to have been much like the elected kings of the German tribes. He tried to associate his son with himself in the government and thus secure his succession to the office and alter the headship from an elective to an hereditary one. On the other hand, many a doge was slain by some rival, much as kings were in the German states in the West, or was blinded in Byzantine fashion, so that the life-tenure of the position was often of short duration. Charlemagne, although master of Lombardy, had to leave Venice to the Byzantine emperor. At about this time, too, the dwellers in the lagoon concentrated their population and made their capital in the central group of islands called the Rialto, which lies half-way between the mainland and the Adriatic beach of the outer islands of the lagoon. With this change the definite settlement of Venice proper and its life as a city may be said to have begun. In the early ninth century, too, tradition tells us, the Venetians brought the body of their patron, St. Mark, from Alexandria.

The relations at this period between Venice and the Byzantine Empire were close. Many of the doges visited Constantinople to receive confirmation in their office and further Byzantine titles, or sent their sons thither to be educated or to be recognized as the future rulers of Venice. Also the Venetians were granted trading privileges at Constantinople in return for services which their ships rendered in transporting troops and in naval battles. In 991, for instance, they were granted unusually low tariff rates and an expeditious settlement of their lawsuits at Constantinople. In 1085, as a reward for their aid to the Emperor Alexius against the Normans of Southern Italy and Sicily, they were granted a quarter of their own in Constantinople and were freed from customs duties in all ports of the Byzantine Empire. At the same time all merchants from Amalfi at Constantinople were subjected to a tax for the building of a new church of St. Mark at Venice. This measure marked the passing of Amalfi as a great trading city ; but Genoa and Pisa were now powerful rivals of Venice for the Mediterranean trade.

Meanwhile the internal constitution of Venice had been changing from the simple leadership of the doge to more complicated forms. In 1032 the doge was forbidden to associate his son with himself in office, and was henceforth to be advised by two ducal councillors and a senate. In 1171 the government took a forced loan from its citizens, but gave them bonds in return upon which four per cent. interest was paid yearly—an early instance of a public debt. The following year the ducal councillors were increased in number to six and an indirectly elected and aristocratic assembly of 480 members was added to the previous senate. The doge was no longer elected by the people, if indeed he ever really had been, but was nominated by a committee appointed by the assembly of 480, and then was merely presented to the people for formal confirmation.

The artisans of Venice, however, were now improving their condition through their gilds. Some of them still had to work for a certain length of time in the courtyard of the doge, just as the peasant on the manor had to perform his three days a week of service on the demesne of the lord. But from this servitude they now tried to free themselves. Already another important change had taken place. The *gastaldo*, or director of each gild, who had formerly been an agent and appointee of the doge, and sometimes had not himself been a worker in the craft at all but an outsider, now was elected by the gild from among its own members. He therefore became its representative and ceased to be the doge's agent. Among the chief manufactures of the Venetian artisans were glass, cloth, silk, leather, paper, and soap. Venice was, however, pre-eminently a city of great merchants rather than of small artisans, and as such its government naturally became and remained oligarchical in character.

VENETIAN COMMERCE

By the thirteenth century at least Venetian traders were found well-nigh all over the known world. They made commercial treaties with the sultans of Iconium and Aleppo and with the Christian rulers of Little Armenia and Trebizond. In 1255 a traveller found at Iconium a Venetian and a Genoese in partnership; they had obtained from the sultan a monopoly of the alum trade and had more than tripled the price in consequence. Such enterprising traders were found from Damascus to Kiev and from the Crimea to the Caucasus. The Polo brothers even visited China. Venetians, however, not merely spread over the world in search of trade; so far as they could they forced trade to flow through Venice, which thus took a profit from goods both coming and going. Venice had early monopolized the distribution of salt in her immediate neighbourhood, and she largely controlled the fur trade and grain trade and slave trade by way of the Black Sea. In pursuance of her steadfast policy to centre all trade in Venice and to bring as many goods there as possible, she would not allow foreign vessels to cross directly between the east and the west shores of the Adriatic, but forced them to go by way of Venice and unload at least two-thirds of their cargoes there. Venetian subjects outside the city were required to do all their importing and exporting through that port. German merchants who visited Venice, besides being disarmed and subjected to strict regulations, had to dispose of their entire stock there.

No import duties were levied upon certain wares which Venice wished to secure from the regions producing them in order to sell again at a profit to other places. Such goods, however, if they came by sea, must come in Venetian bottoms if they were to escape taxation, for Venice had no mind to encourage the shipping of other towns. Since she desired the carrying trade for herself, she naturally enacted laws favouring her own shipping and sailors. In some instances she did not allow foreign vessels to enter her harbour at all; in other cases they were taxed heavily for the privilege. In the middle of the thirteenth century laws were made forbidding Venetians to ship their goods in foreign bottoms or to sell their vessels to foreigners. All vessels used by Venetian merchants must be built in Venice and manned by either Greeks or Venetian subjects. The city government built and armed the ships and then rented the use of them to the merchants.

At that time it was usual to arm merchant vessels which ventured on long voyages, since there was constant danger from pirates and sometimes from the ships of rival powers. Many different types of vessels were employed by the medieval Italians, and they were propelled by both sails and oars. They were often built with bulging sides in order to accommodate more cargo. However, the laws of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice not only forbade the heaping up of excessive freight on deck, but ordered that all merchantmen should be marked with a load-line. A vessel one hundred feet long was then regarded as of great size, although some war galleys were longer than that. Two hundred and fifty tons was considered a good cargo. Where oars were used, a crew of nearly two hundred men was often needed, several of them working at one oar. The vessels used in transporting crusaders to the East sometimes were loaded with as many as a thousand men each, if we credit the sources. By the fourteenth century the rudder had replaced the old method of steering by one or two oars at the stern.

THE LOMBARD COMMUNES

While Venice was becoming a great sea power, the towns on the mainland had also developed apace. Under the early rule of their counts or bishops the townsmen, with the possible exception of a few prominent families, had little or no share in the government and might even be without personal freedom. But the opening of the twelfth century reveals a great change in Northern Italy. In the Lombard cities the townsmen have abolished the rule of the bishop and have taken the reins of government into their own hands, aided by the confusion attendant upon the investiture strife, when there were two claimants for almost every bishopric. The townsmen effected this revolution by forming communes in which the nobles resident in the cities combined with the other free inhabitants to secure the direction of the town government.

The nobles in the Lombard cities at this time were divided into the two classes of *capitani* and *valvassores*. The 'captains' had originally been those who held great fiefs directly from the bishop or the emperor, while the 'valvassors' were the subvassals who held under the captains or great landholders. There were a number of such nobles connected with each city, because most Italian cities controlled a considerable circuit of adjoining territory. But by the twelfth century nobility had ceased to depend exclusively upon birth or the possession of a large landed estate. Wealth acquired by commerce was also a road to nobility, and we are even told by a contemporary, Bishop Otto, that "the cities stoop to bestow the sword-belt and honourable rank upon youths of inferior station, or even upon labourers in despised and mechanical trades who among other peoples are shunned like the pest." Below the two knightly or military classes came the ordinary citizens, or *popolo*. These shared with the captains and knights the privilege of electing and being elected to town offices. The term *popolo*, however, was not equivalent in meaning to the democratic modern expression 'the people.' It did not include all the inhabitants of the city and its adjacent territory, but only those freemen who had participated in the formation of the original commune and their descendants and others who were specifically admitted to citizenship. When the commune was first established, many of the inhabitants were still in a condition of servitude like that of the 'court artisans' of Venice. Therefore most of the small shopkeepers and artisans were not at first given any share in the municipal government. Still less was the franchise conceded to the poor peasants who tilled the fields that lay outside the city walls.

The Italian communes were thus rather aristocratic governments, although liberal enough compared with feudalism. They included those more prosperous merchants and artisans who had been able by forming gilds to win their personal freedom and a considerable influence in the conduct of town affairs, and who fighting on foot made a formidable militia to second the efforts of their mounted nobles. At the head of the town government in place of the bishop now appeared a varying number of 'consuls,' who were usually chosen annually and who were often taken from all three classes of the commune, although there was a natural tendency to elect leading citizens from the upper classes. The consuls were assisted by an advisory council, and we also soon find in existence a Grand Council or senate or council of the commune, which often had several hundred members and represented the entire citizen body. On great occasions, however, the burghers were not content to leave the government to their officials and representatives, but held a *parlamento* or mass meeting in the public square. Such a gathering sometimes resulted in a revolution or at least in a street fight between rival political parties. At the bottom of such factions and parties were the *consorterie*, or family unions of the nobles, and the *arti*, or trade gilds of the burghers.

Life was stirring in these Lombard towns, where there was nothing of the monotony of the manor. But war was the law of the urban almost as much as of the feudal world. The cities fought against the castles of feudal lords who tried to maintain an independent existence and to prey upon trade in the neighbourhood of the towns. The cities also fought frequently with one another over questions of boundaries, water rights, roads, tolls, and from general trade rivalry. Within each town were sharp family rivalries. Every prominent noble or merchant family could count on the support of a multitude of poor relations and retainers. The nobles who were forced to give up their castles and live in town built lofty stone towers in the city streets and waged feuds as they had done before from their country castles. New gilds and the lower classes before long began to clamour for admission to citizenship. Party struggles and street fights often led to the exile of the defeated faction or at least of its leaders, who would then seek the aid of some other city to effect their restoration.

Yet the trade, wealth, and productive power of the cities kept increasing, and even their enemies admitted that they were socially and intellectually above the average of that age. The twelfth-century writer whom we have already quoted concerning them, Bishop Otto of Freising, says further that, as a result of the intermarriage of the invading Lombards with the native Italians, " their children have derived from the race of their mothers, and from the character of the country and the climate, something of Roman culture and civilization, and retain the elegance and refinement of Latin speech and manners."

The cities of Lombardy not only shook off the control of their bishops, but were inclined to conduct their affairs as if the Holy Roman Emperor did not exist, or at least had no right to tax them, to overrule their officials, to judge their citizens, or to demand military and other services from them. They thought it enough to send him a few presents and some vague professions of loyalty at the time of his accession. Frederick I, however, a nephew of Bishop Otto of Freising and an emperor of the house of Hohenstaufen who reigned from 1152 to 1190, made a great effort to bring the cities under his jurisdiction.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

Frederick, though only of medium height, had a majestic presence and lordly personality. His hair was yellow and his red beard led the Italians to nickname him 'Barba-rossa.' He was fond of reading history and took Charlemagne as his model. Although he could on occasion indulge in those fits of stern anger which medieval monarchs found so useful in dealing with their rude subjects and rough vassals, he was as a general rule considerate and kindly, and clement to the conquered, and was greatly loved and respected by the Germans. A fact that contributed much to his popularity was that he possessed all the qualities and attributes which went to make up the ideal knight. Though he was devout and went on crusades both in his youth before he became emperor and in old age at the close of his reign, he had much trouble with the Papacy. And though he was an industrious ruler and indefatigable warrior, he was to find the communes of Northern Italy too much for him.

Frederick was handicapped in his Italian policy by troubles at home in Germany with the rival house of Welf, Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, who had prevented his father from being elected emperor in 1125. Now Henry the Lion built up great Welf possessions in Germany and refused to aid Barbarossa in his Italian campaigns. This strife of Welfs and Hohenstaufens in Germany was paralleled in Italy by the struggle between the emperors and the communes and the Papacy. As a result the rival parties in Italy eventually received the names of 'Guelfs' and 'Ghibellines.' The latter word was an Italian corruption from Waiblingen, a German estate of the Hohenstaufen family, and 'Guelf' is, of course, the Italian for 'Welf.'

In recent wars among the Lombard cities Milan had gained a leading position, and other communes complained of her aggressions to Frederick, both before he left Germany and when, in 1154, he passed through Northern Italy on his way to Rome to be crowned. The great feudal lords and the bishops had complaints to make of other communes. Frederick accordingly spent most of the autumn and winter in Lombardy, but it took him two months to take the town of Tortona, an ally of Milan, so that he had no time left to attack Milan itself and soon proceeded on his way to Rome. As soon as he had departed, the Milanese rebuilt Tortona, strengthened their own fortifications, and resumed their conquests at the expense of those of their neighbours who had sided with the Emperor. At Rome Frederick helped the Pope to suppress a revolutionary movement of the townsmen, who as early as 1143 had formed a commune with a patrician and senate of their own choice instead of the papal prefect and judges. Frederick was also crowned emperor, but then distrust began to arise between him and the Pope. Frederick's vassals were now anxious to return home after their long absence from Germany, so that he had to give up the idea of proceeding against the Normans in Southern Italy. Nor did he stop to deal with Milan on his return north, although he pronounced the ban of the Empire upon that refractory city.

But in 1158 Frederick's German hosts poured through the Alpine passes by four different routes into the plain of Lombardy. The feudal lords of Northern Italy contributed contingents to his army, and even the communes dared not do otherwise. Milan was soon forced to surrender, and agreed, in addition to setting free two neighbouring towns which she had conquered, to pay an indemnity, to build Frederick a palace, and, most important of all, to relinquish to him the *regalia*. By this term were indicated his royal prerogatives, such as the control over the dukes and counts, the levying of tolls and customs, the taking of provender for his army, the right of coinage, and the enjoyment of various revenues from mills, fisheries, rivers, mines, and like sources. The Milanese were to be allowed to retain their consuls, but must submit their nominations to the Emperor for approval.

Frederick then proceeded to Roncaglia and held a great assembly where professors of Roman law from Bologna, assisted by two consuls from each of fourteen towns, decided what the Emperor's powers and *regalia* were. The study of Roman law had recently been revived in Italy, and that law, of course, assumed the existence of an emperor with centralized and absolute power. Therefore the jurists were inclined to decide everything in Frederick's favour, and the consuls do not seem to have ventured to oppose them. Where regalian rights had been formally granted to cities by the Emperor, they were to be allowed to retain them; but few towns could prove any such grant, since most of them had simply usurped these rights.

Made confident by this success, Frederick not only forbade the communes to wage war or ally with one another, but did not even leave them the independent management of their internal affairs under the leadership of their consuls. Instead he set up a representative of his own called a *podestà* (*potestas* in Latin, meaning ' power ') in each city as a chief judge and executive. This was going too far, and the Milanese regarded it as a violation of their treaty with the Emperor, by which he had assured them the continuance of their consuls. Therefore war broke out again between them and Frederick. At the same time the Pope quarrelled with him because he was extending his power over towns of Central Italy which the Pope regarded as possessions of the Holy See. The Pope allied with the Normans and Milan against Frederick, and was about to excommunicate him, when he died and a disputed papal election followed. Frederick supported the candidate of the minority, Victor III, against Alexander III, who was more generally recognized in Europe. Milan fell in 1162. Its population was scattered in villages and other towns, instead of being reduced to serfdom as Frederick had at first threatened, and its foes among the other communes were allotted the pleasing task of destroying its walls and buildings. In the same year Alexander III fled to France, where both Louis VII and Henry II of England received him cordially.

FORMATION OF THE LOMBARD LEAGUE

The hatred and jealousy felt by many of the other cities toward Milan had in large measure accounted for its fall. But now all the cities, whether before friends of the Emperor or allies of Milan, began alike to chafe under the rule of the imperial *podestàs*. Only a very few towns had been allowed to keep their consuls. The others complained to the Emperor that the rule of his new officials was oppressive and unjust, but he seems to have paid little attention to these complaints. Then the cities began to unite against him. As early as 1164 five towns of North-eastern Italy, Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso, formed a defensive league. Three years later Cremona, Mantua, Brescia, and Bergamo banded together with the former inhabitants of Milan to rebuild that city. Piacenza, Parma, and Ferrara soon joined the league, and the inhabitants of Lodi were forced into it against their will. Meanwhile Frederick had been occupied in driving Alexander III out of Rome again. A pestilence had greatly depleted his forces, and when he returned north to Pavia he was unable to crush the rebellious towns. On the contrary, they united with the five cities of the north-east in a larger Lombard League, which was also joined by Modena and Bologna. The Emperor went back to Germany for more troops, but then was detained there for seven years. During this time the membership of the league kept growing until it included thirty-six towns and all Italy north of the Apennines from Rimini and Venice on the Adriatic as far west as Genoa and Turin, which remained loyal to the Emperor. But even imperial Pavia had been at last forced to enter the league.

The league also built a new town—named Alessandria after the Pope—in North-western Italy as an obstacle to the next expedition of Frederick, which they thought would come through the western Alpine passes, since the cities of the league held all the others. Sure enough, in 1174 Barbarossa entered Italy by the Mont Cenis Pass and proceeded against Alessandria, but was unable to take it. Then an attempt to settle the points in dispute between himself and the cities by negotiations failed, but several towns were induced to abandon the league. Finally, in 1176 at Legnano occurred a decisive field battle between the imperial forces and the Milanese and their remaining allies. Frederick's army was routed and chased for eight miles; his camp and banner were captured; and he himself was given up for dead until several days later he unexpectedly reappeared before the walls of Pavia.

Frederick thereupon gave up his attempt to subdue the Lombard cities by force and recognized Alexander III as rightful Pope. After a truce of six years, during which the Emperor made separate treaties with a number of the towns, the Peace of Constance was signed in 1183. The townsmen were to take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, to whom also were reserved a few rights such as taking supplies for his army when passing through Lombardy; but most of the *regalia* were surrendered to the communes, who were also given back their consuls and were permitted to form leagues or make war with one another and to hold dependent territory outside their walls. The large towns thereupon resumed with alacrity their former inter-urban hostilities, and brought the nobles and small communes of the countryside more and more under their rule. About the year 1200 town-halls with great bell towers, or palaces of justice for the law courts, were erected in many Lombard cities, and some of them may still be seen to-day. At Padua, for example, the Palazzo della Ragione, begun in 1172 and completed in 1219, contains "the largest vaulted hall unsupported by pillars in the world." It is 270 feet long, 90 feet in breadth, and 78 feet high.

RISE OF TOWNS IN TUSCANY

Meanwhile the towns of Tuscany south of the Apennines had been pursuing a similar development. When Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, died in 1115, she bequeathed her estates to the Church, but the Emperor claimed them as fiefs which should escheat to the Empire. The outcome was that neither Pope nor Emperor secured the cities, which set up communes with consuls similar to those of the Lombard towns. Within the towns, too, were much the same social classes and political parties, the nobles of the towers and the men of the gilds. But the Tuscan communes developed a little later than the Lombard ones. Chief among the medieval towns of Tuscany were Florence and its rivals, Pisa, Siena, and Lucca.

About the year 1200 almost every commune in Lombardy or Tuscany made a remarkable change in its government. The board of consuls which had hitherto directed municipal affairs was now supplanted by a single official with supreme executive power who was annually elected, not from the citizens, but from some foreign city. Indeed, he must neither bring his relations into the city nor acquire property there. The aim was to secure a trained soldier, impartial judge, and able leader who would have no personal interest in the rival political parties of the town and who would keep the peace between them. Like the governors appointed by Barbarossa after the Diet of Roncaglia, this new official was given the name *podestà*. But he was now chosen by the town itself, and for but a year at a time, and was paid a salary varying in amount according to the satisfaction that he gave. A man who showed himself capable need never want for employment as a *podestà* by some one of the many cities. But this new office was a dangerous step in the direction of one-man rule.

RISE OF ITALIAN BANKING

We have seen that the taking of interest on loans was forbidden to Christians by medieval canon law, and in many places the practice was prohibited by civil law as well. As a result money-lending and even most banking were for a time in the hands of the Jews, who, besides lending money, gave letters of credit and bills of exchange. As the Italians, however, came to have a large supply of capital as a result of their commercial and industrial prosperity, they began to found banking houses, and to exchange foreign money or transmit sums from one part of Europe to another. The varieties of coinages were almost infinite in the Middle Ages, when so many feudal lords and independent towns had the right to mint money, and it was easy for a money-changer to make a little profit on each transaction. The transportation of money was often difficult and dangerous, so that bankers were justified in charging a fee for rendering this service. The Papacy, which drew its revenues from all parts of Western and Central Europe, was the leading employer of the Italian bankers in collecting and transmitting sums of money. Before long the Italians began to advance large sums to kings and states as well as smaller sums to lesser individuals, and to receive interest until the money advanced was repaid. They evaded the law against usury by making the loan free from interest for a brief specified period, during which they knew that the borrower could not or would not repay. When that time expired, they charged damages if the entire principal were not forthcoming, and after another interval did the same again. North of the Alps almost any Italians engaged in banking were indiscriminately called 'Lombards,' and Lombard Street was the financial centre of London. But the largest banking firms were rather in Tuscany and especially in Florence, perhaps because of their nearness to Rome and employment by the Papacy.

CHAPTER XIX

FRENCH, FLEMISH, ENGLISH, AND GERMAN TOWNS

OF the towns beyond the Alps those of Southern France were on the whole older than the others, more closely connected with the Roman past and with Mediterranean trade, and also most like the Italian cities in their government. Like them they included both nobles and common people and were at first governed by consuls, of whom we begin to hear about 1120. These magistrates, usually twelve in number, were chosen annually, but seldom by the votes of all the townsmen. Sometimes they practically nominated their successors, and sometimes the bishop or feudal lord had retained a share in the town government and had a voice in their selection. Associated with these annual magistrates was a fairly large advisory council, drawn also chiefly from the patriciate of knights and wealthy burghers who had taken the lead in establishing the municipality. Sometimes, however, a larger assembly of citizens was called together. The southern towns engaged much in legislation and recorded their statutes at length, but this did not prevent them from tinkering with their enactments at frequent intervals. The Italian influence in Southern France was further shown by the fact that early in the thirteenth century the office of *podestà* spread from Italy to several cities of Provence.

The Provençals and the Catalans of ports like Montpellier and Barcelona in the Kingdom of Aragon were close seconds to the Italians in Mediterranean trade. There was a ' port of the Provençals ' on the southern coast of Asia Minor, and they had a street in each of the Syrian ports. Marseilles traded much with Northern Africa, and its sailors were the first to venture straight across the Mediterranean instead of skirting the coast of Italy. Narbonne profited by the trade route between Egypt and England, which went overland across France by way of Toulouse to Bordeaux, until early in the fourteenth century, when its harbour silted up and it expelled its large Jewish colony, and the Italian cities began to send their fleets round Spain to England and Flanders. Bordeaux and Bayonne on the south-western coast of France belonged to England from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and carried on an extensive trade with it, especially in wine. They also traded both with Spain and with Flanders. They did not have the consuls of most southern French towns, but were communes with mayors like the towns of the north which we shall presently describe.

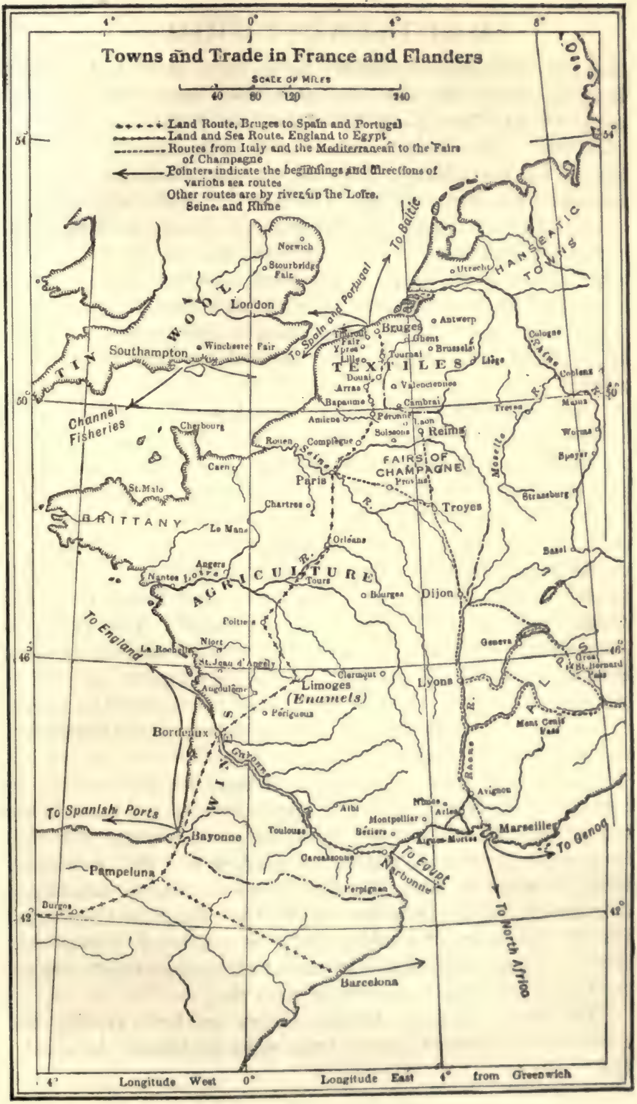
Central and Northern France

In Central France the chief channel of trade was the river Loire, although the boats of merchants were often halted to pay tolls and customs duties to the feudal lords along its banks, and although, to-day at least, the river is full of shoals and quicksands and keeps changing its channel. Central France was a fertile plain for whose agricultural products the numerous scattered towns furnished markets. As a rule these towns did not attain to self-government, but merely to freedom from many of the feudal and manorial restrictions under which they had previously laboured. To distinguish towns with such charters from the consular cities of the south and the communes of the north we may call them 'privileged towns.' Towns of this sort were sometimes found in the north and south too, but in Central France they predominated.

In Northern France a few communes were formed in the late eleventh century, but the twelfth was the great period of their rise. They were governed by a mayor, who, however, had less power than the mayor of a modern English town, and by a council of from a dozen to a hundred members. In the north most of the feudal nobility lived outside the towns, and the townsmen were a class distinct from the knights and hitherto reckoned quite inferior to them. In fact the townsmen had come up from serfdom, and their acquisition of the right of self-government was more of a democratic revolution than the rise of the Italian communes or of the southern French towns. Even those men who lived outside the walls were granted equal rights with those dwelling in the town proper. And since the men of the French commune were originally all of the same social class and since they were at first animated by a common purpose, up to the close of the twelfth century there was little sign of the party strife so manifest in Italian towns. The governing council, however, came in many cases to represent the richer and more influential citizens, and in the thirteenth century social and political discontent prevailed in many French towns.

How a Commune was established : Laon

A commune was a sworn association of the townsmen whose object was the exclusion of the lord's authority from the town and the taking charge of the government by the townsmen themselves. Sometimes the burghers purchased this concession from the lord, but usually they had to fight for it. A secret conspiracy, a sudden uprising, and either victory and independence for the burghers or a cruel suppression of the movement by the lord were the normal steps in the history of a commune. At Laon, once the favourite residence of the later Carolingians, the process was a little more complicated. Here in the early twelfth century public sentiment was aroused by the recent success of the neighbouring towns of Saint-Quentin and Noyon in establishing communes and by the cruel rule of the Bishop of Laon, who devoted more time to warfare and hunting than to religion, and who employed his negro slave, John, too frequently as an executioner. The townsmen, therefore, took advantage of the absence of their prelate in England to form a commune, purchasing the consent of other clergy and local nobles who had rights over the town. On learning of this upon his return, the Bishop flew into a rage, but at last was apparently reconciled by a large sum of money, and the ratification of King Louis VI was procured by a similar payment. But when the King presently paid a visit to Laon the treacherous Bishop tried to induce him to annul his



Towns and Trade in France and Flanders

Scale of Miles
40
80
120
240
Land Route, Bruges to Spain and Portugal
Land and Sea Route, England to Egypt
Routes from Italy and the Mediterranean to the Fairs of Champagne
Pointers indicate the beginnings and directions of various sea routes
Other routes are by river up the Loire, Seine, and Rhine
4°
0°
4°
8°
51°
50°
46°
42°
Norwich
Stourbridge Fair
WOOL
London
Southampton
Winchester Fair
TIN
Channel Fisheries
To Baltic
To Spain and Portugal
Bruges
Thourout Fair
Ypres
Lille
Ghent
Tournai
Antwerp
Brussels
Liège
TEXTILES
Douai
Arras
Valenciennes
Bapaume
Cambrai
Amiens
Péronne
Laon
Soissons
Reims
Utrecht
HANSEATIC TOWNS
Cologne
Rhine
Coblenz
Treves
R.
Mainz
Worms
Speyer
Moselle
Strassburg
Basel
Cherbourg
Caen
Rouen
Compiègne
Seine
Paris
FAIRS OF CHAMPAGNE
Provins
Troyes
R.
St. Malo
BRITTANY
Chartres
Le Mans
Orléans
Angers
Nantes
Loire R.
Tours
AGRICULTURE
Bourges
Dijon
To England
Poitiers
Niort
La Rochelle
St. Jean d'Angely
Angoulême
Clermont
Limoges (Enamels)
Périgueux
Geneva
Great St. Bernard Pass
ALPS
Lyons
R.
Mont Cenis Pass
Rhone
Bordeaux
WINES
Garonne
R.
Avignon
Nîmes
Arles
Albi
Montpellier
Béziers
Aigues Mortes
Marseilles
To Genoa
To Spanish Ports
Bayonne
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Narbonne
To Egypt
Perpignan
To North Africa
Pampeluna
Burgos
Barcelona
Longitude West
Longitude East from Greenwich

consent. The citizens offered Louis £400 more if he would keep his word, but the Bishop outbid them with an offer of £700, and the King thereupon declared the commune abolished. The Bishop then set out to recover his £700 by taxing the townspeople, but this was too much for them to bear and proved his undoing. They took up arms, raised the cry of the commune, broke into the episcopal palace, massacred its defenders, and when the Bishop was found hiding in a barrel a serf beat out his brains. The King hastened with an army to avenge this sacrilegious murder, and sacked the town; but a few years later the people got their commune after all, although some rights were reserved for king, bishop, and nobles.

This case of Laon suggests several points that are true of the French communes in general. They were created especially at the expense of bishops and ecclesiastical lords, and the Church in consequence made a great outcry against them. "Commune is a new and detestable word," wrote an abbot of the time. The communes for their part usually would not admit the clergy to their membership. In the rise of the communes, in short, we see a new force, primarily secular, political, and economic in character. The clergy to a considerable extent brought the communal movement upon themselves by their unwillingness to emancipate serfs or to grant considerable privileges and liberal charters to the towns, as many of the nobles did and thus in some measure forestalled and obviated the formation of communes.

The case of Laon also illustrates royal interference in the formation of communes. The Capetians did not care to see independent towns springing up on their own domain, although they were sometimes unable to prevent it. But, especially after the reign of Louis VI, they began to see the advantage of encouraging the movement upon the estates of their great vassals, whose power would thereby be weakened, particularly if the new communes should retain a feeling of gratitude toward the Crown which had sanctioned their rise.

The story of Laon further shows us how rapidly the communal movement spread from town to town. As a rule, however, each town had to work out its own liberty. The French communes formed almost no such leagues as that of the Lombard cities against Barbarossa. But they copied one another's charters and laws a great deal.

GOVERNMENT OF A COMMUNE: SOISSONS

Each commune had a seal of its own, a belfry whose bell summoned the citizens to the defence of their liberties, and a pillory and gibbet where the decrees of town justice were executed. For the commune had its own court, made its own laws or followed its own customs, and the fines paid went into the town treasury and not into the lord's pocket. Indeed, the commune owned no lord. Within the area of the town and its suburbs the authority of the commune was supreme. The charter of Soissons, dating from the twelfth century and widely copied by other towns, declares that " all men living within the walls and without the walls in the suburb, to whatever manor they may belong, shall take the oath to the commune; and if any one of them shall refuse, those who have taken the oath shall confiscate his house and money. All men living within the boundaries of the commune shall aid one another to the extent of their ability, and shall not permit any outsider to carry anything away nor to collect taxes from any one of them. When the bell summons the commune to assemble, any one failing to appear shall pay a fine of twelve pence. If any member of the commune shall commit any offence and refuses to give satisfaction before the aldermen, the men of the commune shall punish him." Such pronouncements illustrate the ideals of independence, democratic brotherhood, and active citizenship which animated the founders of these twelfth-century commonwealths.

Soissons at this time was scarcely more than an agricultural centre with a market for the corn, wine, timber, and salt of the vicinity. The commune here preceded the formation of artisan guilds. Indeed, as in Italy, many tiny villages shared in this revolutionary movement which swept over the land, and became rural communes, carrying on their husbandry and administering local justice without interference from lords.

The French communes were lively centres of local independence, vigour, and enterprise, but were not as large and powerful as the Italian cities, and did not, like them, pursue an aggressive foreign policy. That is to say, they did not fight with one another nor attempt to conquer the rural communes and other territory about them as the Italians did. Furthermore, they were willing to recognize in a loose way the sovereignty of the king or the head of the particular feudal state in which each was located, and in time of need to furnish him with funds or some of their militia, provided ordinarily he left them to attend to their own affairs. Nor were their militia to be despised, as Henry II of England found in 1188 when the citizens of Mantes, a town of only five thousand inhabitants, ventured forth from their walls fully armed and checked his advance.

Not all the towns of Northern France, by any means, succeeded in becoming communes. Some of the largest cities, like Paris, Chartres, and Troyes, could hardly even be called privileged towns, but were still largely subject to the old seigneurial exploitation. Parts of Paris belonged to certain monasteries and were immune from the royal officials. The Bishop of Paris had well-nigh absolute power over the island in the Seine known as La Cité and other portions of the neighbouring banks of the river. Otherwise the Parisians were ruled by a royal provost. Gilds existed, however, and certain burghers enjoyed special royal favour. When the king went on a crusade in 1190, he appointed six burghers of Paris to the council of regency during his absence.

NEW TOWNS

All over France, as well as in the eastern lands colonized by the Germans in the second half of the twelfth century, feudal lords and monasteries now founded ' Newtons ' (*les villes neuves*), laid out in regular squares instead of the crooked streets of old towns which had grown up irregularly. In these new settlements special privileges were offered to attract settlers. A good example is the charter of Beaumont, in the Argonne, which was adopted by hundreds of other settlements. This place in 1182 received from its lord permission to elect officials with powers of high justice. These officials were, however, to turn over to the lord a part of the fines and other proceeds of justice and to collect various other dues and taxes for him. These new towns were apt to be largely agricultural in their economic life, at least when first started, unless founded near harbours where fishing and trade would at once flourish. We read, however, in a poet of the time of a new city where eight hundred families came to live, of whom one hundred devoted themselves to commerce, one hundred to fishing, one hundred to various crafts. One hundred more were bakers, another hundred kept taverns, and the rest seem to have cultivated gardens and vineyards.

In Northern France the river Seine was an important artery of trade exploited by associations of boatmen and merchants at Rouen and Paris and on the upper Seine in Burgundy, who at times came into conflict over their respective shares in the river traffic. But the chief centre of commerce in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was Champagne, with its famous fairs, where traders from the Mediterranean cities exchanged their wares with merchants from the North. These fairs were held in succession at different places and each lasted about six weeks. The two largest fairs were at Troyes, from which the expression ' Troy weight ' is perhaps derived, and at Provins, whose population has shrunk to-day to a tenth of what it was then. The sagacious Counts of Champagne protected the visiting merchants, kept moderate the dues that were levied at the fairs, and strictly enforced all contracts and debts entered into there.

FLEMISH TOWNS

The towns of Flanders and its adjoining districts engaged especially in cloth manufacture and in other textile industries. Arras, the capital of Artois, gave its name to tapestry hangings, famed in the Middle Ages, but manufactured no longer Cambrai, the chief city of an ecclesiastical principality, still manufactures cambric, which was invented there in the fifteenth century. Lille, originally L'Isle, whence comes the expression 'lisle thread'; Valenciennes, once noted for its lace; and Douai, were then located in Flanders and Hainault, although now in France. By 1200 there were some forty towns in Flanders alone, of which Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres were the chief. These three cities ranked with the great Italian communes in their size and wealth.

Elsewhere in the Low Countries cities were less numerous. There were about a dozen in Brabant, seven in Hainault, and half a dozen in the Bishopric of Liége. Industry and trade developed much earlier in what is now Belgium than among the Dutch, so that in 1200 there were very few towns in what is now the Netherlands. The rise of cities on any large scale did not occur in Holland until the latter part of the thirteenth century. Before that Utrecht with its four markets a year was the chief commercial centre in the North.

The great Flemish cities probably began as market-places under the shadow of castle or monastery. By the eleventh century they were flourishing centres of industry and commerce, and repeatedly revolted against the authority of their counts. Their inhabitants comprised four classes, soldiers, landowners, merchants, and artisans, of whom the last two were by far the more numerous. A number of new towns with harbours were founded by the Counts of Flanders in the course of the twelfth century. Then, too, the towns received many privileges from the counts, who entrusted the administration of local justice and of municipal affairs in large measure to the rich patrician families, from whose ranks developed a council whose members held office for life and elected their successors. The magistrates and citizens not only administered the internal affairs of their towns, but during the thirteenth century were usually consulted by the count when he took any important action affecting Flanders as a whole. Before the twelfth century was over, the lower classes in Ghent had expressed their discontent with the rule of the richer citizens by uprisings. Toward the close of the thirteenth century, out of 9300 burghers on the roll of Bruges, 8000 were artisans who had little share in the government.

Foreign Trade of Flanders

Before 1100 the Flemings had a fair of their own at Thurout, and went beyond their borders as far as Coblenz on the Rhine to secure wool for their cloth manufactures. Early in the twelfth century Italians were found in Ypres, and by the close of that century a flourishing trade went on with England, France, Spain, and Portugal. In the case of the three last-named countries the trade chiefly followed land routes. The most frequented path led from Bruges by old Roman roads *via* Tournai, Douai, and Arras to Bapaume. This town, to-day an insignificant little place, was then the chief centre for the collection of customs duties between Flanders and the rest of France, owing to its situation at the crossing of two ancient Roman roads from Arras to Rheims and from Cambrai to Amiens. From Bapaume the route proceeded through Péronne, Roye, Compiègne, Paris, Orléans, where Joan of Arc later saved France, Tours, with its shrine of St. Martin, Poitiers, where the oldest Christian church in France stands, Limoges, famous since the twelfth century for its enamels, Bordeaux, and Bayonne, to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. There two routes branched off to Burgos and Lisbon and to Barcelona and Valencia respectively. This trade developed from pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Northern Spain, and as a result of the part taken by the Flemish in expeditions of 1147 and 1189 to aid the Portuguese and Castilians against the Moslems of Spain. The thirteenth century saw commerce by sea between Flanders and Spain and South-western France, and Spanish merchants were then permanently established in some of the towns of the Low Countries. There was free trade between the northern part of Germany and the Flemish cities, with the result that the products of the Baltic region flowed to Flanders, whence they were exported to England and to the South and West.

In commerce Bruges was the Venice of the North, resembling that city further in its numerous canals. One canal connected it with the sea, an arm of which was much nearer the town then than it is to-day. A writer of the early thirteenth century tells us that goods come to Bruges from Venice, China, the Cyclades, Hungary, Gascony, and England, and that there is room in its large, quiet harbour at Damme for the entire French fleet. Bruges was eventually to displace the fairs of Champagne as the chief place of exchange between the north and south of Europe. In 1297 the city limits had to be enlarged, and the new walls then built were four and a half miles in circumference. Bruges at that time had a population three times that of London. By this time, too, Bruges and Ghent boasted many houses built of stone, and their municipal governments appropriated money for paving the streets. The leading gild in Bruges was the Hanse of London, an organization whose members were very rich and who were engaged in the wool trade with England, whence Flanders now got most of the raw material for its cloth manufactures.

English Towns

If Bruges was three times greater than London, the latter city was nevertheless much larger than any other English town. The population of England, which to-day about equals that of France, was then only a small fraction of the dense population between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees. England was then primarily an agricultural country and towns were small. Eighty such boroughs or burgs—that is, fortified places containing dwelling-houses—are named in Domesday Book (1085), but of forty-two fairs and markets mentioned in the same record only eleven were held in boroughs. Many of the towns, however, early acquired the right to collect their own taxes and pay a lump sum to the royal officials, and in the course of time numerous privileges and charters were bestowed upon them by the English kings. By the thirteenth century they had become centres of wealth and of local influence, and were summoned to send representatives to the national assembly or Parliament which then developed. But they did not reach the height of their medieval prosperity and independence until the fifteenth century. Other prominent ports besides London were Southampton in the south and Bristol in the west. Foreign trade was largely carried on by foreign merchants, as is illustrated by the Flemish Hanse in London already mentioned.

The chief local fairs were at Winchester in the south, and at Stourbridge and Walsingham in the east.

Rise of German Towns

In Germany the change from rural to town life did not become marked until the thirteenth century, although before that there were a few large cities, especially on the Rhine, where Basel, Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Cologne all dated from Roman times. And whereas the Lombard communes had established their practical independence of the Holy Roman Empire under Frederick Barbarossa in the twelfth century, the free or imperial cities of Germany did not acquire their full powers of government until the confused period of anarchy following the death of Frederick II in the second half of the thirteenth century. The building of stone walls, replacing rude earthworks and wooden stockades or ruined Roman fortifications, and enclosing a greater area, began in a few cases in the later twelfth century, but more often in the thirteenth.

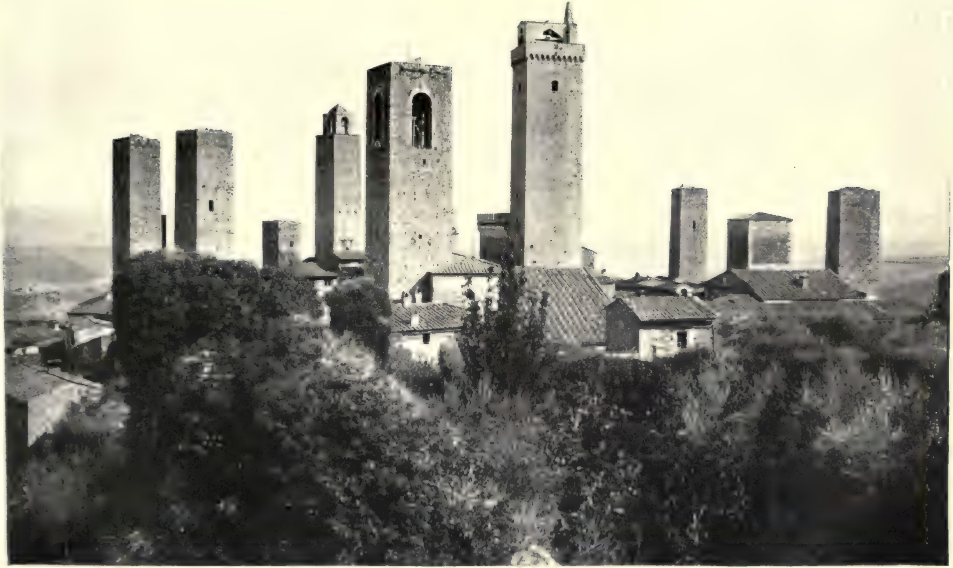
Even in the thirteenth century the inhabitants of most German towns still engaged to a large extent in agriculture, and much of the land included within the new fortifications was still given over to farms and gardens. In the crowded streets of the centre of the town, however, were to be found artisans carrying on various industries, and in the oldest and largest cities the gilds may be traced back to the twelfth century. Among the oldest craft gilds in Germany were the weavers of Mainz (1099), the fishermen of Worms (1106), the shoemakers of Würzburg (1128), the makers of bed-ticks and the turners of Cologne, and the cobblers, tailors, and painters of Magdeburg, from the twelfth century. Stone houses and glass windows did not come in until after the thirteenth century, although roofs of straw or shingles were already being replaced by tiles. The architects, furniture-makers, and wood-carvers of German towns in the thirteenth century gave little evidence of artistic ability. In general Germany was at this time far behind Italy and France in commerce, industry, art, and wealth.

There were three leading regions of urban life in medieval

Germany. One was the Rhine valley ; another was Southern Germany, where Augsburg, Bamberg, Würzburg, and Nürnberg were destined to become very wealthy by their trade across the Alps with Venice. The third group consisted of towns of the northern coast, like Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, which exploited the fisheries and commerce of the North and Baltic Seas. Wisby, situated on the large island of Gotland off the Swedish coast in the Baltic, was a very flourishing trading town which now became German in character. Earlier, judging from the many Arabian and Anglo-Saxon coins found there, it must have been an important station in the traffic of the Northmen with the Orient by way of the Russian rivers. Though now deserted, its walls, towers, and ruined churches remain as a picturesque testimony to its medieval grandeur. In Denmark, too, and elsewhere along the coasts of the Baltic, towns were numerous by the thirteenth century. Already in the thirteenth century German cities were forming leagues for their mutual protection. Prominent among these were the Rhine League and the Hanseatic League, of which we shall have more to say later.

How a Self-governing Municipality arose in Strassburg

The growth toward self-government in a German town during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may be illustrated by the example of Strassburg. At first there were practically no free inhabitants and every one was dependent upon the bishop. The expressions ' citizens ' and ' burghers ' were first employed in the twelfth century, but all inhabitants except Jews and absolute serfs or slaves of the bishop were called citizens, although many of them as yet were not fully free. Gradually a city law grew up distinct from the manorial law, or *Hofrecht*, of the bishop, to which most of the inhabitants had once been subject. Finally the *Hofrecht* disappeared entirely and all the citizens became personally free, but there was no corporate body of citizens until the thirteenth century. The last step was the union of the citizens and their winning of self-government by a struggle with their prelate in 1262



20. SAN GIMIGNANO

In our discussion of medieval towns we have combined certain developments which did not necessarily always go together, but which were too closely associated to separate in the vast majority of cases. First, the growth of towns as centres of population and of industry and trade. Second, the rise of towns as separate units in medieval society and feudal politics, as distinct entities, existing on terms of equality along with feudal lords, bishops, and abbots, and regulating their own internal affairs with the same freedom from outside interference that a lord enjoyed in governing his manors or an abbot in ruling his monastery. Third, the advance of the merchant and industrial classes in the towns to a position of influence and a share in the government. But some towns, like Paris, that were large in population and noteworthy for their business life and manufactures, were still not free politically. On the other hand, many places that were scarcely more than villages had gained independence and self-government. Again, many self-governing towns were far from democratic and excluded the lower classes from office or even from the suffrage. Finally, while the chief magistracies and councils in the towns of different countries have been mentioned in a general way, no description has been attempted of the numerous minor offices, nor of the many special boards and advisory bodies.

VARIETY OF TOWN CONSTITUTIONS AND CUSTOMS

It should also be realized that there was almost infinite variety in the forms of government, the local laws, and the charter provisions of the many towns. Indeed, in the history of a single town like Florence, as we shall see later, one finds a bewildering variety and a series of kaleidoscopic constitutional changes, whose meaning it is almost impossible to follow to-day. But as the Dutch historian Blok has said, "All these differences in the arrangements and the development of the medieval cities are new proofs of the inexhaustible riches of medieval life, of the infinite variety in the society of that time, deviating so much from the greater monotony of our epoch. The endeavour to find one form for the medieval cities is a mistake against the very nature of the Middle Ages." Or, as Hare says of the cities of Italy, " They are wonderfully different, those great cities, quite as if they belonged to different countries, and so indeed they have, for there has been no national history common to all, but each has its own individual sovereignty, its own chronicle, its own politics, domestic and foreign, its own saints, its own phase of architecture, often its own language, always its own proverbs, its own superstitions, and its own ballads."

CHAPTER XX

THE MEDIEVAL REVIVAL OF LEARNING

IN Western Christian Europe in the course of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries there developed a new civilization. Feudal enterprise, Church reform, and Christian expansion were forces that contributed to it. Its material and economic and social side we have seen in the rise of towns and trade and industry, the emancipation of a large part of the common people, and the growth of municipal institutions and liberties. We now turn to parallel developments in art, literature, education, science, and thought.

The new culture in these fields was a curious mixture of things old and new. It was in part a revival of the civilization of antiquity, which had declined in the late Roman Empire and had almost passed away during the early Middle Ages. It was in part a breaking away from ancient traditions and styles and the beginning of modern methods in speaking, writing, investigating, and teaching. It was in large measure the product of the medieval Church and clergy, the expression of the religious motive and of Christian interests. Yet, as the communes were antagonistic to the clergy, so in the science and literature of the period we see the rise of an independent secular spirit. Finally, the artists and the scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries learned and borrowed from the Byzantines and the Arabs as well as from the ancients and the Church fathers. But their own output was neither classical nor patristic nor Byzantine nor Moorish ; nor was it as yet wholly modern in character ; it was medieval.

LATIN LEARNING AND LITERATURE OF THE TENTH AND EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The scanty learning and literature of the early Middle Ages had been limited to writing in Latin by the clergy, and for centuries there were only a few names of consequence, such as Gregory the Great, Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, and John the Scot. For a time after the break-up of Charlemagne's empire this state of decline continued, and even seemed to grow worse. Then progress becomes gradually apparent. It has been reckoned that fewer names of writers have come down to us from the tenth than from any other century between Charlemagne and modern times. In Italy, where cities were first to develop and where we might expect to find the most education, on the contrary well into the eleventh century books were scarce, one had to go a long way to reach a school, and there were many complaints of the ignorance of the lower clergy and against men of no education in high places in the Church. The complaints, however, indicate an awakening intellectual conscience. But knowledge was at a low ebb and what literature there was consisted of barren rhetoric. The Latin poems of the time seem mere exercises in metre and language without feeling and genius. There was still a strong feeling that a Christian ought not to study too deeply in classical literature and philosophy, and even in the field of theology there was no writing of real importance.

North of the Alps names of scholars were scarcer than narratives of miracles in the chronicles of the time. Bruno, the brother of Otto the Great, was one of these rare apparitions. His biographer, writing immediately after his death, tells us that the chief aim of Bruno's own writing and of his teaching at the palace school was the cultivation of a good Latin style, and that he read the ancient tragedies and comedies through gravely without tears or laughter. "He thought that their meaning was worthless; the style was what he considered all-important." A German nun, Hrosvita, who died about the year 1000, not only read the plays of Terence, but composed some dramas herself, the first that have come down to us since

Seneca's. Although these seem very stiff and crude to the modern reader, they possessed more plot and human interest than the liturgic spectacles which were presented about this time by the clergy in cathedrals and monasteries in connexion with the Christmas and Easter services, and which developed later into the important mystery and morality plays. Hrosvita's plots are either legends of Christian martyrs or love stories in which celibacy, not marriage, is considered 'a happy ending.'

In Gaul Gerbert was the greatest scholar of the tenth century. He studied grammar in a monastery in Auvergne, and then went to the County of Barcelona in Northern Spain and acquired some knowledge of mathematics, a subject on which he later wrote treatises. He became schoolmaster in the cathedral at Rheims and for a year was abbot of a monastery in Lombardy. Afterward he twice tried to obtain copies of scientific manuscripts which he had seen in the library of the latter. Gerbert was an attractive letter-writer, and his correspondence is important for the history of the times, with whose rulers, especially the last Carolingians, the first Capetians, and the Emperors Otto II and Otto III, he was closely connected. He became an archbishop and finally Pope Sylvester II, which indicates that the age at least respected scholarship. Later medieval legend made of him a magician and necromancer, but he seems to have done nothing more wonderful than to construct an abacus and build a pipe organ.

Gerbert's clever letters dealing with contemporary events lead us to note an improvement in the writing of history which became manifest in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Several writers now displayed a more animated and individual style than the ordinary dry and meagre monastic annals of the early Middle Ages or than the empty rhetoric of the tenth-century poets. Widukind narrated with spirit and vigour the story of his own Saxon people. Liutprand the Lombard tells of his trips to Constantinople and has a good grasp of the general state of Europe in the middle of the tenth century. Thietmar records the story of the German kings and of his Bishopric of Merseburg to

1018. Raoul Glaber, writing about the middle of the eleventh century, entertains us hugely with his *pot-pourri* of portents and disasters, marvels and mysteries of the preceding sixty years, and, ere he closes, confides an account of his early sinful life and subsequent monastic adventures. Hermann the Lame, of Reichenau, who died in 1054, and Marianus Scotus (1026–1083), an Irish monk who wandered to Germany, wrote world-histories, and they are noted for their chronological researches. With these men and with Adam of Bremen, who introduces us to the history and geography of Northern Europe, and Lambert of Hersfeld, who gives a detailed and well-written, though partisan, account of the eventful years 1073–1077, we find the writing of history well developed before the time of the First Crusade. All these works were in Latin.

Famous Teachers of the Eleventh Century

A large number of the famous men of the next generation were said to have been pupils of Gerbert. One of them praised his master as "a man of lofty genius and wonderful eloquence, by whose light, as of a brightly burning torch, all Gaul, already growing dark, was again illuminated." Gerbert's school at Rheims was followed in the eleventh century by famous teachers or cathedral schools in other French towns, such as Chartres, Angers, Paris, Laon, Orléans, Poitiers, and Périgueux. Some monasteries also were noted for their instruction, such as the famous Cluny in Burgundy and Bec in Normandy, whence William the Conqueror took his first archbishop, the learned Italian lawyer Lanfranc. Both the teachers and the *alumni* of these ecclesiastical schools rose to high positions in Church and State; but what was taught and learned at these places seems very scanty to us to-day. The main point, however, was that the students thought that they were learning something, and sang the praises of their instructors for ever after. There was at least, therefore, a growing enthusiasm for learning.

Presently the amount of learning also began to increase. The first notable advance was in medicine. In Northern

Africa about 1015 was born Constantine, usually known by his Latin name, Constantinus Africanus, from his birthplace. After many years of travel in the Orient in quest of knowledge, he came to the court of the Norman ruler of Southern Italy, Robert Guiscard, at Salerno. Later he retired to the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, founded by St. Benedict himself, and there he died in 1087. During his residence in Italy he composed several medical treatises in Latin which were in a large measure merely translations of the works of Arabian physicians, but which none the less helped to increase the knowledge of the Christian West, where Constantinus Africanus was henceforth a much-cited authority. His presence at Salerno also proved a stimulus to a school of medicine, famous in the Latin world, which had already existed there on a small scale among the monks.

Revival of Roman Law at Bologna

A legal revival on a much larger scale in Northern Italy soon followed that in medicine in the South. The rush of law students to Bologna at the very end of the eleventh century was an intellectual movement contemporaneous with the First Crusade. Some acquaintance with Justinian's law books seems to have survived in Italy through the early Middle Ages, but it was only at the close of the eleventh century that the old Roman law proper, set forth in the *Digest*, began to be studied with scientific thoroughness by students from all over Europe, who flocked to the law school at Bologna presided over by the great Irnerius. He was the first of a group or series of men known as the ' glossators ' or commentators upon the Roman law, from the glosses or marginal notes which they made in their copies of the *Digest*. From 1100 onward the Roman or civil law (*ius civile*) became an increasingly important force in Western Europe. We have already noted its influence at the Diet of Roncaglia held by Frederick Barbarossa. Those who had studied law at Bologna or Pavia found lucrative posts open to them in both Church and State, for canon as well as civil law was taught. It was a Bolognese professor, the monk Gratian, who about the middle of the twelfth century made a compilation of the canon law which henceforth superseded the older collections as the standard work. The original title of his book was *The Harmony of Conflicting Canons* (*Concordantia discordantium canonum*), but it was usually more briefly called the *Decretum*. Of ecclesiastical courts and canon law we have already treated. European universities to-day still give courses in canon law and grant the degree of 'Doctor of Both Laws,' J.U.D. (*juris utriusque doctor*).

North of the Alps in the early twelfth century teachers had become much more numerous than before. Indeed, one writer of the time, William of Conches, in Normandy, complained bitterly that education had already become too popular, that many were teaching without adequate preparation, that most students took easy courses with popular professors instead of with the truly profound and original scholars, and yet that every teacher's time was so much occupied with classes that he had scant leisure left for research and publication. This tendency to criticize existing educational conditions was one of the marks of the new age, and we shall meet further instances of it.

A BRIEF CLASSICAL REVIVAL

What were the subjects taught in these schools north of the Alps? One of William's contemporaries speaks of him as a teacher of 'grammar'; that is, of Latin literature. We also know that about this time there was a school at Chartres devoted especially to the literary study of the Latin classics and to the cultivation of a good Latin style. North as well as south of the Alps, however, the new development was to be of a learned rather than a literary character. William's extant work, for example, deals with philosophy and astronomy, although it occasionally quotes classical literature.

To a great extent William follows the ancient Greek philosopher Plato in his interpretation of the world, although he also cites Christian writings and various books of astronomy. Yet he probably knew Plato's doctrines only indirectly through other writers and through Latin translations of some of Plato's works. William's little book begins by defining philosophy and describing its method of inquiry; he then argues that the world was made by God and discusses the Trinity at some length; next he considers other spiritual beings in the universe, such as the demons in whom medieval men generally believed; and then he treats of the elements of which natural objects are composed. Here he makes use of the writings of Constantinus Africanus, who, while still accepting the old Greek theory of only four elements, had explained that the earth, air, fire, and water which we see and feel are not the pure elements, but, like all other objects in nature, are compounds made up of all four elements. Finally, William discusses in more detail the sky and stars, and the earth and its human occupants.

Other interests of the learned world of the twelfth century are illustrated by the career of Abelard (1079–1142), the eldest son of the lord of a village in Brittany, who left his castle, the chase, and the profession of arms to pursue learning. He was especially interested in dialectic or logic, the art of reasoning and disputation. This was a subject not unlike the debating of our day, except that the questions argued were philosophical and theological rather than political and economic as in intercollegiate debates of the present—questions about the workings of the mind rather than about money matters, and questions concerning the other world rather than this. Abelard found many places where teachers were instructing large bands of students in the art of logic, and he himself before long became a lecturer of great renown at Paris.

MEDIEVAL DIALECTIC: NOMINALISTS AND REALISTS

Dialectic was based upon the treatises of Aristotle in logic, which had been translated by Boëthius and Porphyry at the close of the Roman Empire. Teachers and students of dialectic were now exercised over such questions as whether colour has any reality independent of the coloured objects; in other words, whether we merely have red paint and red cows and red sunrises, or whether there is a redness apart from particular objects. Or, furthermore, whether there are an ideal beauty and an abstract justice which form our standards in determining whether individual objects are beautiful and whether individual actions are just. Again, men differ in complexion, size, and temperament ; is there any human genus and species which includes them all, or any ideal man after whom they are all patterned ? Is humanity a mere collective word or simply a conception attained by our minds ? Such was the problem of universals agitating the dialecticians when Abelard began his education. Those who regarded such abstract and collective terms as mere names were called 'Nominalists.' Those who held them to be true substances, although perhaps substances of an incorporeal and spiritual nature, were called 'Realists.' Those who, like Abelard himself, took a middle course were called 'Conceptualists.' All this discussion was a distant echo and revival of the theory of ideas, in which Plato, fifteen hundred years before in the Academy at Athens, had instructed Aristotle and his other disciples, and which is still reflected in modern idealism.

The theory of spiritual substances was very welcome to the Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages, since it confirmed their belief in a human soul separate from the mortal body and in a host of demons and angels. That substance was something distinct from external appearance and particular qualities was also an attractive thought to them. It enabled them to explain that in the sacrament of the mass, while the bread and wine might retain their outward qualities such as are apparent to the senses of sight, taste, and touch, yet their inner nature had been 'transubstantiated' into the body and blood of Christ. This illustrates what important bearings logic or dialectic might have upon theology.

Abelard himself soon gave up teaching for a time in order to study theology at Laon with a master called Anselm. This was not, however, the famous Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury under William Rufus and Henry I, who put forth the ontological argument for the existence of God. Abelard, who formerly had given his teachers in logic much trouble by frequently disagreeing and arguing with them, now soon became disgusted with Anselm, whom he regarded as a mere rhetorician without ideas. He asked him many questions and was unable to get satisfactory answers. A favourite method in teaching theology then was for the lecturer to read some book of the Bible or work of a Church father and make running comments upon it, not unlike the glosses of the Bolognese doctors of law. Soon Abelard was expounding difficult passages in the Book of Ezekiel to Anselm's students instead of attending the master's lectures.

Abelard now received a call to teach at the cathedral school of Paris, out of which was to develop a great university, and large crowds attended his lectures. But his tragic love affair with Héloïse blighted the latter part of his career and his days were henceforth passed more in monasteries and hermitages than in the public eye, although he continued to teach. He came into conflict with St. Bernard, who attacked some of his views as heretical. But the fact that those who displayed too much originality in expounding the mysteries of the faith were liable to be forced to retract their theories in no way diminished the fascination which theological discussion had for the medieval clergy.

Abelard's chief contribution to the future of scholasticism, as, from its origin in the schools, the medieval study of philosophy and theology is called, was, apart from the general enthusiasm which he aroused for clever discussion and the crowds of students that he drew to Paris, his method of investigation. Writers of the early Middle Ages, like undergraduates taking notes on collateral reading, often simply copied passages from Augustine's *City of God* and other works in their meagre libraries. By stringing together a series of such quotations they flattered themselves that they had made a new book. But Abelard, instead of merely copying, meant to compare and criticize the writings and opinions of the past. This is well illustrated by his work called *Sic et Non*. In the introduction he holds that there are many important theological questions still open to discussion, and that the best way to reach the truth is to adopt an open-minded, sceptical, and critical attitude. "The master-key to knowledge is to keep asking questions," says this medieval Socrates. Consequently he puts 158 questions about the nature of God and other theological matters, and collects under each heading statements from patristic literature both for (*sic*) and against (*non*) the view in question. By thus showing the Church fathers often in apparent disagreement, he demonstrated the need of further discussion and investigation in order to reach the truth in theology.. He recognized that apparent obscurities might often be cleared up, and that seeming contradictions might be reconciled by a more careful consideration of the passages or by excluding apocryphal works and by remedying the mistakes of copyists. But this, he would argue, simply showed the need of more intensive study. However, he further held that, except for the Bible itself, previous Christian writings were of unequal value and must not be unquestioningly accepted as absolute truth.

SCHOLASTICISM

If Abelard meant to discourage his age from consulting past authorities on all sorts of questions, he did not succeed. But his method of putting forward a problem for debate and solution and then finding in past literature all the statements *pro* and *con* that one could bearing on the question—this became a favourite method of medieval teachers and writers. Only, instead of leaving the problem unsolved, as the *Sic et Non* does, they went on to cope with the arguments on both sides and to attempt to reach a correct solution. Such writings, together with commentaries on the authorities, became the staple products of medieval scholasticism. Gratian's *Harmony of Conflicting Canons* was such a work. A year or two after it came out, Peter Lombard, who had attended Abelard's lectures, published his famous *Sententiæ*, henceforth the standard textbook in scholastic theology. The title *Sententiæ*, commonly translated as 'Sentences,' in this case refers to the 'opinions' or authoritative utterances of the Church fathers upon the various questions of the Christian faith, which Peter had collected, condensed, and classified in one volume.

While Abelard was attending the lectures of dialecticians and theologians in different parts of Northern France, a contemporary of his with a similar name, Adelard, of Bath, in England, became dissatisfied with "the wordy war of sophisms and the affected elocution of rhetoric" prevalent in "the schools of Gaul," and went to the Greeks and Saracens to acquire fuller knowledge. His especial interest was in natural science and mathematics. He was one of the first translators into Latin of the Arabic versions of Greek and Oriental science and philosophy. He translated the geometry of Euclid, and he also wrote a work entitled *Questions about Nature*, in which he set forth the views of his Arabian masters and perhaps some discoveries of his own. In this book he justifies the study of natural science against narrow religious prejudice. He also scolds his nephew, with whom he is represented as engaged in dialogue, for excessive trust in authorities, and tells him that reason and experiment are the best methods of reaching the truth. In trying to answer the questions about plants, animals, and other things in nature which his nephew puts to him, Adelard often makes incorrect statements, some of which sound ridiculous to us. But sometimes he displays surprisingly correct knowledge; as in explaining how far a stone would fall if dropped into a hole running through the centre of the earth, and why water will not readily flow out of a small aperture at the bottom of a vessel which is elsewhere tightly sealed.

Roger, the Norman ruler of Sicily from 1130 to 1154, who introduced the manufacture of silk in Palermo, was especially interested in geography. He collected all the Arabian books on the subject that he could find, and eagerly questioned travellers who came to his court, and took notes of their accounts. Finally the Arabian traveller and geographer Edrisi was given the task of combining these materials into a great work on the geography of the world. Roger told him, "I want a description of the earth made after direct observation, not after books." The result was a work finished in 1154, and superior to any previous medieval geography either Christian or Arabian.

The employment of Edrisi by Roger shows us that the Church was not the sole centre and source of learning. We have also seen Constantinus Africanus at the court of the Norman Robert Guiscard. William of Conches, too, had found a patron in Geoffrey Plantagenet, the father of Henry II of England, and himself Duke of Normandy as well as Count of Anjou ; and Adelard of Bath in 1130 received a sum of money from the government of Henry I of England. Roger's patronage of learning in Sicily was repeated there in the first half of the thirteenth century by the cultured court of the Emperor Frederick II, of whose scientific curiosity strange tales were circulated by credulous chroniclers. One such story was to this effect : Frederick gave two men a hearty dinner, after which one of them was made to take a nap and the other to go hunting. Both were then put to death and their bodies examined with a view to learning whether sleep or exercise immediately after a meal was more favourable to digestion. Frederick's court astrologer was Michael Scot, a native of the British Isles who did much to promote the translation of Aristotle and other learned writings from Arabic into Latin, and who subsequently won a popular reputation as a magician. Another monarch of the thirteenth century famed for his own erudition as well as his patronage of learning was Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252–1284).

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ARABIC

In both Sicily and the Spanish peninsula in the latter half of the twelfth and the early years of the thirteenth century numerous translators were engaged in turning into Latin from Arabic the treasures of Greek science and philosophy which the Arabs had preserved, and also many writings of the Arabs themselves. As such works became available for Latin readers, they greatly increased the amount of facts and theories current, broadened the outlook of the learned world, and stimulated further that intellectual curiosity and that fondness for discussion and disputation which were already very much in evidence. Medical students now had the voluminous works of the Greek Galen and the Arab Avicenna ; astronomers profited by the ancient writings of Ptolemy, and by the more recent works of numerous Arabs. Men's minds were now formed by the ideas of the Greeks and Arabs instead of merely by reading the Church Fathers and Latin literature. They now had a new mass of material, by which they could test the questions that were troubling them, and which suggested new questions to them. It may seem strange that ancient Greek writers, most of whom were pagans, and more recent writers in Arabic, many of whom were Mohammedans, should have been so readily accepted as authorities by the Western Christian world. But intellectual curiosity and respect for learning proved stronger than religious scruples. There was, it is true, an abiding hostility to certain free-thinking Arabs like Averroës, but this was because he was a sceptic and not even a good Mohammedan.

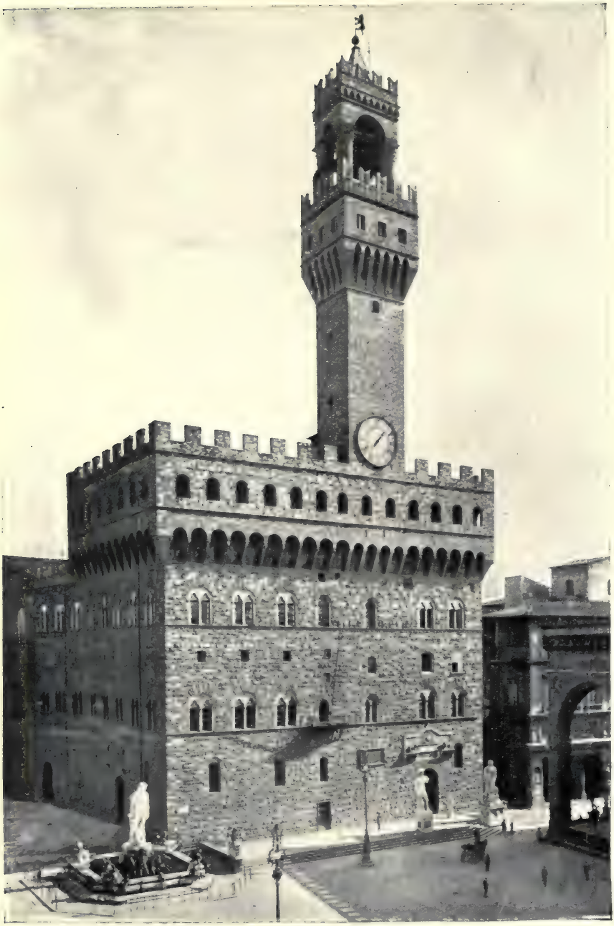
THE NEW ARISTOTLE

But Aristotle, whom Averroës and the Arabian learned world generally had fervently admired as the greatest of all philosophers, was equally esteemed by the Christians of the thirteenth century. In Abelard's time only his logical treatises had been known to the Latins, but now most of the other works by him which have come down to us were translated. Plato, whose philosophy of nature William of Conches had followed in the twelfth century, was now rather neglected in favour of Aristotle. For a while, it is true, Aristotle's treatises in natural science were not permitted to be taught at Paris, but soon they, together with his other works, became the common property of Latin scholars, thanks to the labours of the two great schoolmen Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. The former set forth the doctrines of Aristotle with additions of his own in a series of works which paralleled in titles and contents the writings of the Greek philosopher. Aquinas issued a revised translation of Aristotle's writings with an accompanying commentary of his own. Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, a work dealing, as its title suggests, with things beyond the purely physical, was of great interest to the medieval theologians and gave a further impetus to their science, although, inasmuch as Aristotle believed in neither the creation of the world nor the immortality of the soul, they experienced some difficulty in reconciling all his utterances with their Bibles. But most of such difficulties had been smoothed away by Albertus and Thomas. Albertus and Aquinas also wrote many theological works, and the latter is generally regarded as the greatest of the scholastic theologians. Both men were indefatigable writers, and the collected works of either to-day fill about forty portly volumes.

NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In natural science, too, further progress was made in the thirteenth century with the translation of Aristotle's books of natural philosophy and of the works of numerous other Greek and Arabian scientists. In some branches of science an advance was made beyond the knowledge of previous ages. In physical science this was true in optics and dynamics. A branch of mathematics with an Arabian name, algebra, now began to develop, in addition to the older subjects of arithmetic and geometry. Early in the century Leonardo of Pisa introduced into Western Europe the so-called Arabic figures, which were really derived from the Hindus by the Arabs. As we have said before, this was probably the greatest improvement in writing made since the invention of the phonetic alphabet, for the new figures could be written in much less time than could the clumsy Roman numerals and were far handier in written reckoning than any previous system. In astronomy new tables of the movements of the heavenly bodies were drawn up under the direction of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and the need of further reforming the calendar was generally recognized. Many new facts were collected from personal experience and observation concerning animals, plants, and countries which were either unmentioned at all or incorrectly described in those works which had come down from antiquity. Such innovations were partly the work of the Arabs and of the Oriental learning from which they drew, but were also in part the work of the Latins themselves.

The general laws of nature were as yet, nevertheless, by no



21. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

means completely and satisfactorily worked out. The facts that had been collected had not been properly systematized, and much misinformation was mingled with them. Magic, of which we saw traces in the Roman Empire and to which the Arabs were especially prone, still cast its spell over learning. Men were very credulous concerning reported marvels. A few indisputable facts for which they could not account, such as the magnet's attraction for iron, made them ready to believe in a host of wonders. Marvellous occult virtues were attributed to herbs and even to parts of animals, such as the blood of a fox or the liver of a vulture. Snakes, mice, and various nasty substances were highly prized for their supposed medicinal properties. Going to a medieval doctor was far worse than consulting a modern dentist, for he was likely to prescribe that the patient take whole in a little wine or water "the worms with many feet that are found between the trunk and bark of trees." Gilbert of England prescribed this as a remedy for spots in the eye, but added the recommendation that the dose be accompanied by repetition of the Lord's Prayer. As for toothache, among the treatments for it mentioned in the medical work of a scholar from the Spanish peninsula who finally became pope we find filling the cavity with the brain of a partridge or with the pulverized teeth of a dog, touching it with a dead man's tooth or with a root shaped like a tooth, as well as the more sensible application of opium. The greatest virtues among terrestrial objects were attributed to gems, some of which, it was believed, could confer wisdom and eloquence, graciousness or success or riches upon their bearers, or even make them invisible.

The supreme power in the natural universe was reserved to the stars. By the movements of the planets all changes in the world of physical nature and many in the life of man were supposed to be regulated. It was from the stars that gems and herbs derived their occult virtues. Many doctors inspected the sky with reference to the diseases and treatment of their patients, and many rulers kept astrologers at their courts. Even bishops and popes were at times known to consult them. The alchemists tried to convert other metals into gold, and often proceeded toward this goal by mystic methods with incantations and useless ceremonial. However, the alchemists of the thirteenth century were more sober and scientific and less superstitious than those of the Greek-speaking or Arabian worlds. They were already on the road to modern chemistry, and there is to-day a tendency to return to their belief that one primal matter lies behind the chemical elements. Peter of Abano, however, who was probably the most learned man living about the year 1300, despaired of any such discovery as that of atomic weights, declaring it impossible to find the quantities and weights of the constituent elements in any substance. Such uncertainty concerning the composition of bodies was one reason for the belief in occult virtues.

Scientific apparatus was still in a primitive state, and the experimental method and mathematical accuracy of modern science were not yet in existence. But men like the alchemists and architects experimented a good deal in their own way and attained to some important discoveries as a result. The mariner's compass with its magnetic needle, gunpowder, and magnifying lenses for eyeglasses all first became known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We have already mentioned chimney-flues, lead plumbing, and glass windows. New dyes and industrial processes were discovered, and mechanical clocks were a medieval invention. Clocks and lenses were later to prove of great help in scientific investigation, since the one enables time to be measured accurately, while the other, when developed into telescope and microscope, enables one to study much that is invisible to the naked eye. Many learned men, from Adelard of Bath in the early twelfth to Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, advocated experimentation as well as reading authorities as a method of discovering truth. Roger Bacon, in a work written about 1267 at the request of Pope Clement IV, argued that philosophy and science could be of great service to the Church, and classed ' experimental science ' with the ancient languages, mathematics, optics, and ethics as the five subjects of most importance after theology.

RISE OF UNIVERSITIES

All this teaching, studying, and enthusiasm for knowledge resulted in the organization of universities in those places where there were from year to year enough teachers and students to form a permanent institution of higher learning. At a later date universities were founded by princes, such as that established at Naples by Frederick II, or by the municipal authorities in the Italian communes; and then professors were called from other places and students were gradually attracted. But the oldest universities, such as those of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford, grew up spontaneously and almost imperceptibly out of the wanderings of students and the instruction given by individual teachers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The informal character of this early teaching was slow to disappear, and for a long time many students took neither degrees nor examinations and attended or absented themselves from classes as they pleased. It was even longer before the universities came to possess permanent buildings. But gradually the teachers united into faculties, university statutes came into existence, and the students organized themselves by 'nations' or in other unions. At Paris there were four 'nations,' the English, Normans, Picards, and 'French.' The chief faculties were those of Arts, instruction in which led to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, of Medicine, of Civil Law, of Canon Law, and of Theology. As the names Bologna, Paris, and Oxford suggest, universities first developed in Italy, France, and England. They were also soon flourishing in Spain, but Germany, whose universities have been so many and celebrated in recent times, lagged behind in education in the medieval period. The first university in that part of the Holy Roman Empire lying north of the Alps was founded in 1348 at Prague, in Bohemia, where most of the population were Czechs. Universities in German cities—Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt—soon followed, however. By the close of the Middle Ages there were some eighty universities in Europe.

The universities were as cosmopolitan in character as was the Church itself. We find Hungarians at Paris and Polish scholars in Italy. But the students were supposed to have learned to speak and to understand Latin in grammar schools before they came to the university, where both lectures and disputations were conducted in the Latin language. It has been said that the medieval universities "affected the progress and intellectual development of Europe more powerfully, or perhaps rather more exclusively, than any schools in all likelihood will ever do again." On the other hand, most of them are still in existence to-day as modern European universities, and have had an unbroken, though of course changing, intellectual life since the time of their foundation. Moreover, it is doubtful if we can apply to the Greek schools of philosophy, or to the learned world of scholars at Alexandria, or to the Roman law schools, the name 'universities' in the sense in which it applies to the institutions of higher learning in both medieval and modern times. We therefore owe our universities to the Middle Ages.

Our word 'university' is derived from the Latin *universitas,* which in the Middle Ages originally meant any gild or corporation. At first the distinctive term for an educational institution was *studium,* or *studium generale,* if there were several faculties. It was natural for the teachers and students in a town, especially if they were unprotected foreigners far from home, to unite in a gild of scholars. And it is easy to see the resemblance between the masters of the Parisian faculties and the master-workmen in a craft gild, and between their students to whom they granted degrees and the apprentices whom the master-workmen admitted to their gild after due training. At Bologna the maturer law students themselves united into *universitates,* chose a rector to enforce their statutes, and hired their teachers. This shows us that there was considerable variety in the method of organization in different universities, which were often as complicated in their administration as British universities are to-day.

Organization was useful in order to gain freedom from the control of the town where the university was located and to secure special privileges for the students and the institution. Since the universities had grown up to a large extent out of

Church schools and clerical education, it was customary for them to claim the privileges of the clergy for their members, who usually received the tonsure and could not be tried by secular courts. This last was a useful exemption when the students got into brawls with tavern-keepers or fights with the watch. On the other hand, the universities did not wish to remain under the control of the local bishop or other clerical authorities. They therefore sought grants of special privileges and independence from the pope or the king. Or if a university were not satisfied with the treatment which it received in one place, the masters and students might migrate in a body and establish themselves in some other city, since the university seldom owned much real estate and had neither large libraries nor laboratories.

Instruction was given in hired halls where the students sometimes did not even have seats or benches, but squatted on the straw-strewn floor with their note-books on their knees. As printing had not yet been invented and books were expensive, instruction was largely oral, consisting of lectures and disputations. However, there were text-books on which the lectures were based, the teacher reading a passage out of the book and then explaining its meaning and making comments upon it. The students could thus make their own copies of the text-book as they went along. Lectures were generally two hours long, and the faithful student attended about three a day. Classes began at six o'clock, at ten there was an intermission for lunch, at noon or soon after instruction was resumed, at five came the dinner hour. The ideal student was apparently supposed never to have any fun: there were no authorized amusements and even chess was frowned on. But in actual practice the students had their evenings free, and were wont to indulge in drinking, dicing, and nocturnal escapades. There were no classes on Sundays, and on the numerous saints' days the programme was lighter than usual.

Although boys entered the universities at a younger age than to-day, and, if they came from a distance, were quite cut off from home influences by the lack of railways and post-offices, they were placed under little effective restraint or discipline. Gradually, however, ‘colleges’ were founded, especially within the English universities, at first for the benefit of poor students. These were houses where the student boarded and lodged and where he could also be made to study and keep good hours. No physical training was required of the students, and intercollegiate athletics were unknown. But some of the ‘college customs’ of to-day date back to the Middle Ages. In the initiation of the *Bejaunus* we see the same thing as the ‘ragging’ of Freshmen, and modern academic caps and gowns are a relic of medieval costume. The college lad of all ages has been proverbially ‘broke,’ and we hear much of the poor students and their hardships in the Middle Ages. During the summer vacation they often went about begging and offering to “sing for the souls of such as assist me.”

Some of the Latin poems written by students or by wandering clergy in the twelfth century were far, however, from being directed toward the salvation of souls. The *Carmina Burana*, a collection of Latin verse found in a Bavarian monastery, are in large part satires upon the clergy, or drinking- and love-songs written in a most frivolous and rollicking tone, with invocations of Bacchus and other pagan deities. On the other hand, we should not forget the great medieval Latin hymns such as the *Dies Iræ* and *Stabat Mater* and those ascribed to St. Bernard.

The amount of learning so increased after the twelfth century that men had all that they could do to absorb the contents of the new books, and no longer gave much attention to literary style either in what they read or what they wrote. Logic drove out rhetoric, and the literary study of the Latin classics begun at Chartres in the eleventh century came to an end, displaced by the enthusiasm for Roman law, medicine, Greek philosophy, and Arabian science. But although scholastic commentaries and other works are dry reading and needlessly long, their thought is often acute and their contents better arranged than in the case of many ancient books. If their style is not attractive, these scholars were nevertheless able to express themselves accurately, inventing many new technical words to supply the scientific, philosophical, and theological defects of the ancient Latin language.

Penetration of Asia

After Edrisi geographical knowledge continued to make great strides during the remaining Middle Ages. The rise in the first half of the thirteenth century of a great Mongol empire stretching from China to Russia made it possible for Western ambassadors and missionaries, travellers and traders, to penetrate in person to the Far East and to learn of regions of which the Greeks and Romans have left no accounts. From the thirteenth century we have interesting narratives, by the friars John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk, envoys of the Pope and of the King of France respectively, of their journeys into the heart of Asia to the court of the Great Khan at Karakorum, and the fuller and even more fascinating book of the Venetian merchant Marco Polo, who spent the better part of his life in China and other Asiatic lands. There he travelled widely in the service of the Khan, who had by that time moved his capital from Mongolia to Peking and had adopted much of Chinese civilization. Marco was the first writer to reveal that civilization to the Western world, and to tell of many other regions, such as Madagascar, Abyssinia, Tibet, Burma, Siam, Cochin-China, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and other islands of the East Indian archipelago. Some regions that he traversed were not visited again by Europeans until the nineteenth century. He left Venice with his father and uncle in 1271 and did not return until 1295. Three years later he was captured by the Genoese in a sea fight, and while in prison dictated the story of his travels. In 1291 John of Monte Corvino went as a missionary to India, whence he sent back a description of the Deccan, or southern part of the peninsula, and its people. He then proceeded to China, of which the Pope made him archbishop, sending out others to serve under him. He died in 1328, "not only the first but also seemingly the last effective European bishop in the Peking of the Middle Ages." Other envoys, missionaries, and traders penetrated yet other parts of Asia and have left records of their travels.

WESTWARD HO!

Besides this overland penetration of the vast continent of Asia, there were westward voyages of discovery to the Canary, Madeira, and Azores Islands, and other voyages along the west coast of Africa in an effort to circumnavigate that continent and so reach the Indies. Deep-sea sailing had been assisted by the invention of the mariner's compass. We are apt to associate such enterprises with the later period of Prince Henry the Navigator and of Columbus, but the age of discovery had really begun by the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. Indeed, Edrisi tells us of eight explorers who sailed west from Lisbon in the early twelfth century in a vain effort to find the limits of the western ocean. About 1270 Lancelot Malocello went with Genoese vessels to the Canaries, and in 1291 two Genoese galleys tried to establish a direct sea trade with India by circumnavigating Africa, but never returned. In 1341 a Portuguese fleet explored the Canaries and found only natives there. But a Spanish geography written at about the same time enumerates the Madeiras, nine of the Canaries, and eight of the Azores, while a map of 1351 indicates accurately the situation and contours of the three groups. Apparently they had been known for some time. Yet the Azores are 750 miles from the nearest point on the Portuguese coast, and one-third of the way from Gibraltar to New York on a modern steamer. Therefore long before Columbus there were deep-sea sailors who were not afraid to venture far out of sight of land, farther even than the Northmen who had voyaged still earlier from Norway to the Orkneys and Shetlands, from these to the Faroe Islands, and thence to Iceland, to Greenland, and to Vinland.

The map of 1351 to which we just referred is known as the *Laurentian Portolano*. It also, possibly by a lucky guess, represents the shape of the continent of Africa more nearly correctly than does any other map before the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope at the close of the fifteenth century. The word *portolano* means a 'handy plan,' and is applied to the charts of the coast-line, of which our earliest examples date about 1300. But these first extant *portolani* are so elaborate and accurate that there must have been a preceding period of preparation before such detailed and correct charts could be produced. They are evidently the result of close observation by practical men and were made by sailors for sailors. They are the first true maps in the modern sense in the history of the world, and represent an immense and sudden advance in cartography. They give a large number of place-names, and indicate headlands, bays, and even shoals. Those which we possess are chiefly the work of Italians, and are especially accurate for the Mediterranean Sea, but often display other coasts of Europe with fidelity, and sometimes expand into world-maps like the *Laurentian Portolano*.

CHAPTER XXI

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

WHILE Latin scholars, despite their occasional experiments and original ideas, were devoting most of their time to rehashing the opinions of past Christian authors and to absorbing the recently acquired science of the Greeks and Arabs, popular writers in the new languages of Western Europe and the artists in the service of the Church were engaged primarily in new creations. The new society which had developed as an outcome of the fusion of Teutons and Romans was now ready to express itself. There were also the Celts, whose folklore and imagination do not seem to have come to the surface in Latin literature when they were provincials of the Roman Empire. There were the Germanic and Norse invaders with their new myths and legends. There was the feudal aristocracy of innumerable knights, always fighting, jousting, and crusading, until at last it wore itself out under the spurring of its own superabundant vitality.

For the sword outwears its sheath,
And the soul wears out the breast.

There were the men of the rising communes, crude as yet in manners and not over-refined in sentiment, but ambitious and industrious, and some of them artists and inventors. Now, the vast majority of the Celtic and Germanic and Norse population of Europe neither spoke nor understood Latin, and the same was true of the feudal aristocracy and the townsmen. Literature intended for them must be written in the vernacular speech of their daily life. With a few exceptions, we first find it so written in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Let us first see what the languages were in which this literature was written; then we will return to the literature itself.

The Celtic languages survived to some extent into the Middle Ages and a considerable literature was produced in medieval Ireland. But it remained apart from the main currents of European literature and was not followed by any great modern literature. The Gallic variety of Celtic had disappeared in Gaul by the fourth century. But the Brythonic (British) dialects still existed in England at the time of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, and, although they were obliterated there by the Germanic invaders, they found a refuge in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. Welsh and Breton dialects are still spoken to some extent to-day. Gaelic, the speech of the Goidels or third branch of Celts, was the language of Ireland, where many still speak it. It also prevailed for a long time in the Scottish Highlands, but is now losing ground there.

The various Teutonic tongues may be classified in three groups: first, the eastern, or Gothic, which included the languages of the Vandals and other German tribes who were located in the east of Europe before they invaded the Roman Empire; second, the northern or Scandinavian group, which was cut off from the others by Slavic inroads south of Denmark from the sixth to the ninth century; third, the western group, including High and Low German, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Dutch, and Flemish. Of the Teutonic languages during the early Middle Ages we know very little with the exception of Gothic, of which a specimen is preserved in the Bible of Ulfilas. The next Germanic language of which we have considerable remains is the Anglo-Saxon spoken in England before the Norman Conquest.

In Germany itself, using that name in a broad geographical sense, the language divided into High and Low German. As the country consists of a lofty plateau stretching north from the Alps and a lower coastal plain including the mouths of the rivers Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, so the linguistic line of demarcation may be drawn approximately from Aachen and Cologne to the confluence of the Elbe and the Saale. High German was destined to become the national speech; Low German was more closely related to the Dutch and the English languages. The medieval literature of Germany of which we shall speak was composed in Middle High German, the period of Old High German having ended about 1100.

The modern Romance languages, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, have developed from the colloquial Latin spoken in the late Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages. This change may be traced in the oaths taken by the kings of the West Franks and of the East Franks at Strassburg in 842, a document which also gives us an early specimen of German. From the eleventh century on we find many different dialects in what is now France, but on the whole here as in Germany a dividing line may be drawn marking off the two tongues of north and south. From the northern dialects modern French has grown; the southern tongue, usually called Provençal, was to disappear as a written language, but is still spoken by peasants in parts of Southern France. These two groups of dialects in France were also often called respectively the *langue d'oïl* and the *langue d'oc* from the medieval pronunciation of the word for 'Yes' in the two sections. Provençal was more closely related to the speech of Northern Italy and Northern Spain than to that of Northern France, and Catalan, the language of the north-eastern corner of the Spanish peninsula, was really a branch of Provençal.

ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE

By virtue of a literature written in the vernacular during the Anglo-Saxon period, England can boast the oldest and longest continuous literary history of any country of modern Europe. Bede, though himself writing in Latin, tells us of earlier Anglo-Saxon poetry. *Beowulf*, the outstanding Anglo-Saxon poem, is extant only in a manuscript of about the year 1000, but it is believed to have existed in its present form as early as the century before Charlemagne. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, begun in Alfred's time if not earlier, is not only the chief work in Anglo-Saxon prose, but the earliest original composition in prose in any medieval popular tongue. Anglo-Saxon, however, although it is often spoken of as Old English, is very different from the English language of later times. It is much easier for a Frenchman to understand a French poem of the twelfth century than for an Englishman to attempt to read Anglo-Saxon, in which many words and expressions are still a puzzle even to scholars.

After the Norman conquest in the eleventh century learned men and the court and nobility all spoke and wrote for some time either in Latin or in Norman French, and Anglo-Saxon went out of use as a literary language except for the continuation of the *Chronicle* to 1154. Indeed, even before the Norman conquest Anglo-Saxon literature, like the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, had already shown signs of decline. Anglo-Saxon now became simply the spoken tongue of the uneducated classes and the common people, and it was only after a long period of transformation of sounds, endings, and inflections, and of great alteration and enrichment of the vocabulary by words adopted from the French or Latin, that the language of the people again came to serve as a literary medium. Hence the first works of any importance in Middle English were not written until the thirteenth century, and not until the second half of the fourteenth do we reach, in Langland and Chaucer, the great period of English medieval literature.

The epic *Beowulf* is thought to have existed in oral recitative form for some time before it was set down in writing. It is a tale of fighting and seafaring, of heroic conflict with weird forces of nature, of slaying dragons in their watery caverns, and of draining flagons of ale in the halls of thegns. It is written in the alliterative verse usual in Anglo-Saxon poetry, where the important and accented words in a line begin with the same sound. The Eddas of Iceland too, written in the most primitive style of Icelandic verse, with stories of the gods Woden and Thor, of prophetesses and magic, of thralls and giants, seem to be a collection made in the thirteenth century from the mass of myth and legend handed down from earlier heathen times. The German *Nibelungenlied* also, though not written down until about 1200, makes use of an old story of the hero Siegfried to which there are references both in *Beowulf* and in Icelandic literature. But in the German version the old heathen gods and the primitive Northern setting have been displaced by medieval Christianity and by scenes and heroes drawn from early medieval history, such as Attila the Hun and Brunhilda the Frankish queen, while the local colour is largely that of feudal society. But the old heroes have lost none of their giant strength, nor of their colossal passions. In Iceland in the thirteenth century numerous prose sagas were composed dealing with family histories, viking adventures, and a wild, mysterious world of nature. Somewhat similar are the Celtic tales penned in Ireland at about the same period.

FRANCE LEADS IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The chief literary movements of the Middle Ages, however, originated in the Romance languages, and France was the heart and centre of the literary activity of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. France, where feudalism was at its height, whose knighthood overflowed into the British Isles, the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, Sicily and Syria, the Levant and the Orient ; France, where we shall find the cradle of Gothic architecture, that supreme artistic creation of the Middle Ages ; France, where we shall see develop the most powerful medieval monarchy—France also took the lead both in poetry and in prose, and the surrounding countries learned from her to a great extent both what they should write about and how they should write about it. And within France both the regions north and south of the Loire engaged simultaneously in the creation of new literatures. It is possible that this medieval French literature had its precursors and was the outcome of a gradual development, but we cannot trace such a process, and the writings appear before us as the spontaneous expression of a new age and unlike in form and substance to any previous literature of which we know. Although by no means entirely modern in character, it is more like the writing of modern times than it is like that of the immediately preceding ninth and tenth centuries. " Only the language is difficult ; there is nothing old-fashioned in the manner of the verse."

The north of France may claim a slight precedence over the south by virtue of the *Song of Roland*, the oldest epic in a Romance language and dating from the eleventh century. This poem, which deals with the retreat of Charlemagne from Spain and the heroic death of Roland at Roncesvalles, is devoted entirely to the tale of warfare against the Mohammedans and hardly mentions women. Yet its descriptions of rude and brutal warfare are expressed in a form which is not only stirring, but also not without literary finish. Instead of being alliterative like the verses of *Beowulf*, its ten-syllable lines are assonanced ; that is to say, a succession of lines will each end with the same vowel sound in their final syllables, although the final consonants may differ so that there is not complete rhyme.

This *Chanson de Roland* was the first of a long series of *chansons de geste*, most of which were written in the language of Northern France and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although a few continued to appear in the fourteenth. But the best ones date from the twelfth century. In all, more than a hundred of them are extant to-day, and there are thousands of lines in each. Their main theme is French feudal history, the warfare of knights with one another and with the Saracens, the great deeds of the Franks at home and abroad. The Romance poets think of Charlemagne and his peers as Frenchmen, not as Germans. Gaul has absorbed the invaders and has made them its own heroes. These poems have sometimes been called 'Charlemagne romances,' because most of them make some mention of or have some connexion with the great Frankish emperor, with whom they confuse Charles Martel. But any particular poem is apt to be about some particular vassal of Charlemagne, such as Roland, rather than about the Emperor himself, and most of the great deeds are performed by others than Charles. This, we suspect, is because the *chansons de geste* were written to please a feudal audience which did not care to have the king or emperor too much exalted. In fact, in the poems we often find Charlemagne's vassals in a state of rebellion against him, but this is explained as due to his misunderstanding and ill-treating these faithful lieges rather than to treachery or selfishness on their part.

Women receive more attention in the later *chansons de geste* than in the *Song of Roland*, but the attitude of the knights toward them is not that of romantic devotion. Indeed, it is not only not chivalrous, as we understand the word; it is often not even considerate or decent. Violent language is used by the knights to the ladies, and the latter sometimes even receive blows from their husbands, usually in the form of a good punch on the nose. Most wives are none the less devoted to their lords, while the naïve unmarried maidens do not hesitate to express openly and in his presence their decided preference for this or that young warrior. Despite these crudities, as they appear to modern taste, the literary form of the poems keeps much the same sonorous majesty as the *Song of Roland*, although rhyme has replaced assonance and the length of the line has been increased to twelve syllables.

LYRIC POETRY OF THE TROUBADOURS

The poets of Southern France showed more consideration for women, and by far the greater part of their extant poetry consists of love-songs. With them, too, the ideals of chivalry, courtesy, and romantic love had their birth. Ninety-five per cent. of their work, it is estimated, has been lost; but we know the names of nearly five hundred troubadours, as the southern singers were called, whereas most *chansons de geste* are anonymous. There is a good reason for this difference. The troubadours were expressing their own feelings and inventing new and difficult verse-forms and vying with one another in poetical contests and debates; whereas the writers of the epics were repeating, all in the same style of verse, stories about other men of the distant past. The poems of the troubadours are short compared with the northern epics, and are lyric in character, althought hey were usually sung to the accompaniment of the lute and not, as among the ancient Greeks, to that of the lyre.

These lyrics of the south were, like the *chansons de geste*, a literature for and about the upper class in feudal society. Fully half of the troubadours whose names are known were feudal lords or vassals. Their poems show that social life in the south was refined, courtly, and even luxurious. Feudal marriages were generally made at an early age and for family or political reasons, so that the ladies whom the troubadours worshipped and to whom they addressed their amorous lays seldom became their wives. In fact they were usually already married to some one else. Public opinion was little shocked by this circumstance, however, and it was quite common for the lady of a castle to accept some knight or troubadour as her devoted follower and protector, and to invest him in token thereof with a ring and a kiss. The story goes that when one jealous and irate husband slew the troubadour who had been making love to his wife and served his heart to her at dinner, and she killed herself, the King of Aragon, who was the overlord of both the husband and the troubadour, cast the murderer into prison for life, but buried the two lovers in the same tomb and ordained an annual festival in their honour.

The sweet and musical Provençal language was admirably adapted to lyric poetry, and enabled the troubadours to express themselves both with ease and with perfection in every variety of metre and intricate rhyme. Besides the ordinary love-song and the lighter *cansonetta*, there were dancing-songs, and the *serena*, in which the lover sighs for the coming of night, and the *alba*, in which he laments the return of the dawn.

> Ah God, ah God, that day should be so soon!

Their verses, moreover, did not deal exclusively with the passion of love, but might be war-songs, satires, threats of vengeance, plaints for the dead, burlesques, or dialogues and debates of an intellectual character. The troubadours were literary artists; they were also clever if narrow thinkers, and they possessed no slight power of psychological analysis of character and motive. We find in them further a feeling for the beauty in nature.

The poetry of the troubadours developed early and matured rapidly. Guilhem or William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1086–1127), was the first known troubadour. He sang of love, war, and many other topics in a manner gay and light-hearted, humorous and sarcastic, sensual and licentious. "He knew well how to sing and make verses, and for a long time he roamed all through the land to deceive ladies," says the Provençal biography of him. He went on crusade, and when he returned from Palestine, after having his army destroyed by the Turks in Asia Minor, he recounted his varied adventures in burlesque verse. The twelfth century was the flowering time of Provençal poetry: the bitter struggle against heresy and the cruel Albigensian Crusade were disastrous to the southern feudal courts and to the troubadours, and the history of Provençal literature ends with the thirteenth century.

PROVENÇAL INFLUENCE ON OTHER LANDS

But the troubadours themselves and their verse, methods, and ideals spread to other lands, and almost every literature in a modern European language has been affected by them. The poets of other countries learned from the troubadours many lessons in literary form; their refining influence upon manners was also widely felt and their attitude toward women was generally adopted. Provençal literature continued in Catalonia, Navarre, Aragon, and Valencia after it had disappeared in Southern France. Through the thirteenth century Italian poetry was being shaped under the influence of the troubadours; they were paralleled in Northern France by the *trouvères*, who were already in existence by the twelfth century, and in Germany in the thirteenth century by the *minnesingers*, or 'love poets.' The *trouvères* set up love-courts with most elaborate and artificial codes of gallantry and sentiment, but seem inferior to the southern troubadours in grace and naturalness. Among the German *minnesingers*, however, was found perhaps the greatest of all medieval lyric poets, Walther von der Vogelweide (Walter of the Bird-meadow).

THE COURTLY EPIC

From the south we turn back again to the north of France to consider other varieties of literature which developed there a little later than the *chansons de geste*. By the latter part of the twelfth century the southern court life and higher regard for women began to affect the northern epics, especially since actual social conditions in the north also were growing more settled and refined. Consequently the courtly epic of the thirteenth century, with its glorification of love and ladies, became quite different from the twelfth-century *chansons de geste.*

The poets also began to seek new themes for their lays. A French *trouvère* of the thirteenth century wrote of the epics of his time :

> Ne sont que trois matières à nul homme entendant,
> De France, de Bretaigne, et de Rome la grant.

This division of the medieval romantic epic into three great cycles has been generally accepted by modern historians of literature. The *chansons de geste* dealt with ' the matter of France.' By the thirteenth century, if not before, poets were also telling stories of King Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, of the wizard Merlin and a world of fairies and enchantment, and of the search for the Holy Grail. This was the cycle ' de Bretaigne,' a word meaning either Britain or Brittany. Arthur seems to have been a king of Britain who struggled against the Anglo-Saxon invaders and whose memory was cherished and made the basis of legends by the fugitive Celts in either Brittany or Wales or both. The French writers then took over the theme either by direct contact with Bretons on the Continent or through the medium of the French-speaking Normans in England and Normandy. The French poets doubtless embellished the legends with additions of their own and from other sources, but we may nevertheless see in the Arthurian romances a considerable Celtic contribution to the main current of European literature. The stories of King Arthur, like other French romances, spread to Germany, and there gave rise to the two great epics *Tristan* and *Parsifal.*

Under ' the matter of Rome ' we shall have to include not only the story of Æneas and the siege of Troy, but many other Greek legends, such as the stories of Thebes and of the Argonautic expedition. Many changes were made in these tales from their original classical versions, and the heroes and their environment were represented as knights of feudal times. An especial favourite was the romance of Alexander, who became almost as celebrated in medieval vernacular literature as his tutor Aristotle was esteemed in medieval Latin learning. And as Aristotle had been admired and commented upon by the Arabs before most of his works were known to the Christian West, so the story of Alexander exists in Persian, Syriac, Coptic, Æthiopic, Hebrew, and Armenian, as well as in Greek, Latin, and Romance versions. The story of his early career in Macedon, his victories over the Persian Empire, and his campaigns to the frontiers of India and Tibet had grown under the workings of Oriental and medieval imagination into a series of marvellous adventures in the Far East and of feudal *mêlées* after the style of the *chansons de geste*. From the twelve-syllable lines employed in these romances concerning Alexander comes the term ‘Alexandrines.’

REYNARD THE FOX AND THE *ROMANCE OF THE ROSE*

Two of the most interesting and important of the medieval French romances do not belong to any of the above cycles, but stand each by itself—namely, the *Romance of Reynard the Fox* and the *Romance of the Rose*. The former is really a collection of narratives by divers authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In part, at least, it is of Flemish origin. It draws its characters from the animal world, but often attributes human traits to them, just as the books of science in Latin often did in enumerating the qualities and properties of the lion and other beasts. Reynard is a clever rascal, full of tricks and plausible talk, gay and well pleased with himself, but sharp and malicious, and without any moral scruples whatever. Some have thought him a satire upon the robber knight of the period. Indeed, this beast epic is throughout a keen satire not only upon medieval society, but upon human nature in all ages. The poem also illustrates the medieval fondness for animals and sympathy with them which we shall meet again in the carvings on the cathedrals.

The *Romance of the Rose* is an allegorical story. The author is represented as dreaming and seeing various virtues and vices personified. In other words, abstractions, such as False-Seeming, Largess, Courtesy, and Reason, are the characters of the *Romance of the Rose,* instead of beasts, such as Bernard the ass, Dame Fière the lioness, Isengrim the wolf, and Chantecler the cock, in *Reynard the Fox.* The Rose represents the loved one whom the lover seeks to win throughout the poem. This romance was begun by William of Lorris in the first half of the thirteenth century, perhaps about 1235, and was completed some forty years later by John of Meung, a place on the river Loire. William's briefer part of the poem is an allegorical love-story with descriptions of a beautiful garden and the wonderful singing of the birds therein. John continues the story, but digresses or makes his characters digress to discuss all sorts of subjects, scientific, historical, and social, showing us that in the thirteenth century people who could neither speak nor read Latin might nevertheless learn not a little of both nature and the human past as well as of present political and social problems. The lover's quest at last is brought to a successful termination and the poem closes with the couplets :

> Here ends the romance called 'The Rose,'
> Where all the art of love's enclosed :
> And Nature laughs, it seems to me,
> When joined at last are He and She.

If the *chansons de geste* and many other romances were written largely for the feudal nobles and their ladies, in the *fabliaux,* which may be called short stories in verse, we have a variety of literature more adapted to the *bourgeois* society of the towns, whose ordinary daily life the *fabliaux* often depict, although some of them are stock stories of all times. As might be expected, the *fabliaux* are liable to be coarse ; they are full of satire, especially at the expense of women and priests ; and they picture the life of the people vividly and humorously. Of those extant the oldest was written in the middle of the twelfth century, while the latest, like the last true *chansons de geste,* were produced in the early fourteenth century.

In the mysteries and miracle plays, which represented Bible stories and the lives of saints and which were at first presented by the clergy in Latin, there came to be the same popular element that we have seen in the *fabliaux*. Laymen, especially of the gilds, were by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries giving such plays in the vernaculars of France, Germany, and England. The medieval audience enjoyed the introduction of scenes from daily life, as when the three Marys stop on their way to the sepulchre to purchase the spices of a merchant, or of comic relief and horse-play, as when Noah is knocked down by his angry wife. Even less literary in character than the mystery and miracle plays were the mummeries and other folk-festivals of a dramatic character.

Medieval French Prose

In the thirteenth century there began to be French prose literature, especially historical writing. The first important work was a contemporary account of the Fourth Crusade by Villehardouin. Some of the Arthurian romances were written in prose, and *Aucassin et Nicolete*, one of the most charming of all love-stories, is part prose and part verse.

Such were some of the chief varieties and masterpieces of that literature, great both in quantity and quality, produced from the eleventh to the early fourteenth century within the limits of modern France and in Romance languages, "exhibiting finish of structure when all the rest were merely barbarian novices, exploring every literary form from history to drama, and epic to song, while others were stammering their exercises mostly learnt from her."

Spain: *The Cid*

There were three groups of Romance tongues in medieval Spain. In the western group of Galicia and Portugal no literature of importance had yet appeared. In Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Valencia, as we have already seen, the troubadours from Southern France held the field. But in Castile, whose tongue was to become the national speech of Spain, there had already been written, some time between 1150 and 1250, the *Poema del Cid*, an epic with a Spanish hero. Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252–1284), already mentioned as a patron of learning, also did much to encourage writing in Spanish, and had learned Arabian works translated into Castilian rather than into Latin. The Bible was translated into the vernacular in his reign, a great collection of laws was issued called *Las Siete Partidas* ('The Seven Parts'), and prose histories in the Castilian tongue began to appear. Alfonso was himself somewhat both of a poet and of a musician.

ITALIAN LITERATURE: DANTE

In medieval Italy poetry first developed in the south in Sicily under Provençal inspiration. Frederick II was a patron of literature as well as of science, and was regarded by Dante as 'the father of Italian poetry.' In the course of the thirteenth century the Italians produced an important new verse-form, the sonnet. But it is with the great name of Dante, who lived from 1265 to 1321, that we first become conscious of an Italian literature distinct from the Provençal and of the creation of a national literary language. Since he also was the greatest and the best known of all medieval poets, and since he wrote just as the French romances and lyrics and *fabliaux* were passing, we may close with him our account of the prime of medieval literature.

Dante was born in Florence, fought for his city and wrote love-verses like many other young gentlemen of his day, and in 1300 become one of the six priors who composed the chief board of magistrates. The usual party strife and revolutions were in process, and besides there was trouble with the Pope. By 1302 the opposite party came into power. Dante was accused of peculation during his recent term of office, and was first fined and banished for two years, then condemned by the angry commune to be burned at the stake with fourteen others of his party. He always protested his innocence, and was probably simply the victim of party animosity, but he had to spend the rest of his life in bitter exile and wandering, although he found some powerful patrons, such as the despot of Verona.

Dante was well educated, like the second author of the *Romance of the Rose.* He knew Aristotle and his philosophy, Aquinas and his theology, and was well acquainted with the two leading medieval sciences of astronomy and astrology. He could write in Latin if he chose, and he knew a good deal about the great heroes and writers of antiquity. He also had had experience of contemporary politics, and, by his wanderings from city to city and court to court, had acquired a wide fund of information concerning leading men of the present or the recent past, and a deep insight into human nature. Yet he was strongly inclined toward allegory and mystic forms of expression, and was at heart a stern moralist, lofty idealist, and devout Roman Catholic.

Dante's earliest considerable work was the *Vita Nuova,* in which he tells and sings in a mystic, dreamy, and exalted way of his early love for Beatrice and of her untimely death. His *Convivio,* or 'Banquet,' is a more elaborate and learned composition, discussing in philosophical fashion such questions as What is true nobility? and What is true love? This feast of reason is not set forth in Latin for the learned alone, but in Italian, so that many may partake thereof. Dante declares that Italian is as suitable for literary purposes as any other vernacular, even the Provençal. He also defended his mother tongue in a scholarly Latin treatise, entitled *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* upholding it even against Latin and further giving us much information about Italian dialects and medieval verse-forms. In Latin prose from his pen we have an important political treatise, the *De Monarchia,* on what he held to be the true relations between the Pope and the Emperor.

But by far his greatest work, and the one that gave fullest play to his wide learning and experience and varied talents, was the *Commedia,* or *Divine Comedy,* as his admirers called it, a long poem in a hundred cantos and three chief parts, namely, *Hell, Purgatory,* and *Paradise.* Dante, in imagination, visits the other world, and his guide at first is Vergil, whose account of the realm of Hades in the sixth book of the *Æneid* was familiar throughout the Middle Ages, and who was then regarded not only as the greatest Latin poet, but as an allegorical philosopher, and even by some as a magician. We must realize that there was hardly any subject of such universal interest to medieval men as the other world. Otherworldliness had been a leading trait of early Christianity and of monasticism. The medieval chroniclers who wrote world-histories customarily closed their narratives with a very circumstantial account of the Last Judgment and future life of both the blest and the damned. Indeed, they frequently seem to have fuller and more authentic information upon such points than concerning the events of past centuries, which were often shrouded for them in obscurity and legend. Over the doors of many a medieval cathedral, too, the Last Judgment was represented vividly carved in stone, sometimes with the dead rising from their coffins and pushing up the covers or being dragged off in chains by demons armed with pincers to a seething caldron. We can understand, then, that Dante's vivid description of the hereafter would be well received, especially since it went into specific personalities and definitely located in hell or elsewhere many recent celebrities.

Hell is depicted by Dante as a large hole in the earth, circular in shape and gradually narrowing to a point at the earth's centre. Around the slopes of this huge conical cavity run nine successive circles or zones in which famous sinners both of the remote and recent past pay the penalty for their misdeeds. Those guilty of the worst crimes are in the circles nearest the earth's centre, and their sufferings are correspondingly greater. Exactly at the centre of the earth the arch-fiend Lucifer is for ever embedded in eternal ice, with his head pointing upward toward the city of Jerusalem. He has three faces, and in their mouths he gnaws the three arch-traitors of history, Judas who betrayed Christ, and Brutus and Cassius who assassinated Julius Cæsar. Vergil takes Dante on his back and scrambles down Lucifer's shaggy body to the centre of the earth, and then ascends his hairy legs in the opposite direction and reaches a long tunnel which leads them upward to the Mount of Purgatory. This Mount forms the only island in the great southern Ocean. It was peradventure (says Dante) produced by the impact of Lucifer, who fell from heaven on the southern side of the globe, and threw up behind him, like a mole, a huge amount of earth as he pierced his way to the centre, marking his track by the tunnel. Around the mountain runs a series of seven terraces, typifying the seven deadly sins, upon which souls that eventually will be saved are undergoing varying degrees of penance. As Lucifer was at the pit of hell, so the earthly paradise or Garden of Eden is on the flat summit of Purgatory, and here Dante has a vision of his loved Beatrice. Under her guidance he then ascends through the celestial spheres of the moon, Mercury, Venus, and the sun, and has converse with such notables as Justinian and Aquinas, and in the fifth sphere, of Mars, sees those who had died fighting for the faith. Dante of course believed with Ptolemy that the sun and other planets moved about the earth in concentric orbits. After the spheres of the seven planets comes the eighth heaven of the fixed stars, the ninth or crystalline heaven, or *primum mobile,* and lastly the empyrean heaven, where beyond the nine corporeal spheres is the throne of God Triune and the realm of pure intellect and love. To Dante is granted a momentary revelation of this surpassing and ineffable mystery, and with this the poem ends.

Dante's *Commedia* is, as we have said, the greatest poem of medieval literature, but it is also one of the last, and we can see in it signs of decline. The troubadours had been full of joy in this world and its birds and flowers and women ; the *chansons de geste* had rung with the joy of battle and the vigour of manhood ; the *fabliaux* had attested the crude vitality of the *bourgeois.* But Dante, deprived early of his beloved Beatrice, disappointed in the politics of his time, disgusted with the Papacy and despairing of the Empire of his day, and with no city that he can call his own, turns from this world to purify his own soul and to warn the society of his time by a picture of the consequences of sin and error, and to seek consolation in a survey of the great departed spirits of the past and of the glory of the world to come. He has lost the gaiety and self-confidence of the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in him the soul of the Middle Ages indeed "wears out the breast."

CHAPTER XXII

THE MEDIEVAL CATHEDRALS

THE medieval revival of civilization which we have already traced in other fields was accompanied by a resumption of building on a large scale and in a durable and monumental fashion, such as had marked the heyday of the Roman Empire. Of the feudal castle and municipal buildings we have already said something. But by far the grandest architecture of the time was ecclesiastical. Indeed, the remains of this medieval religious architecture which have survived to our time surpass in number, interest, and artistic merit the ruins from any previous period of the world's history. A cathedral was the external expression in material but artistic form of the vast power of the Church in those days and of the religious spirit of the Middle Ages. It was an effort to symbolize the Church in its entirety, to build a fitting house for God and all the saints. We have seen how Augustine in his literary masterpiece, *The City of God,* a work which dominated Christian thought for many centuries, opposed to the declining world of ancient Rome the eternal commonwealth of God's elect, and sketched in his fervid rhetoric the ideals and interests of that Church here on earth which strives toward the kingdom of heaven. The cathedral-builders did in stone what he had done in words, and they did it better. His arguments were sometimes weaker than his rhetoric, but their adornment was in close accord with their structure. Few read Augustine's book to-day, but many cross the oceans to see the handiwork of those anonymous architects.

The cathedrals were the greatest product of the Middle Ages, and they were a work that only the Middle Ages could produce. They show us what the Church could accomplish at a time when it had great wealth and power and when every one belonged to it and believed in it. They show what Christian society could accomplish by its united industry and imagination. For as the pope and feudal lords had cordially co-operated in the expansion of Christendom and the early crusades, so the clergy and the communes, whatever quarrels they may have had over the control of town government, joined hands in the work of building a vast church which would not only glorify religion, but be a credit to the city and serve as a centre of civic life. Thus the Italian communes vied with one another in the size and splendour of their churches, each trying to outdo its neighbour. When one of two warring cities captured any notable trophies from its adversary, it would place them on permanent exhibition in its cathedral. The spacious nave and aisles also provided a splendid assembly hall for festive occasions, and the church served the purpose of a modern art museum.

We cannot, or at any rate we do not, build such structures to-day, and many a modern city with a population ten times as great has no edifice that can compare with the chief church in dozens of French provincial towns. Christians nowadays are divided into many bodies ; some of these do not care for especially expensive or artistic church buildings ; and none of them can count on the general support of the community in such an enterprise. Nor is there any other modern institution or ideal which unites and dominates society and thought as did the Church in the Middle Ages. It is true that society is richer to-day and that builders have the advantage of innumerable modern inventions. The demands of modern business have produced office buildings higher and railway stations larger than any medieval cathedral ; but as works of art the modern structures are vastly inferior. And the reason is that modern architects have not worked out an original style of their own, but in the main copy past architectural styles. They lack the interest and zest which go to the creation of a new style. And they seem to lack inspiration, for trusts and railways apparently have no noble conceptions to express in their buildings, no legends to depict, no ideals to embody, no effects to produce.

But the world since the Middle Ages not only has produced no original edifices to compare with the creations of the medieval architects ; it seldom even makes a good copy of a Gothic church ; and to reproduce entire one of those vaulted cathedrals with all its wonderful detail would now involve great difficulty and expense. For one thing, not enough workmen with sufficient artistic ability could be secured without paying exorbitant wages. We have more money and machinery to-day than they had then, but there are things which money cannot buy. The inventive brains and deft fingers that fitted and fashioned the stones of the medieval minsters are working now in laboratories and clinics, and serving science instead of religion. Finally, most modern buildings are finished in a few years, and often do not last much longer. On the other hand, we must remember that many cathedrals as we see them to-day represent in their various parts the work of several generations or even centuries. But we only marvel the more at the hold which this form of art had upon the men of the past, and at the way in which they kept at it. They might well take their time in their constructions or add new ornament to the ancient edifice, for they were building for eternity.

Strictly speaking, a cathedral is the church of a bishop, but in this chapter we shall use the word to refer to any great medieval church edifice, whether the abbey of some large monastery or a collegiate church in a large town and so served by a number of secular canons or other clergy. Many of the most important early Romanesque churches were monastic ; it was only as the towns fully developed that the bishops residing in them were able to afford great churches ; and even at a later date other churches might be built in the towns which rivalled the cathedrals proper in size and beauty.

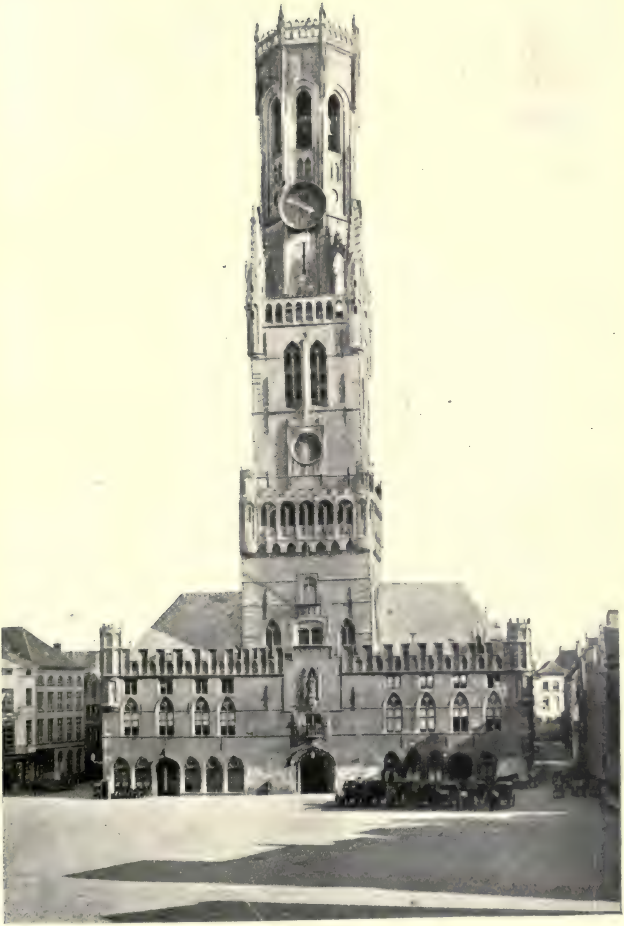
THE ROMANESQUE PERIOD

To the architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is given the name ' Romanesque ' or ' Romanic,' because of its having developed out of the building of the Roman Empire, just as many languages of the Middle Ages are called 'Romance' languages because of their growth from the spoken Latin of the late Empire. Sometimes this art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is called 'Later Romanesque,' to distinguish it from the building of the earlier Middle Ages. But inasmuch as the earlier architecture may be readily distinguished as either basilican or Byzantine in style, we shall for the sake of convenience and brevity reserve the term Romanesque for the architecture of Western Christian Europe from about the year 1000 onward. For three hundred years before that date there had been no architectural activity worthy of note in the West. After that date the building which we call Romanesque was not merely an imitation or even a continuation of Roman architecture; much of it was experimental, progressive, full of variety, and marked by new features. Beginning with the eleventh century, too, Romanesque architecture in the West abandoned the round plan and chiefly built churches with long central naves and side aisles. Most of the round buildings of the preceding period were replaced by these larger edifices in the new style, and were themselves henceforth used as baptisteries where they survived at all. Some use was still made of the dome, and even large churches were sometimes constructed without aisles, but on the whole the early Christian basilica was the type from which the Romanesque developed.

The new churches, however, differed in a number of respects from the basilicas which we described in the eighth chapter. For one thing they were usually distinctly cruciform in plan, with transepts. The nave and aisles were often much longer than in a basilica, owing to their being continued beyond the transepts to form a spacious choir. The semicircular protuberance or apse at the east end of the church now has a diameter equal to the width of the building, so that the two side aisles meet there in a curved ambulatory behind the high altar, which was placed at this curved end of the choir. Sometimes beyond and surrounding this ambulatory are a series of secondary apses or radiating chapels. These additions of a choir and transepts about tripled the space covered by the building. The general features of this cruciform plan were to be retained in the later Gothic style. A feature found more in Romanesque than in Gothic cathedrals was the raising of the level of the floor of the choir considerably above that of the rest of the building so as to give room for a crypt underneath.

As a rule Romanesque builders made their churches loftier as well as larger than previous ones. This increased height of both nave and aisles made necessary larger and stronger supporting columns between the nave and the aisles. Often they became several feet in diameter, and sometimes massive piers were substituted for columns or were alternated with them to give increased support. The round arches which connected the rows of piers or columns were now broader and higher in order to harmonize with their more massive supports. Above these arches opening into the aisles no longer appeared the horizontal strip of mosaic of the Ravenna basilicas, but a second series of archways opening or appearing to open into galleries above the aisles. Above this *triforium*, as it came to be called, and beneath the roof, were the windows of the clear-story. Most Romanesque churches, especially when first built, had light, flat roofs of wooden timbers over their lofty naves. The lower and narrower aisles were more usually vaulted with round arches or barrel vaults, since their outer walls could be strengthened to resist the outward thrust of the arches by projecting pilaster strips which formed solid buttresses resting directly upon the ground.

The churches of Rome, Central Italy, and Tuscany kept the closest to the old columnar basilica, as we may illustrate by the cathedral at Pisa, perhaps the finest Romanesque church in Italy. It has transepts, a lengthened choir, great height, and an elliptical dome over the crossing of nave and transepts. But the main body of the building is covered with a wooden roof, and there are bare pent-roofs over its double aisles. Like the basilicas at Ravenna, it has a detached round campanile, the famous Leaning Tower. In the half-dome of its apse is a mosaic, and sixty-eight classical columns taken from older buildings carry the arcades on which the



22. The Belfry of Bruges

walls of its nave rest. The exterior, however, has some Romanesque features common to churches of this period and which relieve the monotony of its plain walls, although at Pisa these would be beautiful anyway, owing to the golden, creamy marbles of which they are built. First, pilaster strips project at frequent intervals from the wall and carry a blind arcade or series of engaged round arches. Secondly, the exterior wall surface is interrupted at certain places by open colonnades, which are set in it, and which are composed of small columns with connecting arches and with an open gallery between them and the blank wall behind. The favourite place for such dwarf galleries was just under the eaves of the roof and especially around the curve of the apse, but at Pisa there are two colonnades one above the other on the apse; four rows form the upper part of the façade, while the Leaning Tower is encircled from top to bottom with such colonnades.

In Northern Italy more of an effect at vaulting was made, but it was especially in the Romanesque building of Southern France and of the Cluniac monks in Burgundy that all sorts of attempts were early made to solve the problem of a stone roof. Sometimes the architects tried a series of small domes or cupolas over different sections of the church, sometimes plain round vaults, sometimes groin-vaults made by the intersection of two round ones. The great and almost insurmountable difficulty was to roof the broad nave with a vault of stone and yet have windows to light the church in the very thick and solid walls necessary to resist the thrust of such a vault. Window openings, however, were now splayed or made with sloping sides so as to admit more light and prevent rain-water from settling, as it would on a flat window-ledge.

Southern France also showed progress in sculpture and ornamentation. At Poitiers and Angoulême are churches from this period whose façades are almost completely covered with sculptured figures and terminate at either side in ornamental towers. Instead of the plain cubical capital so often found in Romanesque churches, all sorts of figures and designs are employed upon the capitals of the columns, and the ends of the corbels are carved into grotesque human, animal, and imaginary heads. We also discover first in Southern France the treating together as a unified architectural composition of the three front portals opening into nave and aisles respectively.

In Germany the chief Romanesque structures were the great cathedrals of the Rhine cities and bishoprics, Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. The interiors of these three churches average 400 feet in length and 100 feet in height of nave. At first they had flat wooden roofs, but were later vaulted. They have double choirs and a dome, and two towers at either end of the building. These relieve the long, horizontal lines and bare expanse of slanting roof of nave and aisles and add a vertical or upward effect. We find the usual blind arcades and dwarf galleries. Similar in style to these Rhenish churches are the Romanesque portions of the cathedral at Tournai in Belgium, which did not receive a vaulted roof until the eighteenth century. Its four towers, however, instead of being in pairs at both ends, are grouped together at the four corners of the crossing.

NORMAN ARCHITECTURE

By the expression 'Norman architecture' is indicated that of England and North-western France during the Romanesque period. There is no English cathedral which has come down essentially unaltered from that time, but there are many which in greater or less part are Norman in character, especially Durham, Norwich, Peterborough, Ely, and Winchester. The Norman churches usually had two square towers at either side of the west front, a comparatively low and heavy square tower or lantern over the crossing of nave and transepts, and a round apse at the east end. Although originally not vaulted, their interiors were nevertheless very impressive from the length of the nave, the height of its side walls, and the regular and rhythmic succession of massive piers or huge round pillars and of arches which composed those walls. In respect of ornamentation, however, the Norman work is rather rough. Their sculpture was mainly geometrical, consisting of saw-edge teeth or zigzag and spiral grooves cut in pillars or arches, and often hewn with an axe. When they attempted a few animal or human or angelic figures, in the semicircular space above a door in an archway or on the sides of a massive baptismal font that one might well mistake for a horse-trough, the work was generally crude and indistinct.

Northern French Origin of Gothic Architecture

Our discussion of Romanesque architecture omitted, with the exception of Normandy and Flanders, the provinces of Northern and East Central France, because here in especial experimentation was going on which resulted, in the twelfth century, in the creation of the Gothic style. Champagne and the Ile de France were rather backward in the Romanesque period, but they were to take the lead in the production of the new style, just as from the neighbourhood of Paris and the royal court came the dialect that was to become the French language. The misleading name 'Gothic' was foisted upon this style of architecture by Italians of the Renaissance period in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who had no sympathy with any but classical buildings, and who, because a good deal of the perverted Gothic architecture in their own Italy had come to them by way of Germany, concluded that Gothic was a fitting name for a style which they believed to be the work of a barbarous age. Nor did the French at that time care to claim Gothic art as their own creation, since they too had gone back to imitation of classical art and for centuries neglected their marvellous medieval churches. Only in the course of the last century, together with the Romantic movement in literature and the better knowledge of the Middle Ages resulting from modern historical scholarship, has there been real investigation, comprehension, and appreciation of Gothic architecture.

It has been said that "the inert principle of construction, the massive walls, the small apertures, and the horizontal lines of the Romanesque architecture make it still closely akin to the old Roman style." Gothic, instead of being inert, is a decidedly energetic construction where thrust and counter-thrust are in perfect equilibrium. Instead of massive walls, it scarcely has walls at all. Its vaulted stone roof is upheld by a network of stone ribs and flying buttresses which carry the weight to a few selected points where adequate piers and buttresses receive and support it. Instead of small apertures, the front and sides and end of the cathedral are almost continuous sheets of stained glass, separated into arched windows only by the ribs of the structural skeleton. Instead of horizontal lines, every column and arch and rib and vault and roof and buttress carries the eye upward. The church is actually higher than the average Romanesque church, and it appears to be vastly more so. These changes have been effected largely through two important innovations, the pointed arch and the flying buttress.

Hitherto the round arch had been employed in vaulting, in nave arches, in triforium, in doorways and windows, and in all architectural adornment. It seriously restricted the builders, since it must be always exactly half as high as its width and since all arches of the same height or width must be exactly alike. The pointed arch had been known before Gothic architecture began, but the systematic employment of it both in structure and ornamentation is characteristic of the Gothic. Pointed vaults and arches permit almost endless variety, since height and width do not have to be in any fixed ratio. And they are stronger structurally, since they do not tend to spread outward as much as the Roman arch. By coming to a point at the top they lead the eye upward, and were especially adapted to the lofty effects which the architects were striving to obtain.

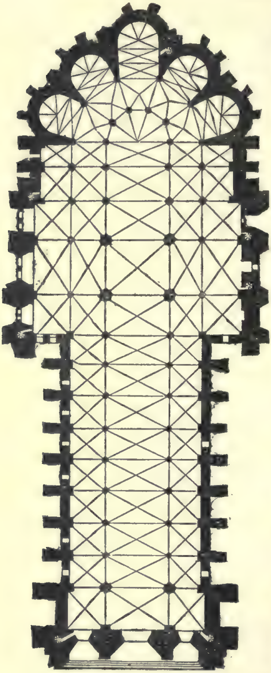
A solid buttress rests on the ground and is built directly into or against the wall of a building at points where additional thickness and strength are necessary. We have seen that the outer walls of the side aisles were often so braced in Romanesque buildings. But the loftier and heavier walls of the nave above the roofs of the aisles could not be so braced. Here the flying buttress came in. Touching the wall of the nave only at one end, it sprang clear of the roof of the aisle in an arc of stone whose other extremity rested on one of the solid buttresses that rose from the ground to meet it. Thus no new weight was put upon the roof of the aisle, and the buttresses of the outer walls of the aisles were made to bear the burden of the nave wall as well. Of course, to do this, they had to be made thicker. The flying buttresses, moreover, not merely propped up the side walls of the nave, but were placed at the proper points to receive the thrust of the heavy vaulted roof. Of course, some of the weight of the nave walls and roof still rested on the rows of columns within the church, but these did not need to be as massive as before. As a matter of fact they remained nearly as great in actual diameter as before, but were made higher and were placed at greater intervals apart. Also the square piers and huge round pillars were replaced by more graceful clusters of slender columns, which hid the central core of masonry that united and strengthened them, and from which as they rose diverged the supporting ribs of the arched vaulting overhead. Since these ribs, columns, and flying buttresses supported the whole burden of the vaulting, it was no longer necessary to have thick or solid walls in the nave, and the clear-story could be given over almost entirely to windows, especially as the flying buttresses cut off practically no light from outside.

In speaking of pointed arches, flying buttresses, columns, and ribs in vaulting, we have faintly suggested the increased grace, variety, and elaborateness of architectural elements in a Gothic cathedral. We cannot attempt to deal here with all the detail of shafts, capitals, mouldings, groining, and other architectural features which enriched the Gothic style. It had little need for wall paintings or mosaics and had little flat wall space available for them. But, although the construction itself gave rise to a deal of ornamentation, it was further adorned with sculpture and enriched with stained glass.

Gothic architecture itself often seems an exquisite lacework in stone which might be the masterpiece of some giant sculptor. Medieval sculpture, on the other hand, was usually subordinated to architectural purposes. Some very crude and some very fine sculpture were produced in connexion with the cathedrals. The statues were as a rule carved from the same stone that was used in building the church, and were made to fit into the architectural scheme and often to fill a certain place. Consequently their proportions may be unnatural in themselves but are just right to harmonize with the building. They differ further from classical sculpture in that their aim is not to express beauty and physical grace, but saintliness and devotion, or to symbolize some Christian doctrine or mystery. Realism and grotesque humour often appear, however, just as in the *fabliaux* and the mystery and miracle plays. Remarkable fancy is evidenced in some of the strange monsters and chimeras on buttress and parapet, and wonderfully delicate stone carving is seen in the interior of many churches large and small. Sometimes even the shafts of small columns and the mouldings of arches were intricately carved, and sculptured heads covered the groining of the arches and the springing of the vaults. Even the coarser external work exposed to the weather was executed with remarkable fidelity, and sometimes animal grotesques high up on the roof were carefully sculptured in every muscle and fold of their skins, behind as well as in front and below as well as above. Either the artist thought that God would see it even if men did not, or he executed the work so thoroughly because he liked to do it. Such were the sculptors who in carving floral designs about a capital would amuse themselves by occasionally converting a petal into a face or hide an imp in a mass of foliage. In the choir stalls the under sides of the folding seats were sometimes covered with the most exquisite wood-carving.

In place of the Byzantine mosaics the Gothic cathedrals had transparent coloured designs in their stained-glass windows. We first learn of the making of stained glass from a treatise on various industrial and artistic processes written by the monk Theophilus in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century the colouring matter was diffused into the mass of glass while it was yet in the melting-pot, so that it was coloured all through and was of a brighter hue than in later times when it was merely tinted upon the surface. The windows were made up of small bits of glass which were pieced together and held in place by leads. This thirteenth-century glass was imperfect in character, and since the fragments of it differed further in shape and size, the rays of light in passing through them were broken up the more, and there was much blending of the different colours and very brilliant effects were produced like the glittering of jewels. The leads were skilfully employed to form the outlines of the human and other figures depicted in the design, whereas later, in the sixteenth century, when large plates of painted glass were used, the leads were arranged in mechanical squares, and would sometimes run across a saint's face or sever his body. In the fourteenth century it was discovered how to stain glass yellow by means of silver ; before this, purple had been the favourite colour, but it did not admit as much light. It was also discovered early in the fourteenth century that, by dipping the blow-pipe first into liquid glass of one colour and then into that of another colour, a sheet of glass could be blown of one colour on one side and another on the reverse. Less glass has survived from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, than from the thirteenth and sixteenth. After the latter century interest in stained glass ceased and the art practically died out. Also religious fanatics smashed many of the wonderful old windows as well as the statues of the cathedrals.

The most ornamented portion of the medieval Gothic cathedral was usually the façade or west front. Here was the main entrance in the form of recessed portals, generally three in number, smybolic of the Trinity, and whose sides and arches were completely covered with statuary. These recessed portals also served the purpose of concealing and adorning the lower parts of the great buttresses which supported the front of the church—a good instance of the close relationship that was almost invariably observed between structure and decoration. On either side of the portals rose towers completely masking the roofs of the aisles. Over the portals and between the towers was a large round or rose window perhaps forty feet in diameter lighting that end of the nave. Above or beneath it were rows of statues or decorative arcades and colonnades. The buttresses before mentioned were ornamented in one way or another in their upper portions, sometimes by niches and canopies cut in them, in and under which stood large single statues. This sculptured screen which we have suggested was usually carried up between the towers so that it entirely hid the ridge-pole of the nave behind it.



Ground-plan of Rheims Cathedral

If we leave the front of the cathedral and walk along either side, we see the line of solid and flying buttresses clothing and supporting the main body of the church. In the earliest Gothic churches these props were left bare and heavy, but soon they were made graceful in form, were adorned with carvings, mouldings, and statues, and sometimes were even perforated with arched and circular openings. It is necessary to check the outward thrust of the flying arch at the point where the flying buttress rests on the solid support below, and this was done by superimposing at this point a beautiful stone pinnacle or a statue of more than life-size, which served to clamp down the outer end of the flying arch. The long line of these pinnacles and statues, the intricate tracery of the flying buttresses, and the fantastic gargoyles in which terminate the eaves-spouts that carry the rain-water off the roofs clear of the stonework below, form a graceful and symmetrical thicket of architecture and sculpture which half conceals and half discloses the main building. We get new vistas and effects where the transept projects at a right angle, and again where the apse curves in a semicircle. The end of the transept has another rose window, and sometimes rather elaborately decorated portals, so that it forms a sort of combination of, or cross between, the features of the façade and of the side of the nave. The exterior of the choir, too, is often treated somewhat differently from the nave, although in general harmony with it.

In short, to get a satisfactory appreciation of the exterior of a Gothic cathedral one must walk all round it and survey it carefully from top to bottom. As the Psalmist says, " Walk about Zion, and go round about her : tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces ; that ye may tell it to the generation following." High aloft on the arcades of the apse, the parapets of the roof, or the battlements of the towers are not only figures of saints and angels, but various animals and chimeras, goblins and demons, forces of the mysterious world of nature and of the other spiritual world, forces for evil as well as forces for good, since both exist in this world by divine permission. These, together with the bristling array of pinnacles and buttresses and the statues and gargoyles upon them, guard, as it were, the sanctuary within or threaten those who remain without. He who wishes to see the interior of the house of God must enter in by the door and not try to climb up some other way. And the doorways, as we have already seen, are rich in sculpture to remind him of Church legend and teaching and to prepare him for the yet more solemn sensation made by the spacious, stately vaults and grand perspective of the interior, and by the brighter, more radiant saints, apostles, and martyrs of its glowing windows.

It was in France that Gothic not only originated, but attained its purest form, and that architects were most skilful structurally. But the new style spread all over Western Europe from Spain to Bohemia. It is seen in the Rhine valley in the second half of the thirteenth century in the nave of the great cathedral of Strassburg, which was built in the French style, in the choir of Cologne, which is a copy of Amiens, and in Metz, which was now begun under the influence of the Rheims school of architects. In England Westminster Abbey, also built in the second half of the thirteenth century, is of all English cathedrals that which most closely resembles the French Gothic style. But Gothic influence is seen earlier in the century in the so-called ' Early English ' style.

EARLY ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE

A number of peculiarities distinguishing English from French Gothic churches may be noted. English cathedrals do not have such broad naves or such lofty vaulting, but they are often longer, partly because the choir is extended to as great or even to a greater length than the nave, and sometimes has a second pair of transepts of its own, partly because supplementary structures such as Lady chapels and presbyteries are often added at the east end. This end of the church is usually square instead of rounded. Generally there is one main tower over the crossing rather than two at the west front. The façade is frequently a broad screen of arcades and sculpture hiding the smaller actual front of the church and not having any close structural relation to it. Indeed, such façade screens often were later additions in a totally different style from the original nave, which it was therefore advisable to cover up. In the Early English style the central wheel or rose window is not so inevitable a feature, and when employed is smaller than in French churches. The English clear-story windows do not completely occupy the pointed arches formed by the vaults of the roof, and often there is a cluster of three narrow windows instead of one large aperture. Inside the church the ribs bearing the vaults are not always carried straight up from the supporting columns, but spring out of the wall at points high above the floor, and often more ribs are used than are needed, giving a fanlike appearance to the vaulting. The flying buttress is not employed on so great a scale or with such structural skill. Wooden roofs are still employed in many cases, although they no longer appear flat, but are built in imitation of vaults. For these structural deficiencies or idiosyncrasies the Early English in part atones by the beauty of its details, its sharply pointed lancet windows and blind arcades, its slender shafts and comely capitals, its intricate mouldings and carvings. Later varieties of English Gothic are called the ' Decorated ' and the ' Perpendicular ' styles respectively.

GERMAN AND ITALIAN GOTHIC

The Romanesque held its own on German soil well into the thirteenth century. East of the Rhine church edifices were as a rule on a humbler scale and in less perfect taste than were the great Rhenish cathedrals, which followed French models more closely. More wall space is left bare both within and without ; the transepts are less distinct and there is seldom an ambulatory about the choir ; the aisles and nave are sometimes of the same height. In Italy the Gothic style took the least hold. The apsidal aisle was even more uncommon than in Germany, and the façade had as little relation to the building behind it as in Early English. The flying buttress was almost never employed, the windows remained small, and in general little constructive genius was shown. There was no arched triforium within and a bare expanse of wall appeared in the clear-story. The piers supporting the simple vaulting of the interior were themselves usually plain and square. The towers continued to be detached campaniles and were not very different from their Romanesque predecessors.

North of the Alps, however, the Gothic towers both of France and of other lands deserve especial recognition by their height, open arches, and detail of ornamentation. It is difficult to make a selection among so many marvellous structures, but the reader can get some idea of their varied merits by examining detailed views of the twin yet contrasting front towers of Chartres, the one in the severely pure style of the closing twelfth century, the other a richly ornate spire added in the early sixteenth, and which are respectively 350 and 375 feet in height ; or of the central lantern of Lincoln from the thirteenth, and the filmy octagonal crown from the fourteenth century above the transepts of Saint-Ouen in Rouen ; or of the intricate and delicate open-work spires of Freiburg, Strassburg, and Cologne.

Such were the Gothic cathedrals. The style originated in the twelfth century and reached the highest point of excellence in the thirteenth. But many churches were not entirely finished until later, or received additions, especially in ornamentation which enhanced their beauty. Some fine cathedrals were not begun until the fourteenth century, but those of Chartres, Amiens, Rouen, Paris, and Rheims, which are alike of vast proportions and the very first rank, were all finished in the thirteenth century, and a decline in Gothic art becomes noticeable in the Middle Ages.

PAINTING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

If medieval sculpture was done chiefly in connexion with buildings, medieval painting was performed chiefly in connexion with books. The pages of manuscripts were adorned with miniatures and illuminations which in their brilliant hues rival the Byzantine mosaics and the Gothic stained glass, which in their realistic touches, picturesque scenes, and uncouth monsters remind us of the stone carvings. In Italy, where the churches had more bare wall surface, a good deal of fresco painting was done, and finally Giotto, a contemporary of Dante, broke away from the stiff symbolism of the earlier school and began to represent scenes from the Bible and from the lives of the saints in what seemed to his contemporaries a dramatic and lifelike manner. But of him we shall speak again later as a forerunner of the greater painters of the Italian Renaissance.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CHURCH UNDER INNOCENT III

WHILE towns, industries, and trade developed, while learning, literature, and art blossomed forth, although these new forces had their secular side, yet, as the cathedrals suggest, the Church continued its growth too, and with Innocent III, at the opening of the thirteenth century (1198–1216), the Papacy reached its height. Lotario de Segni was the son of an Italian noble, and was handsome in appearance and commanding in manner, though slight in stature. Although he was the youngest of the cardinals, his colleagues promptly elected him Pope on the same day that the preceding pontiff died. Thus, at the unusually early age of thirty-seven he entered upon the arduous duties and responsibilities of that high office with all the unabated energy and enthusiasm of the prime of manhood. He was already known for his eloquence and legal and theological knowledge acquired at Bologna and Paris, and as Pope he granted the University of Paris some of its earliest privileges and filled his *curia* with canonists and jurists from Bologna. But he knew men as well as books, and it was more probably the ability as an administrator and man of affairs which he had displayed in the papal court for the past ten years that procured him his election. Once Pope, he took control with a master-hand, and in the very first year of his pontificate made himself felt all over Europe. His letters, which constitute the best source for his reign, show how vigorously and incisively and sensibly he dealt with every situation and problem.

Western Christian Europe at that time was still a chaos of contending feudal principalities and warring communes. The one thing that united men was the Church to which they all belonged. There were English, Welsh, Irish, Flemings, Bretons, Gascons, Castilians, Savoyards, Florentines, Venetians, Pisans, Bavarians, Bohemians, and Saxons then; but there were no Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Christian Scientists, Quakers, and Congregationalists. The Church was the one universal institution of the age, and the Pope at its head in consequence exercised far greater authority than did any other potentate. In many ways, indeed, the Church was comparable to the Roman Empire of old, whose territorial and administrative organization it had taken over and whose official language, Latin, it still maintained in its services, records, and literature. Both were international in character. Every one recognized the Pope as every one had worshipped the Emperor. The Church had its legal system and courts. Its cathedrals added to the massive architecture and stately sculpture of triumphal arches and amphitheatres the glorious radiance of stained glass and the diaphanous stone lacework of spire, pinnacle, and flying buttress. Its missionaries and crusaders on the frontiers of Christendom were like the ancient legionaries on the Roman borders. Its monasteries were scattered over the face of the land as thickly as had been the Roman military camps and colonies. Its secular clergy corresponded to the administrative bureaucracy of the Empire. And at the head and centre of it all, watching over the whole world, interfering in everything, exercising temporal as well as spiritual power, receiving reports and questions and appeals from all quarters, and reserving to himself the settlement of all questions in the last resort, sat Innocent III, with an authority quite comparable with that of a Trajan or a Diocletian. We shall now describe the Church and clergy as organized under him.

Associated with the Pope at Rome was the College of Cardinals, constituting a sort of cabinet, while a host of lesser assistants performed secretarial and legal functions or attended to the court ceremonial. At the beginning of his reign Innocent tried, like most popes, to reform the personnel of the papal *curia*, to restrict its membership to the clergy, and to prevent the taking of bribes. As he did not, however, absolutely forbid the giving of gratuities, most suitors at the papal court still deemed it expedient to scatter money with a free hand. It was indeed remarkable that, although many a pope reformed this body at the opening of his pontificate, it always seems to have needed reform by the time the next pope entered office.

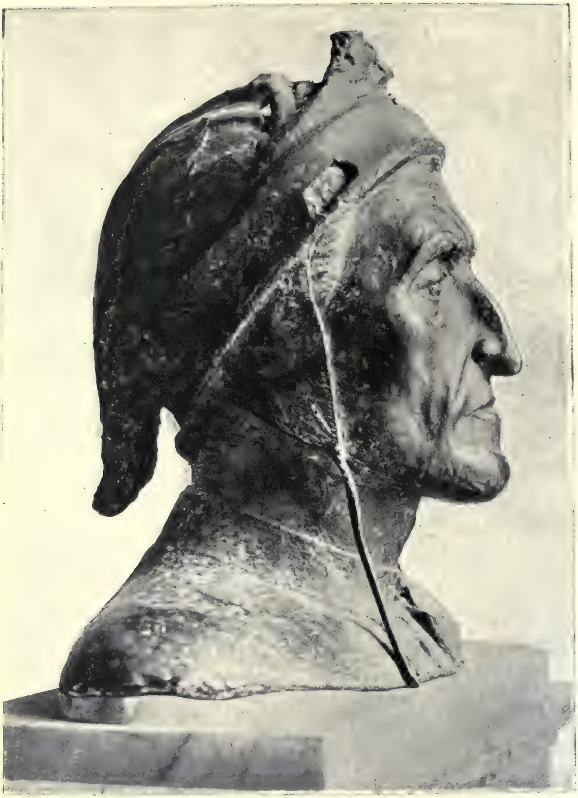
Church Organization

From the Pope's side legates went forth to various parts of Europe to execute his will or to inspect conditions and report upon them to him. They were held to strict account if they failed to carry out Innocent's instructions to his satisfaction. One in particular, who absolved one of the rival candidates for the German throne without first securing from him the release of certain prisoners, was upon his return deprived by Innocent of his bishopric and banished to an island to pass the rest of his life as a simple monk.

It had long been customary for newly elected archbishops to receive from the Pope a scarf or collar called the *pallium*. By withholding this badge of their office the Pope could practically veto their appointment. Innocent in one of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 speaks of an archbishop's "receiving the *pallium*, that is to say, the full right to fill his office." The archbishop had a certain authority over a number of bishops whom he could summon to a provincial synod, but some bishops were practically independent of archiepiscopal control and the authority of different archbishops was very unequal. In England there were seventeen bishops under the Archbishop of Canterbury, only two under the Archbishop of York. Before Innocent's time the monasteries had pretty generally escaped from the control of the local bishop and had come directly under papal supervision. From the time of Innocent the popes claimed more and more the right to depose bishops and archbishops if their administration or character proved unsatisfactory, and to refuse on occasion to approve of the elections of bishops as well as to withhold the *pallium* from archbishops. Sometimes, however, it was not easy to depose a prelate whose see was far from Rome. In the case of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, for instance, Innocent had to content himself with scolding him by letter for living a life of plunder and keeping a court of brigands. This also illustrates the fact that many bishops still followed the career of feudal lords rather than of ministers of Christ. When Richard the Lion-hearted was asked by one of Innocent's legates to free Philip of Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais and a cousin of the French king, whom he was keeping in chains in a dungeon, he indignantly replied that Philip had not been captured as a bishop, but as a knight in full armour, and furthermore that he was a "robber, tyrant, and incendiary who did nothing but devastate Richard's lands day and night." Indeed Innocent knew well enough that Philip was not a desirable type of bishop, and afterward refused to approve his election as Archbishop of Rheims.

Each bishop had his own cathedral church, usually located in a town; in fact, in England no place was called a city unless it had a cathedral. The bishop shared his great church with a cathedral chapter of canons, each of whom by this time had a prebend or regular income for his support. They occupied the chief seats in the choir stalls: first came the dean, then the chanter in charge of the singing, then the archdeacons who aided the bishop in visiting his diocese and holding his ecclesiastical courts, then the theologian or interpreter of Scripture, the schoolmaster of the cathedral school, the penitentiary, the treasurer, and the chamberlain. Other churches which were large enough to require a number of clergy or canons to administer their affairs, but which were not the seats of bishops, were known as 'collegiate' instead of 'cathedral' churches.

Finally we come to the simple parish church and priest. The parish was the smallest local ecclesiastical territorial unit. The priest, although nominated by some lay or ecclesiastical patron of the parish church, must be approved and ordained by his bishop, who was also supposed to visit and superintend the activities of all the priests within his diocese. Of the Church tithes which the people of the parish had to pay, and of its other revenues, so much went to persons



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or institutions 'higher up' that the parish priest was generally poorly paid, and hence was often a man of little ability. The priesthood also suffered from lack of episcopal supervision when bishops neglected their religious functions for other interests. There were, however, archpriests or rural deans, clergymen with the oversight of a few other parishes than their own in much the same way that the archbishop had authority over his bishops.

PAPAL RELATIONS WITH LOCAL CLERGY

Under Innocent we become aware of an increasing tendency of the local clergy and churches to refer everything to the Pope for decision. Innocent was an administrator of great industry and capacity for detail, and he did not object when archbishops, bishops, and abbots from all parts of Latin Christendom referred to him for decision even quite petty matters of local organization or problems in theology or ecclesiastical discipline which they should have been able to settle satisfactorily themselves by the exercise of a little common sense. For instance, in 1198 we find him permitting the division of a parish in the Bishopric of Laon in Northern France. However, in many cases the Pope's interference was necessary in order to preserve the peace between two contending local parties. The lesser clergy were often at odds with their bishops, and the clergy often had to appeal to the Pope for protection against the feudal lords. Sometimes the reverse was the case, and in 1198 we find the Count of Auvergne asking Innocent's help against his brother, the Bishop of Clermont. Innocent also had to warn the bishops in Champagne to be a little less ready to heap anathema and interdicts upon the counts of that region for every trifling thing that they did. Taken all in all a vast business was dispatched at the papal court, and even Innocent at times complained that the burden of business left him no time for meditation or for the composition of religious works.

While the medieval Church recognized the great importance of having well-educated men of pure life and attractive personality in its priesthood, it regarded neither preaching ability nor executive capacity nor moral conduct as the essential thing for one entrusted with the care of souls. The essential was divine grace and power, and this the priest was believed to receive when he was ordained by the bishop. Henceforth, regardless of his natural capacity or incapacity, he possessed "an indelible character" and could perform the sacraments upon which the obtaining of divine grace by his parishioners depended.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS

The Church held that man could not save his soul by his own efforts; that he must also receive divine grace through partaking of the sacraments. In the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, written in the twelfth century, we find the number of sacraments stated as seven, itself a sacred number. Two could be performed only by the bishop: namely, the ordination of priests, already mentioned, and the confirmation of children in their membership of the Church when they became old enough to distinguish good and evil. Of the five which an ordinary priest could perform, three, like the two already described, applied to some important epoch in life and would normally be received but once by a given person: baptism into the Church as soon as feasible after birth, the marriage ceremony, which in the Middle Ages could be performed only by the clergy, and extreme unction just before death. The two remaining sacraments of the mass and penance were often repeated — indeed, the oftener the better.

The mass was the central feature of the Church service. Often the only preaching was done by the bishop when he paid a visit. By the saying of mass the priest was believed to perform a great miracle known as 'transubstantiation,' by which the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ, and his memorable sacrifice of himself on the cross for sinful humanity was renewed and perpetuated for the benefit of those present and partaking of the Host or consecrated bread. It became the custom for the clergy alone to drink the wine, for fear lest some drops of the precious blood might be spilt in passing the cup about among the rude laity. It was explained to them that the bread or body contained full virtue. Indeed, the mere celebration of the sacrifice of the mass by the priest was beneficial and the people only occasionally actually received the communion. Moreover, masses might be said for the soul of an absent or dead person. In fact, there was so great a demand and so much money left for the repetition of masses for such purposes that some priests had no parishes under their care, but devoted their entire time to chanting private masses, and so were called 'chantry priests.'

Penance and Indulgences

The Fourth Lateran Council ordered Christians to confess their sins to the priest at least once a year. In the early Christian communities sinners had perhaps confessed publicly before the congregation, but ere long the custom had grown up of auricular confession in private confidence to the priest. Such confession and the penitent frame of mind which it implied were the first essentials in the sacrament of penance. Next, the priest, to whom through Peter and his apostolic successors were supposed to have come the keys of heaven and the power to forgive sins, absolved the sinner from his guilt. There still remained, however, a penalty to be paid, which would have to be worked off after death in purgatory unless the offender performed some act of penance imposed upon him by the priest. The *Penitentials*, or books informing the priest as to the proper penances for various sins, have already been mentioned in an earlier chapter.

At the time of the First Crusade, Urban II decreed that "if any one, through devotion alone and not for the sake of honour or gain, go to Jerusalem to free the Church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance." Sometimes, moreover, the contrite sinner was permitted to give alms to the poor or to make a contribution to the Church instead of performing the usual penance. Especially in the later Middle Ages the Pope would every now and then proclaim a general indulgence, by which penitent persons were offered complete remission of all their past sins upon unusually easy and attractive terms which reduced to a minimum the amount of penance that they would have to undergo both now and in purgatory. In return for such indulgences or pardons the people were required to contribute generously of their means to the support of the Church. Thus it became a temptation for the Papacy to arrange for the preaching of indulgences whenever it needed money, while the people were liable to conclude that indulgences and money contributions were the surest road to salvation. Yet, strictly speaking, the indulgence freed them only from immediate penance and the pains of purgatory, since by ordinary confession to their priests they could at any time secure forgiveness of their sins and divine pardon of their guilt, leaving only the penalty to be worked off either here or in purgatory.

Excommunication and Interdict

These seven sacraments meant everything to medieval men. Most of them never questioned but that water could be made holy, that there were sacred places which it did one good to visit as a pilgrim, that bones of dead saints had wondrous virtues, and that living priests could perform such miracles as the mass. In their control of these sacraments the clergy had a tremendous weapon to use against the laity. By excommunication they cut off an individual from receiving the sacraments, besides, perhaps, launching additional curses and anathemas against him. By an interdict the clergy were ordered to cease the celebration of some or all of the sacraments in a given locality. Thus, if a refractory lord paid no attention to his own excommunication, his people might be aroused against him by laying an interdict upon his territories. There was one amusing case where, as soon as a certain feudal noble entered the chief town on his domain, the church bell was rung and all religious services and administration of the sacraments forthwith ceased, to be resumed only when the bell again announced his departure. Naturally the people soon began to murmur and he found it advisable to make his visits to the town brief.

The Spread of Heresy

Such measures were effective so long as the people believed in the sacramental power of the priesthood. But what could be done if an entire region lost faith in the Church, its clergy, and its ceremonies? Such was threatening to become the situation in Southern France when Innocent became Pope. With the rise of towns, travel, and trade, and the reception of new ideas in science and philosophy, there had come in also through the eleventh and twelfth centuries strange religious doctrines and practices. Often they spread by the same routes as trade. The leading heresy of this period—that of the Cathari or Patarins or Albigensians, as they finally came to be called, from the town of Albi in Southern France where they were especially prominent—spread from the East across the Balkans to the Adriatic, and then across Lombardy to Provence and Languedoc. Here it flourished most, but it was also frequently heard of here and there in Germany, Flanders, Brittany, and other parts of Northern France.

The Cathari or 'The Pure,' as they called themselves, were a revival of the sect of Manichæans of Augustine's day. They regarded themselves as Christians, however, but accepted only the New Testament as their Bible. What we know of them is derived almost wholly from their enemies, so that the following brief summary of their beliefs and rites may not do them justice. It is hard to account for the existence of evil in the world, if we believe in but one good God. The Cathari, therefore, held that two forces for ever contend in the world, one a good, the other an evil deity. Everything material and physical and sensual they regarded as evil. This world, in short, with its crimes and lusts and diseases and wars and worldly bishops and robber barons, is evil. Christ was not a man born of woman, but a pure spirit sent to introduce the new gospel of an "invisible, spiritual, and eternal universe." The pope and clergy of the Roman Church are not representatives of Christ, but servants of the evil spirit, for they do not renounce the things of this world as they should. Instead of following them, one should turn for salvation to the

'Perfected' of the Cathari, who have been ordained by laying on of hands and have promised never to lie or swear, or eat meat, cheese, and eggs. Instead of the elaborate mass, the Cathari had the simple blessing of bread performed daily at table. The Perfected were looked upon as very holy men by the common people, who did not usually receive the *consolamentum*, or laying on of hands, until just before death. The Cathari were not afraid to die for their faith—the orthodox whispered that suicide was frequent among the heretics—and it has been said that "if the blood of the martyrs were really the seed of the Church, Manichæism would now be the dominant religion of Europe."

Another prominent heretical sect in Southern France were the Waldensians, some of whom still survive. They were followers of Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons who abandoned his business to lead a life of apostolic poverty and who went about preaching to the people. At first sight there may seem to be nothing heretical in this, but Waldo was not an ordained priest. When his disciples began to criticize the lives of the bishops and priests who did not adopt a life of poverty, and to say that laymen and women could preach, and that a prayer to God made in a barn was as likely to be heard as one made in a cathedral, and that the masses said for the dead did them no good, and when they began to refuse to pay tithes, the Church began to condemn them as heretics. Such persecution only led them to oppose the clergy the more, and some of them were well on the road to the views of the later Protestants, while others adopted some of the teachings of the Cathari.

In most parts of Europe the people themselves would hound down a heretic as readily as mobs in some parts of America will lynch a negro who assaults a white woman. The people were afraid that their crops would fail, or that a pestilence would be sent upon them by divine wrath, if they tolerated heretics in their midst or even let their bones rest in consecrated ground. The practice of burning heretics at the stake grew up spontaneously and was not introduced by the Inquisition. The clergy, however, had taught the people to hate heresy, and we must remember that the most learned and the most saintly men of medieval times alike approved of the persecution of heretics.

But in Southern France conditions were different. There society was worldly and tolerant, and the troubadours, feudal nobles, and municipalities cared little for the Church. The clergy were worldly and neglected to give the people proper religious instruction, and could not be relied upon to take any energetic action against heresy. Even if they did they could find no support in the lords of the land or the ruling bodies in the towns. Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, the greatest feudal lord of the region, was a friend of the heretics and was strongly suspected of being one himself. The heretics preached publicly in town squares and at feudal courts and gained numerous adherents, so that Innocent came to the conclusion that in some archbishoprics of Southern France there were more Manichæans than Christians.

The Albigensian Crusade

Innocent often said that he preferred that the heretics should be converted rather than exterminated, and that they should be won back by preaching rather than by force. During the first ten years of his pontificate he sent a succession of legates to Southern France, but with little result. He also, however, as early as 1204 appealed to Philip Augustus, the King of France, for aid, but the latter was too much occupied with his struggle with King John of England. Finally, in 1207, Count Raymond was excommunicated. He submitted, promising to do as the papal legates wished, and received absolution. But Innocent went ahead and in November offered the feudal lords of Central and Northern France the same remission of sins as for crusaders to the East, if they would take part for forty days in an expedition to crush heresy in Southern France. Just at this juncture, in January 1208, one of the papal legates was assassinated by an official of the Count of Toulouse. This murder aroused a storm of indignation; the clergy preached the new type of crusade with great vigour; and soon a large army was on its way south.

Raymond made no attempt at resistance, but, protesting his innocence of the murder of the legate, joined the army of crusaders. Thus, deprived of its natural leader, Toulouse made no united opposition. The crusading army occupied itself chiefly in storming Béziers, where thousands of men, women, and children were massacred, and in forcing Carcassonne to capitulate, whereupon its inhabitants were allowed to depart with but a single garment each.

Most of the original crusaders then went home. Béziers and Carcassonne were given as a fief to Simon de Montfort, who proceeded, with the aid of hired troops and of new crusaders who kept arriving, to enlarge his fief further at the expense of Raymond and other southern lords. Raymond was unable to make his peace with the Church, although he went to Rome to see Innocent. The King of Aragon, who was Raymond's brother-in-law, and who did not like to see the barons of the north despoiling his neighbours of their fiefs, tried to interfere, at first as peacemaker and then with an army, but he was defeated and slain in battle by de Montfort. The latter in his turn perished while besieging the city of Toulouse. This was after the death of Innocent, for the war in Languedoc went on until 1229. A second crusade was led by Prince Louis of France, who came again as King Louis VIII in 1224. Meanwhile Raymond VI had died and his son, Raymond VII, finally made his peace with the Church, and also with the King of France, now Louis IX, to whose brother he agreed to marry his daughter and leave his lands.

Innocent had less difficulty with the Bogomiles of Bosnia and Dalmatia than with their fellow-heretics in Toulouse. When he induced the King of Hungary to declare war upon the Ban of Bosnia, the latter potentate quickly submitted and asked that a papal legate be sent to receive the Bogomile leaders back into the Roman Church.

THE MEDIEVAL INQUISITION

Raymond VII of Toulouse in 1229 agreed to support the Church with all his might in the suppression of heresy. He would punish the heretics if the Church would point them out.

Cases of heresy had hitherto been dealt with by the local court of the bishop, but now the Pope took the detection of heretics under his charge and appointed special officials—known as 'inquisitors,' from the Latin word for an investigation or inquiry—to visit places infested with heresy. The coming of the inquisitor was announced in advance, and the people were encouraged to assemble at a specified time by the promise of an indulgence. To this assembled multitude the inquisitor preached, urging them to give him all possible information and assistance against the heretics in the locality, or to confess and repent of their error if they were tainted with heresy themselves. A period of grace, usually a month, was allowed, during which any heretic who acknowledged his guilt and promised reformation and told the inquisitor what he could about his fellow-heretics was absolved with some light penance.

When the period of grace was over, the inquisitor proceeded to the trials of those against whom he had gathered evidence and who had not already confessed. The accused usually had neither lawyer nor witnesses to speak for him, since others did not wish to or did not dare to defend a probable heretic, lest they too be suspected. A notary was present to record the proceedings and two impartial men to see fair play, but they were sworn to secrecy unless some abuse occurred in the conduct of the trial. Until the close of the thirteenth century, the inquisitor did not have to let the accused know what evidence he had against him or who had given it, but Pope Boniface VIII decreed that the names of the witnesses against him must be revealed to the accused, although he still was not allowed to call them in and cross-examine them. The procedure, therefore, resolved itself mainly into a questioning of the accused by the inquisitor in order to determine if he really were a heretic. If he refused to answer or made statements that the inquisitor believed to be false, torture was employed to force the truth from him. He was then brought back into the court-room and asked to sign, as a freely made confession, the words which had been wrung from him on the rack. But if he refused to sign, he often was put to torture again. Even witnesses who were not themselves on trial were sometimes tortured. Ordinarily in cases in the ecclesiastical courts the testimony of criminals, heretics, and excommunicated persons was not admitted; but the inquisition accepted such evidence and also that of young children. Assertions against the accused made by a deadly enemy were not, however, given credence.

The penalties varied according as the accused was an offender for the first time or a relapsed heretic, according to the magnitude of the offence, and according to whether his guilt seemed proved beyond question or still remained open to some doubt. The extreme penalties were life imprisonment on bread and water, and death, generally by burning at the stake. In the latter case the State inflicted the punishment, and the heretic after his conviction by the inquisition, which in this case had to be approved by the bishop of the diocese, was handed over to 'the secular arm' for the punishment decreed by its laws against heretics.

The inquisition must be estimated in the light of those times, when it was common to punish criminals with great cruelty and when torture was often used in secular tribunals. It was better to convict men on the basis of evidence, even if this was somewhat unfairly used against them, than to determine their guilt or innocence by recourse to ordeals, as had sometimes been done before even in the case of persons suspected of heresy. The use of ordeals by the clergy was forbidden by Innocent in 1215. But to say that there were other courts as bad as the inquisition is no sufficient justification of it. The Church had constantly proclaimed its superiority to the State and must live up to its claim. Hitherto the ecclesiastical courts had been distinguished by their leniency and equity. Now the Church of the Prince of Peace and Love was basing its power upon brute force and killing those whom it could not convince. For the time being this harsh policy had an apparent success; the Cathari soon disappeared for ever and the Waldensians ceased to be at all dangerous. Innocent did not establish the papal inquisition, although he took a step or two in its direction. But by the cruel crusade which he turned upon a Christian land he started the policy of forcible extermination of heresy of which the inquisition was the logical outcome.

The inquisitors did not visit all the lands of Latin Christendom. Scandinavian countries were entirely free from them and they appeared in England on only one occasion. In the Spanish peninsula they were limited to Aragon until the notorious Spanish Inquisition began at the close of the fifteenth century. In the Low Countries we hear of them only in Flanders and Brabant.

THE FRIARS

The men chosen by the popes to act as inquisitors were the Dominican and Franciscan friars. The founders of these two new religious orders, St. Francis of Assisi in Central Italy and St. Dominic, a prior of Osma in North-central Spain, had already begun their work in the pontificate of Innocent, although their orders were not completely established and did not spread over Europe until after his death. Many legends grew up about both these saints and have been preserved in paintings as well as in literature. About Dominic we know little with certainty; concerning Francis we are better informed by contemporaries.

St. Francis has always been regarded as one of the most beautiful characters in the Middle Ages. As a boy he had plenty of money to spend and led a gay life of pleasure, until a serious illness wrought a great change in him just about the time that he was coming of age. The life of the apostles, whom Christ sent out to preach the coming of the kingdom of heaven, telling them not to take money, food, or extra clothing with them—this ideal of apostolic poverty came to appeal to Francis as it had done to so many others in the Middle Ages, and he determined to put it into practice. His angry father, when he disinherited him, only aided him in accomplishing his purpose. Francis would not keep even the clothes on his back, but entered upon his new life in a discarded and worthless garment. He had a hard time of it at first. He was hooted at and pelted with missiles in the city streets, and when he wandered outside the walls he met some robbers.

When he informed them that he was "the herald of a great king," they stripped him naked and threw him into a snowdrift. But even this treatment failed to cool his religious ardour. He repaired some ruined chapels in the neighbourhood, tended the loathsome lepers, and preached in the simplest style to any one who would listen to him—even, we are told, to the birds, who were not afraid as he walked among them and reminded them how thankful they should be to God their creator.

Francis was as cheerful in his rags as he had been in the luxury of his father's house ; a new inspiration had come to him and he was full of love for all mankind and even for forces in nature such as "brother fire" ; finally, despite his bare feet and patched garment, he remained a true gentleman. He threw away all the outward trappings of civilization, abandoning learning as well as property, and cleanliness as well as clothes ; but he did it in order to get back to nature, to touch our common humanity, and to see God. What the modern city-dweller tries to get by 'roughing it' in a tent in the summer, what other men in the Middle Ages had sought to find by secluding themselves in monasteries, Francis sought by going into the world about him. Sometimes the ambitious youth of to-day, in order to learn more thoroughly the business in which he proposes to engage, 'begins at the bottom' in foundry or factory or freight train. Francis began at the bottom in order to learn God's business. The men of his age appreciated his worth and he was made a saint two years after his death, whereas Dominic had to wait thirteen years, and the great pope, Innocent, has not been canonized yet.

Such a personality soon drew followers, and they went forth from Assisi two by two to spread the Gospel. Sometimes they simply called themselves 'Penitents,' sometimes by the gladder name of 'God's troubadours.' At first they were simple laymen and might have developed into heretics like the followers of Peter Waldo. But in 1210 Francis met Innocent and obtained his oral approbation, although the new order was not formally established until several years after Innocent's death. By 1219, however, they had begun to spread outside Italy and were soon found in Spain, France, England, Germany, and Hungary. They were now called ' Minorites ' or ' the lowly ' because of their humility. They have also often been called ' Mendicant Friars ' or ' Begging Brothers,' because they had no property of their own and had to depend for food and lodging upon those to whom they preached and rendered other services. As their work was largely with the lepers and sick and poor and needy, they often had to beg their bread from other persons. But they were not allowed by Francis to receive money, and were supposed to earn their living when they could. Francis died in 1226 after two or three unsuccessful attempts to go as a missionary to the Saracens. In 1212 a girl of eighteen named Clare left her family to become a follower of Francis, who thereupon instituted a separate order for women, known as the ' Second Order of St. Francis,' or the ' Franciscan Nuns,' or the ' Poor Clares.'

The youth of Dominic had been that of a student and cleric. Early in the thirteenth century he accompanied his bishop on a diplomatic mission for the King of Castile, and they also visited Rome. In passing through Toulouse on their way north and again on their return, they were shocked by the prevalence of heresy. Dominic determined to remain there and devote himself to religious work. At Prouille he founded a nunnery where Albigensian orphan girls might be reared in orthodoxy, and he supported Simon de Montfort in his bloody work of orphan-making. Innocent had approved a new order called ' Poor Catholics,' whose leaders were converted Waldensians, who now proposed to combat heresy in Southern France by leading the life of poverty themselves and by preaching and teaching, by argument and discussion. They met with little success, however, because the other clergy were suspicious of them as former heretics. Dominic now took up this idea of training a body of men to combat heresy and teach the people the true faith. This order, known as the ' Friars Preachers,' was confirmed in 1216 by Innocent's successor, and by the time of Dominic's death in 1221 was spreading over Europe.

Although the temperaments and ideals of their founders had differed considerably, Francis emphasizing poverty and social service, and Dominic stressing orthodox teaching and preaching, the two orders came to be much alike and are usually spoken of together as the 'Mendicant Friars,' although there has generally been a certain rivalry between them. We also hear of 'the four fraternal orders,' the other two being the Augustinians and the Carmelites. The friars differed from the monks in going into the world and serving society more. They rendered special service in the slums and wretched suburbs outside the walls of growing towns, where there often were not enough parish priests. Even if there were enough parish priests, the people often preferred the friars, who seemed to them to lead a holier life, who were so sympathetic and cheerful, and who could preach so much better. In short, the travelling friars remedied the defects of the local priesthood and met the new demands of thirteenth-century society. Although Francis had forsaken learning along with father, family, and all other worldly interests, his followers often specialized in theology, or, like the Dominicans, taught at universities. The ablest and most learned of the clergy were now commonly found among the friars. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans ; Roger Bacon and William of Rubruk were Franciscans.

At the head of either order was one man, the General, who called an annual assembly of the heads or assessors of the various provinces in different parts of Europe. As the new orders became so successful and influential in all Western Christian lands, the popes freed them entirely from the control of the bishops in whose dioceses they might live and work. Such of them as had been ordained were allowed not only to preach, but also to perform the sacraments anywhere, which of course meant a further diminution in the influence of the parish priest. Although the individual friars had vowed to lead lives of poverty, both organizations were soon building large churches and convents and receiving large gifts which the world was anxious to shower upon such holy men. In time this too great wealth and popularity had an injurious effect. At the beginning the friars, like the monks of Cluny, represented a reform movement, but, like most previous monastic orders, they were to decline in the course of time. It was impossible to keep the clergy constantly up to the ideals of St. Francis, when the Church continued to exercise so much worldly power and to possess so much of this world's goods.

THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL

In 1215, toward the end of his reign, Innocent held at the Lateran in Rome a great Church council, regarded by Roman Catholics as the most important in the Middle Ages. Through this council Innocent attempted to reform various evils in the ecclesiastical system, but without much lasting success, although some seventy reformatory decrees were promulgated. This Fourth Lateran, or Twelfth Œcumenical, Council was notable for the numbers present, for the wide territory represented, showing how Latin Christendom had expanded, and for the supreme control exercised by Innocent over all the proceedings. The council simply agreed to what he proposed. The first eight general councils of the whole Christian Church had been held in the East, and the pope had not exerted much control over their deliberations and findings, although their decrees were accepted by the Latin Church. But since the Eighth Council, held at Constantinople in 869, the Roman Catholic Church had recognized only those councils which popes had summoned in the West. All four of these had been held at the Lateran, the first in 1123. In 1215 there were present over four hundred bishops, eight hundred abbots and priors, besides many other clergy and the ambassadors of secular princes.

Latin Christendom now extended from the distant shores of Greenland and Iceland to Cyprus, Little Armenia, and the coast cities of Syria. A Serbian prince ruling in Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina had asked Innocent in 1198 to send a legate to receive those territories into the Latin Church. A year or so later negotiations began between Innocent and the ruler of Bulgaria and Wallachia which led to the incorporation of that country into the Latin Church and to the coronation of its ruler as king by the papal legate. The participants in the Fourth Crusade set up a Latin Empire in Constantinople which brought the rest of the Balkan peninsula and Greece at least nominally under papal control. Hungary and most of Poland and the Scandinavian peninsula were Roman Catholic lands. Over half the Spanish peninsula was already Christian territory, and the victory of 1212 at Navas de Tolosa over the Almohades meant that Mohammedan rule would soon be limited to Granada.

CHAPTER XXIV

INNOCENT III AND THE STATES OF EUROPE

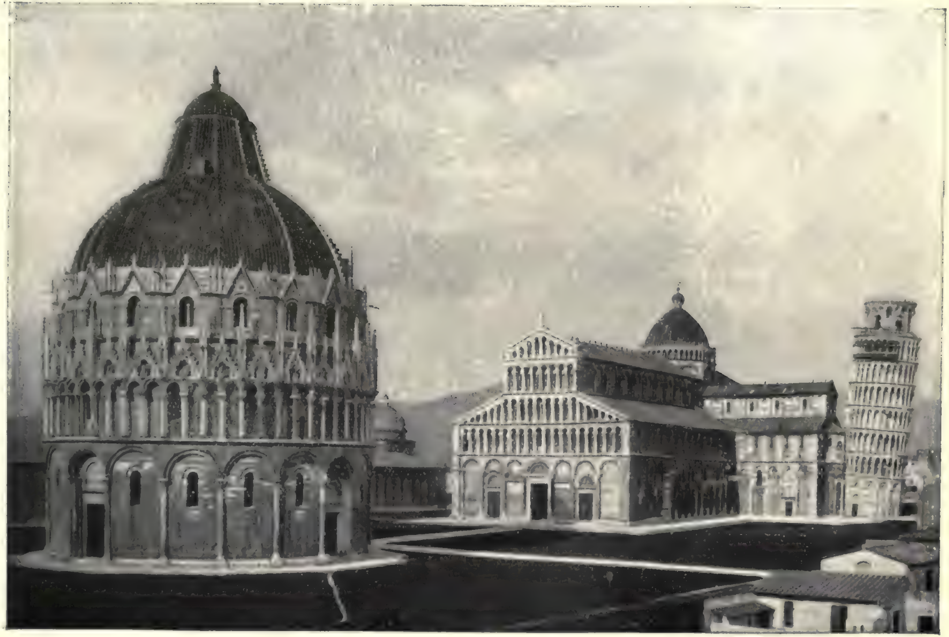
INNOCENT aimed to be supreme not only over the clergy, but over the kings and feudal lords of Europe. " We are established by God above peoples and realms " was one of his favourite utterances. The policy of making the monarchs of Europe vassals of the Papacy reached the height of its success under him. During his first year in office he demanded prompt settlement of all arrears of tribute owing to the Pope from these fiefs. As his pontificate proceeded, he brought yet other rulers into vassalage to the Holy See, or humbled them in one way or another. " The Duke of Bohemia was rebuked, the King of Denmark comforted, the nobles of Iceland warned, the King of Hungary admonished. Serbia, Bulgaria, even remote Armenia, received papal supervision and paternal care." Innocent interfered to settle disputed successions to thrones or quarrels in royal families, to stop wars and to induce rulers to join the crusade.

What Innocent intended the feudal relationships of these kings to himself to be may be inferred from two oaths of fealty taken by Peter II of Aragon, who came to Rome to receive his crown at the Pope's own hand. At the coronation ceremony the King took the following oath : " I, Peter, King of Aragon, confess and swear that I will ever be the obedient vassal of my lord, Pope Innocent, and his Catholic successors, and of the Roman Church. I will faithfully keep my realm in his obedience, will defend the Catholic Faith, and will persecute heresy. I will respect the liberties and immunities of the Church, and will make others observe its rights. I will strive to establish peace and justice in all the territory subject to my control. I swear it by God's name and on these holy Gospels." Pope and King then visited the basilica of St. Peter where the King placed his sceptre and diadem on the Apostle's tomb with these words: "I confess from the heart and with my mouth that the Roman pontiff, successor to St. Peter, takes the place of Him who governs earthly realms, and can confer them upon whom it seems good to him. I, Peter, by the grace of God King of Aragon, Count of Barcelona, and Lord of Montpellier, desiring above all else the protection of God, of the Apostle, and of the Holy See, declare that I offer my kingdom to thee, admirable father and lord, sovereign pontiff Innocent, and to thy successors, and through thee to the most sacred Church of Rome. And I make my kingdom tributary to Rome at the rate of two hundred and fifty gold pieces which my treasury shall pay every year to the Apostolic See. And I swear for myself and my successors that we will remain thy faithful vassals and obedient subjects."

On the other hand, Innocent opposed most strenuously any attempt of the State to seize Church property or of kings to control ecclesiastical elections. He instructed an Hungarian archbishop, when reading to the people the legendary life of St. Stephen, the first Christian King of Hungary, to suppress a passage which spoke of the religious authority conferred upon that monarch. When the King of Portugal drove out some monks who were deep both in crime and in debt and replaced them by nuns under his daughter as abbess, Innocent bade the Archbishop of Compostella restore the monks in order to teach the King that ecclesiastical liberty must not "suffer from the insolence of laymen," but then to oust them once more and allow the princess to start a nunnery if she wished, in order that "the depravity of the monks might not go unpunished."

Relations with France and England

Innocent's relations with Southern France and with the Count of Toulouse have already been mentioned in describing the Albigensian Crusade. It remains to speak of his relations with the two royal houses, Capetian and Plantagenet, who



24. Baptistery, Cathedral, and Campanile, Pisa

were now engaged in continual strife with each other and who at the same time were laying the foundations of the French and English national governments. When Innocent became pope, Richard was still King of England and was defending against the attacks of the wily Philip Augustus of France the vast Plantagenet possessions upon the Continent which he had inherited from his father, Henry II of England, Anjou, and Normandy, and from his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Within a year the Pope had induced these two monarchs to sign a five-year truce. But straightway Richard died, and his brother John, who succeeded him, within a few years had lost Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou to Philip Augustus. Innocent regarded Philip's conquests as unjust aggressions, but his threats and protests failed to deter the French King in the least. The Pope had the further reason for taking the side of the English King that he was an ally of the papal *protégé* in Germany, Otto of Brunswick.

John, however, soon showed himself such an unmitigated rascal and so complete a failure as a ruler that he was unlikely to remain on good terms with Innocent for long. He interfered in episcopal elections, he seized episcopal revenues, and in general oppressed the Church and the clergy as he did every one else. His mother, Eleanor, and his brother's widow, Berengaria, both complained to the Pope that John was pocketing their private incomes. Furthermore, he had left his first wife and married the intended bride of another lord, and after he captured his young nephew, Arthur, whom Philip Augustus had stirred up against him, the boy disappeared for ever and John was charged with his murder. Arthur was the son of Geoffrey, an older brother than John, and by hereditary right should have succeeded Richard on the throne rather than his uncle, John.

It was not these evil deeds by John, however, that directly caused the struggle between the King and the Pope, but a disputed election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. This highest Church office in England had been held during the latter part of Richard's and the early part of John's reign by

Hubert Walter, a faithful servant of the Crown. Thomas Becket had resigned his position as chancellor when he was made archbishop and had henceforth served the Church solely and had opposed the King at every turn. But Hubert served as justiciar under Richard and as chancellor under John at the same time that he was archbishop. The cathedral chapter at Canterbury, composed of monks, had recently had a hotly fought dispute with their archbishop because Hubert's predecessor had instituted a community of secular canons in another church near by. The case had gone to the papal court and was finally settled in 1201 by a compromise. Now when Hubert died in 1205, the younger monks met secretly, elected their sub-prior, Reginald, and dispatched him with equal secrecy to Rome to secure papal consecration. As he passed through Flanders, however, he let it be known that he had been elected, and this news soon reached England. The other bishops were indignant because they claimed a voice in the selection of their archbishop, and they sent an embassy to Innocent to complain. Meanwhile the monks seem to have regretted their hasty action in choosing Reginald; at any rate, they now agreed upon the King's candidate, the Bishop of Norwich. After a year of deliberation Innocent annulled the election of Reginald on the ground that the procedure had been illegal, and denied the other bishops any share in the election, but he also set aside the election of the Bishop of Norwich and instead bade those monks of Canterbury who were present at Rome elect a candidate of his own. This was Stephen Langton, a noted scholar of English birth, though for many years he had been at the University of Paris and at the papal court.

John's rage at this rejection of his candidate was unbounded. He refused to receive Langton, and drove the monks of Canterbury into exile. Innocent replied by putting England under an interdict in 1208 and by excommunicating John the next year. Meanwhile John persecuted the clergy, confiscated Church property, and instituted a reign of tyranny and terror. Innocent next freed all John's subjects from their oaths of allegiance and all his allies from their treaty engagements. Finally in 1213 he deposed John and offered the English crown to Philip Augustus, who began to prepare for an invasion. John now was forced to give in after a bitter struggle of seven years, for he found that his barons and subjects, over whom he had tyrannized as well as over the Church, would give him little aid against Philip. Accordingly he not only agreed to receive Langton and to compensate the clergy for the injuries done them, but he became the vassal of the Pope for his kingdom and agreed to pay a tribute of £1000 a year. This was a great triumph for Innocent. William the Conqueror had refused to make England a papal fief and become the vassal of Gregory VII; now Innocent had succeeded where Gregory had failed. Since the reign of William, the Norman and Angevin kings of England had exercised the most absolute royal authority and had possessed the best organized state in Western Europe; now they were reduced to vassalage to the Holy See.

But Innocent's triumph was not unalloyed, for he had encouraged John's barons to revolt and had thus developed in England a power as hostile to the Papacy as to the Crown. No sooner had John made his peace with the Pope than he had to settle accounts with his nobility and people, who, under the lead of the very man whom Innocent had put in as archbishop, forced from their tyrant Magna Carta, the foundation of English liberties. Innocent declared this charter null and void, excommunicated the leaders of the opposition to his vassal John, and suspended Stephen Langton from his archbishopric. But the English barons took a leaf from Innocent's own book. They deposed John and called in French aid. Then, when John unexpectedly died and a new pope accepted the Great Charter, they too accepted John's nine-year-old son as their king and drove the son of Philip Augustus back to France, just as Innocent had countermanded the father's preparations to invade England in 1213. The English King remained the vassal of the Pope, but the King's vassals in England had forced their sovereign to limit his power over them and to admit them to a share in the government, and neither Pope nor King had been able to stop them. Innocent had triumphed over the weak personality of John; he had not conquered the English nation.

Moreover, Innocent's victory over John was partly due to the fact that the latter had already been so humiliated by Philip Augustus, who had destroyed most of the Plantagenet power on the Continent. Thus, while the English King was weakened for a time, the French monarch kept increasing his power. And he did not become a vassal of the Pope. On the contrary, his relations with the Pope in temporal matters were far from satisfactory to Innocent, although the King always displayed a sufficient respect for the Church and for religion. Philip conquered Normandy despite papal threats, he repeatedly refused to join the crusade against the Albigensians, he allied with the anti-papal party in Germany, and he allowed his son to invade England and aid the barons whom the Pope had excommunicated.

In only one matter can Innocent be said to have forced his will upon Philip, and that was a case where the King had clearly been in the wrong. No sooner had he married Ingeborg of Denmark, a beautiful and pure girl of eighteen, in 1193, than for some unexplained reason he secured the assent of the French clergy to a divorce and married again. Ingeborg appealed to Rome, and then for twenty years threats, negotiations, excommunications, pretended reconciliations with and renewed separations from and imprisonments of poor Ingeborg succeeded one another. Finally in 1213, when about to invade England as the Pope's ally, Philip gave in and restored Ingeborg to her rightful place as queen, which she retained for the rest of the reign, and in his will he left a large sum of money to his "dearest wife."

ITALIAN POLICY OF HENRY VI

From Innocent's relations with the English and French monarchs we turn to his interference in Italian and German politics. The year before his election a disaster had befallen the Holy Roman Empire and the house of Hohenstaufen in the untimely death of the emperor, Henry VI (1190–1197). This son of Frederick Barbarossa, through a marriage which his father had arranged for him with Constance, the Norman heiress of Sicily and Southern Italy, had acquired that well-organized kingdom. And the party strife and interurban wars, which had at once begun again in the communes of Lombardy as soon as their danger from Barbarossa was over, gave Henry a chance to renew the influence of the Empire there. Thus he threatened to crush the political power of the Pope in Central Italy as if between two millstones. He had already made his brother, Philip of Suabia, Duke of Tuscany, and had planted garrisons in Romagna, the March of Ancona, and Umbria, when death put an end to his ambitious designs.

Immediately his power in Italy went to pieces. Philip was lucky to escape from Tuscany and across the Alps with his life. The Tuscan towns, aided by Innocent's predecessor, formed a federation to maintain their independence after the model of the Lombard League. The cities of Romagna and Ancona also united against German rule, and, assisted by Innocent, forced the imperial governor to retire to the southern kingdom.

There, too, however, the widowed queen-mother Constance was hostile to German influence. She had her three-year-old son Frederick crowned King of Sicily, and recognized Innocent as feudal overlord of the kingdom. Her Norman ancestors too had done this much, but Innocent was able to induce her to surrender the right which they had secured from the Papacy of being themselves the sole papal legates in their lands and thus maintaining complete control over their clergy. After making this great concession, Constance died before the first year of Innocent's reign was over, but not before she had made a will leaving the guardianship of her infant son and the regency of his kingdom to the Pope. During most of Innocent's reign, however, the Kingdom of Sicily and Southern Italy remained in a state of anarchy, with various persons and parties contending for the guardianship of the young King and disregarding the claims of the Pope.

The Disputed Imperial Election

Meanwhile in Germany there was a disputed election to the imperial throne. Frederick, whom Henry VI had intended to succeed him, was passed over as too young, and the majority of the great nobles and clergy chose Philip of Suabia to succeed his brother. But a month later Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, the Guelph leader against Barbarossa, was elected by the Archbishop of Cologne and a few lesser princes, and received support outside Germany from Richard of England, who thus had his revenge for the imprisonment which he had suffered at the hands of Henry VI on his way home from the Third Crusade. Civil war ensued between the adherents of the two candidates, and soon Germany was in a state of anarchy.

Both sides appealed to the Pope, but he, while insisting that there could be no emperor without his approval, failed to declare for either of the rivals for three years. Meanwhile confusion reigned in Germany and Innocent was free from any imperial interference in Italy. Finally, in 1201, he declared for Otto, the weaker of the two both in right and in might. Otto in return promised to abandon the aggressive Italian policy of Henry VI and to leave Innocent the undisturbed possession of Central Italy, or more specifically of the Exarchate of Ravenna, the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto, and the lands of the Countess Matilda of Gregory VII's time. Otto, however, was not yet in a position to do more than make promises. Philip of Suabia continued the struggle, and was getting decidedly the better of it when in 1208 he was assassinated. Otto now was able to come to Rome and be crowned by the Pope in 1209 at St. Peter's, although the hostility of the Romans to him was so great that he did not cross the Tiber and enter the city proper. But Otto, despite his promises, soon revived the Italian policy of Henry VI, and in 1210 was excommunicated by Innocent, who now brought forward young Frederick as his nominee for the throne. Otto also had Philip Augustus, the King of France, for an enemy, and when that monarch defeated him in 1214 at the battle of Bouvines in Northern France, he gave up the struggle for the imperial crown and retired to his private estates. Again Innocent had seemingly triumphed.

It is true that Frederick was the son of Henry VI, and that he was already King of Sicily, and that the Papacy held it a menace to its independence to have Germany and Southern Italy controlled by the same ruler. But Frederick had thus far shown himself a docile vassal in Sicily ; he promised to surrender Sicily to his son when he himself should be crowned emperor ; he officially confirmed to the Pope all territory in Italy which Otto had promised ; and he made further important concessions in connexion with the control of the Church in Germany. He surrendered the 'right of spoil,' or royal custom of seizing the goods of dead bishops ; he granted freedom in ecclesiastical elections and freedom of appeal to the court of Rome. Finally he agreed to go on a crusade. But after Innocent's death, as we shall see, he became the arch-enemy of the Papacy.

INNOCENT AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNES

The absence of any imperial authority in Italy during Innocent's pontificate—for the rival candidates spent practically all the time contending in Germany—would afford a good opportunity, one might suppose, for the Pope to bring actually under his rule the territories which he claimed in Central Italy. But the communes with which that region was now filled, while they had been glad to join with Innocent in driving out the imperial agents, had no desire to accept instead the rule of the Pope within their walls. Only after a struggle of ten years was Innocent able to master his own city of Rome, where previous popes had been unable to prevent the communal movement from spreading. At one time Innocent and his brother Richard were expelled from the city, because the Pope had aroused the jealousy of other prominent Roman families by the favours which he bestowed upon his brother, and because the commune as a whole had been alarmed by a gigantic tower which Richard had built. In the Patrimony of St. Peter, as the territory immediately north and south of Rome was called, Innocent succeeded in establishing something like order by 1207, when he held at Viterbo an assembly of the higher clergy, feudal lords, and magistrates of the communes throughout the Patrimony. But his efforts to exert any real control over the towns of Umbria, Ancona, and Romagna were quite unsuccessful. They continued to revolt, to elect whom they pleased as officials, to permit party strife within their walls, and to fight with neighbouring towns, until the Pope gave up in despair and turned over his interests in the entire region to a lay lord as a fief.

Innocent was displeased that the constitution of the Tuscan League sanctioned by his predecessor made no mention of any subjection to the Papacy, but he was unable to secure any real improvement in their relations to him. Moreover, the great Ghibelline city Pisa refused to join the league, and by its hold on the coasts of Sardinia prevented Innocent from making good his claim to that island. In Lombardy the communes displayed an increasingly secular spirit, and Innocent had to make use of excommunications and interdicts against some of them because of their support of heresy or attacks upon the rights and property of the Church or the persons of the clergy. But the various cities of Lombardy were too busy fighting one another to pay much attention to the Pope and his thunders. On the other hand, Venice turned a whole crusade to its own profit.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE

The Fourth Crusade, which occurred during Innocent's pontificate, was participated in chiefly by French knights, although their chosen leader was an Italian, Boniface, the Marquis of Montferrat, in North-western Italy. The crusaders determined to take the sea route, and Venice agreed, in return for a cash payment and the prospect of an equal share in all conquests, to provide a certain number of galleys, transport their army, and supply it with provisions for a year. The crusaders, however, did not keep their part of the agreement well. Some of them showed an inclination to set off by other routes of their own choosing; others were dilatory in starting at all; and when finally a number of them had been rounded up at Venice considerably later than the day appointed, they were fewer than had been expected and were unable to pay the full amount agreed upon. The Doge offered to remit this deficit if before proceeding on the crusade they would aid Venice in conquering Zara, a rival city on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Now, Zara was a Christian city claimed by the King of Hungary, and consequently any crusaders who attacked it would be liable to excommunication. The Venetians, however, who refused to allow the papal legate to accompany the expedition, cared little about being excommunicated, while the other crusaders had a shrewd suspicion that the Pope would pardon them immediately afterward, as turned out to be the case. Therefore they aided in the storming of Zara.

Then the expedition, instead of proceeding to Syria or Egypt, went to Constantinople, where the Venetian merchants were already very influential, and overthrew a usurper and restored the hereditary candidate to the Byzantine Empire. When he failed to keep the promises which he had made in order to procure their aid, they deposed him in turn and disgraced themselves by sacking the rich city, burning many buildings, wantonly destroying works of art, and committing many atrocities and brutal crimes. In place of the Greek Empire and Comnenian dynasty, whose treachery Western public opinion believed to have been largely responsible for the failure of previous crusades, a Latin Empire (1204–1261) was now set up, with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, as its first emperor. Outside Constantinople itself, however, his rule extended only to Nicomedia, a port of Thrace, and four islands in the Ægean Sea. Venice received Crete, Eubœa, Corfu, many other islands and coast cities of the Greek peninsula, and certain quarters of Constantinople. Boniface of Montferrat was given a kingdom about Thessalonica; and numerous other petty fiefs, such as the Principality of Morea and the Duchy of Athens, were created for the crusaders in Central and Southern Greece. Their holders were nominally vassals of the Latin emperor. The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople was replaced by a Venetian, and Innocent, who had distrusted and forbidden the digression of the crusade to Constantinople, was now reconciled to it by the prospect of seeing all South-eastern Europe under papal control. But this did not alter the fact that the Pope and his legate had failed to direct the course of the crusade. Moreover, all prospect of the crusaders continuing their route to Syria had vanished; the crusade ended at Constantinople.

During the next few years Innocent was occupied first with the Albigensian Crusade and then with preaching a crusade to aid the King of Castile against the Mohammedans in Spain. The pathetic Children's Crusade also occurred during his pontificate. The crusade to the East was again urged at the Fourth Lateran Council, but no armed expedition of consequence resulted. Innocent was always talking about the recovery of Jerusalem, but he himself was partly responsible for keeping the armies of Europe otherwise employed, as when he incited the barons to rebel against John and when he urged Philip Augustus to invade England, or when he allowed the King of Hungary to delay indefinitely his crusading vow because his presence was needed as a check upon Philip of Suabia, or when he kept a French knight, Walter of Brienne, in Southern Italy to aid him in conquering the Sicilian kingdom. But while Innocent had failed to recover Jerusalem, the crusades of his reign led to an extension of Latin Christendom in both the Balkan and Spanish peninsulas.

Innocent probably deserves to be called the greatest monarch of the Middle Ages. He wielded a wide international authority. But while he achieved notable triumphs, he also had his setbacks and failures. And his attempt to bring all Christendom under the pope as temporal overlord as well as spiritual head was not destined to be carried to triumphant completion by his successors. They were to have to struggle to maintain their political independence in Italy, and were to be absorbed in a desperate conflict with Frederick II, who had seemed so lamblike in his submission to Innocent.

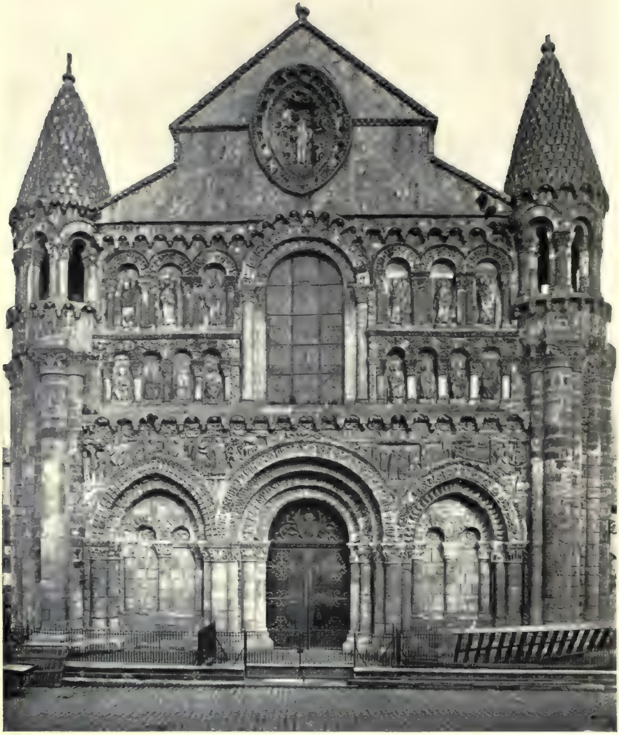
Reign of Frederick II

From 1212 to 1220 Frederick was in Germany; he then returned to Italy, and was crowned emperor by the Pope at Rome; thereafter he made but two brief visits to Germany and concerned himself chiefly with Italian affairs. This was the fundamental cause of his strife with the Papacy. Before Frederick left Germany the princes there chose his young son Henry as King of Germany, and the Pope was persuaded to permit Frederick to remain King of Sicily. In return Frederick promised to start on his crusade before the following August and issued various laws against heresy and in favour of the Church. But he found much disorder to suppress in Southern Italy, and in Sicily it was necessary to crush the rebellious Saracens. To this end he secured another postponement of his crusading vow, and it was only after five years of absorption in the affairs of his southern kingdom that he once again promised to set sail for the Holy Land by August 1227, or become automatically excommunicate. In 1222 he had married the heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Frederick had already made it pretty clear that he was no friend of the communes. In Germany he had granted powers to the rulers of ecclesiastical states at the expense of the rising towns, and in his southern kingdom he annulled the trading privileges and monopolies of the Italian and Provençal ports like Marseilles, Genoa, and Pisa, which had hitherto enjoyed freedom from tolls and customs and had practically held the chief harbours of Sicily as their own trading stations and colonies. He intended to develop a merchant marine and navy of his own rather than allow these foreigners to control all the trade of the land or have to depend on them for transportation when he wished to visit Germany or go to Palestine. Therefore the cities of Lombardy were suspicious of Frederick's intentions when he summoned the feudal nobility of Germany to meet him at Cremona at Easter 1226 to make arrangements for the crusade, and when he marched north from Apulia at the head of an armed force to meet them Milan and her allies straightway formed a league and blocked the Alpine passes so that the Germans were unable to reach Cremona. . The Lombard cities had been so independent since the death of Henry VI that they now were unwilling to observe even the terms of the Peace of Constance which they had forced from Barbarossa. A few towns, however, looked eagerly to the Emperor for aid against the others.

The Pope undertook to arbitrate between Frederick and the towns ; but as he secured from them merely a promise to suppress heresy and supply a few knights for the crusade, but no recognition of the imperial claims, Frederick was naturally dissatisfied. Honorius III (1216–1227), however, who had directed Frederick's education, remained on friendly terms with his former pupil, and perhaps was somewhat duped by Frederick's plausible promises and excuses and wily diplomacy. But now a more uncompromising pontiff and one less likely to have patience with Frederick succeeded to the Papacy as Gregory IX (1227–1241). When the Emperor at last set sail from Sicily to the heel of Italy to put himself at the head of the assembled crusaders, a pestilence broke out in the army and Frederick himself was taken sick and accordingly postponed the expedition. But the Pope refused to accept any excuse and excommunicated him. When Frederick, despite his excommunication, set sail for the East the next summer, the Pope did what he could to render his expedition a failure. The sultan, however, was having so much trouble with an obstreperous brother that he had no desire for war with Frederick. Therefore, although the latter arrived with only about ten thousand troops, he soon gained by negotiation more than the Christians had possessed since the recapture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187—namely, the possession of Jerusalem and Bethlehem and other holy places and a right of way to these from the coast.

When Frederick returned to Europe, he found that during his absence papal troops had been overrunning his kingdom, but he rapidly drove them out, and in 1230 secured the removal of his excommunication. He then built up in Sicily and Southern Italy the most absolute monarchy and strongly centralized state of his time. He had great capacity for



25. NOTRE-DAME LA GRANDE, POITIERS

administrative detail and ruled the feudal nobility with a strong hand. They were deprived of their castles and forbidden to wage wars with one another, and the King kept criminal justice under his own control. Such methods of judicial procedure as the ordeal and wager of battle were abandoned, and court procedure was fully controlled by the judges and was not in the hands of the litigants. Frederick took from his subjects not only feudal dues, but taxes in the modern sense on land, persons, and trade. Salt, metals, and dye-works were State monopolies, as indeed they had been in the period of Arabian rule. But we learn of these matters from a book of laws compiled for his kingdom by Frederick in 1231. He also promoted the economic welfare of his kingdom, with the result that he soon received a handsome income from it.

Frederick, however, was about to become embroiled in wars with the Lombard cities and the Papacy which would require the last penny that he had in his treasury. The Pope had again undertaken to arbitrate between the Emperor and the Lombard League, but had failed to secure from the cities the least submission to the imperial authority and had aroused in Frederick a strong suspicion that he was secretly encouraging the communes in their attempt to maintain a complete independence. In 1234 young Henry rebelled against his father in Germany and formed an alliance with the Lombard League, but he was captured and replaced as King of Germany by Conrad his brother. In 1237 Frederick administered a crushing defeat to the League, and, although Milan and several other cities remained untaken, he promptly introduced his administrative system wherever he could in the north. But he appointed Italians as his officials instead of Germans, as Barbarossa and Henry VI had done.

The Pope was alarmed by this turn of affairs, and still more by Frederick's occupation of Tuscany and the marriage of Enzio, one of Frederick's illegitimate sons, to a Sardinian heiress, and his assumption of the title of king of that island, which the Papacy claimed as its fief. Accordingly, while he gave many other reasons for his action, such as that Frederick was a heretic and had oppressed the Church in Sicily, Gregory IX in 1239 again excommunicated him, freed his subjects from their allegiance, vainly endeavoured to set up a rival candidate to the throne in Germany, and allied with the Lombard League and Venice and Genoa against Frederick in Italy. But from 1241 to 1243 there was a vacancy in the Papacy, and when Innocent IV finally was elected he soon fled from Italy to Lyons. There a council was held in 1245, and Frederick was excommunicated and deposed once more.

With this began a struggle to the death between the Papacy and the house of Hohenstaufen. Anti-kings made troubles in Germany, Heinrich Raspe from 1246 to 1247 and William of Holland from 1247 to 1256; then followed until 1273 an interregnum during which there was no imperial authority in Germany. In Italy young Enzio was captured in 1249 and kept in honourable captivity at Bologna for the remaining twenty-two years of his life. Frederick himself died in 1250, and his son Conrad four years later, leaving an infant son, Conradin. Manfred, however, another son of Frederick and half-brother of Conrad, continued the struggle in Italy as King of Sicily. Henry III of England was induced by the Pope in 1254 to accept the throne of Sicily for his second son Edmund and to supply the Pope with money in return, but Edmund never gained Sicily. Then Urban IV (1261–1264), the son of a charcoal-seller of Troyes in Champagne, offered the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king. Manfred was defeated and slain in 1266, and two years later the young Conradin, the last representative of the Hohenstaufen line, was captured and executed.

Charles of Anjou was not able to hold the entire Sicilian kingdom of Frederick II, however. After a few years the Sicilians rose against his French troops and officials, who were massacred in the 'Sicilian Vespers' of 1282. Eventually the island of Sicily passed as a separate kingdom to a younger branch of the royal line in Aragon, and the house of Anjou had to be content with Southern Italy, or the Kingdom of Naples.

Abuses in the Church

The Papacy had thus triumphed over the Hohenstaufens and had prevented the growth of a strong national state in Italy, just as it had done earlier in the case of the Lombard kings. But this political triumph had been purchased at a great price. To raise the necessary money and troops, and to secure the support of influential persons and families against the Hohenstaufens, the popes had to tax the clergy heavily and to sell Church offices or bestow them upon unsuitable candidates. So while Gregory VII had begun the struggle with the Empire in order to root simony out of the Church by attacking lay investiture and by securing local freedom of election, Innocent IV, in order to defeat Frederick, had taken the appointment to many ecclesiastical benefices away from the local clergy into his own hands and had condoned, if not actually practised, simony in making his appointments. He regarded such appointments or 'provisions' as a necessary but only temporary evil, but the practice was continued by his successors, and the Papacy kept demanding more and more taxes and filling more and more Church offices with its own nominees.

Outwardly it might seem that the pope had even more power toward the close of the thirteenth century than at its beginning under Innocent III. But this heavy taxation of the local clergy and this filling of Church positions with foreigners and place-hunters aroused a local, popular, or national opposition, which manifested itself at this time especially in England, and which in the end was to cost the Papacy dear. Moreover, the popes had shown themselves too bitter and unrelenting against the Hohenstaufens, and thereby lost something of the moral support which public opinion had hitherto almost invariably accorded to the Church in its quarrels with the State. Finally, the popes had not been able to put down the Hohenstaufens unaided; they had sought the aid of England and France; they had fled to Lyons themselves and had brought Charles of Anjou into Italy. They had blighted in the bud, it is true, the promising beginning toward a strongly centralized state made by Frederick II in Sicily, but the Angevin rulers of the Kingdom of Naples were not destined to get on with their papal neighbours much more harmoniously than their predecessors had done.

It was also now evident that in Italy at large and in Germany there was no longer any hope of national states developing in the Middle Ages, although the vigorous municipal life of the Italian communes was to bring forth great social, economic, and artistic progress in the succeeding centuries, and for a time sweep the Papacy away with it. But for the present what the Papacy had to face was the growth of royal and national institutions in France and England. To these new forces, which were independent of Pope and Church, and which also mark a development away from the feudal states and conditions of the preceding centuries, we shall next turn our attention.

CHAPTER XXV

THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND

ENGLAND became a distinct nation before any other European country. Ever since the decline of the Roman Empire its history had been distinctive. The Romans abandoned it before their other Western provinces, and it was the one land of any size where the language of the German invaders replaced that of the Roman provincials. The British Isles were almost the only Christian lands of the West that were not included in Charlemagne's empire. When that empire dissolved into local lordships, the petty Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, on the contrary, began to coalesce into one state. The Northmen and other invaders disrupted the Frankish Empire. But under King Alfred and his successors the Anglo-Saxons united in resistance to the Danish invaders. The Danes, too, soon fused with their Anglo-Saxon kinsmen into one homogeneous people. Feudal tendencies manifested themselves, it is true, but William the Conqueror and his sons greatly strengthened the royal power and developed a business-like central administration which did much to hold the country together. The Normans in their turn were absorbed into the mass of the population. The language gradually altered under French and Latin influence from Anglo-Saxon to something more like our modern English. Art and culture and ecclesiastical usages were affected by the Continent. But the Norman kings retained the old local institutions and agreed to observe the ancient customs of the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The Norman kings, nevertheless, had introduced feudal institutions into England and were themselves obliged to rule largely by feudal methods. However, they were successful in crushing all attempts at rebellion on the part of their barons until the twenty years of disputed succession and civil war between Stephen and Matilda. Then the feudal lords were able to do much as they pleased, but they so misconducted themselves that every one became quite disgusted with their misrule, and in 1154 the new king, Henry II, had little difficulty in quickly restoring order. Of this and of Henry's vast feudal possessions on the Continent and of his struggle with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, we have already spoken in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters.

HENRY II

Henry was somewhat corpulent, but none the less a man of great energy. He could not sit still in church, he was ever travelling from one part of his wide dominions to another, he devoted himself with equal rapidity and zest to hunting or State business or literature and learning. His anger was terrible when aroused, and even when in good humour he kept his ministers and courtiers in a state bordering upon exhaustion by his incessant activity. Henry's troublesome Continental possessions forced him to spend more of his time on the other side of the Channel than in England. But he drew up many measures for the government of England and his brief periods of residence in that country were very busy times. He appointed able ministers to carry on the central government in his absence, and he sent itinerant justices to extend his authority throughout the land. These officials resembled the *missi* of Charlemagne and had already existed under Henry I, but had disappeared during the disorder of Stephen's reign. So well did Henry II develop the governmental machinery that his son and successor, Richard the Lion-hearted, was able to retain his title to the kingship although only six months of his ten years' reign were spent in England.

Henry's greatest contribution to English government and nationality was the founding of the common law. Elsewhere in Europe at this time there was the greatest diversity of courts and legal systems. There was canon law and feudal law and the law merchant and the revived Roman law. There were hundreds and thousands of independent municipal and manorial courts. There was an infinite variety of local custom and usage, from which in England alone was there to be developed in the Middle Ages a national body of law. In England alone were the royal courts and judges to be supreme over the entire land. This was to a large extent the work of Henry II and his itinerant justices. They traversed the country looking after royal interests and holding courts or 'assizes' throughout the shires in the King's name. By means of royal writs they took certain cases away from the courts of the feudal lords, and at the same time they brought the old English local courts of justice in shire and hundred directly under royal control. They combined the popular legal customs which they found in the various localities with new methods of procedure which emanated from the King, thus gradually building up a common law for all England. These royal judges and administrative officials had studied the Roman law and were influenced by its spirit and scientific character, but they did not attempt to introduce it as a whole in the place of English custom. This is shown by two important treatises of the time upon the laws and customs of England, the one written either by Ranulf Glanville or by Hubert Walter toward the close of the reign of Henry II and the other written by Bracton in the thirteenth century.

Not only did the judges go about the kingdom on circuit, but when with the King or sitting at Westminster they constituted central courts of justice which became permanent and ultimately supplanted all other jurisdictions. Three such courts of common law grew up in the course of the thirteenth century—namely, the Court of the Exchequer, which at first considered cases connected with the royal revenue, the King's Bench, which originally dealt with important criminal cases and other suits in which the Crown was concerned, and the Common Pleas, whose jurisdiction covered lawsuits between private parties. But "in the end it came about that, while each court had some work all on its own, each could entertain any of the common civil actions."

A chief feature of procedure by the royal justices under the common-law system was the *inquisitio*, or sworn inquest of the neighbourhood. This process, which seems to have come down from late Roman times through the Frankish Empire, we have seen developed by the Church in the thirteenth century into the hated Inquisition. In England it was the seed from which has grown modern trial by jury and perhaps also the House of Commons. William the Conqueror had employed this institution in collecting the necessary information for his Domesday Book, and some further use of it for administrative or even judicial purposes had been made by the other kings before Henry II. But it was he who first made systematic and steady use of it. He had inquests made about this, that, and everything—an inquest of sheriffs, inquiries as to the keepers of castles, inquiry into feudal aids for marrying his daughter, inquiry as to the state of repair of buildings on the royal demesne.

TRIAL BY JURY

Henry introduced the sworn inquest in both civil and criminal cases. He decreed that certain suits concerning the ownership or possession of land should be settled in his courts by the sworn testimony of twelve knights or freeholders of the neighbourhood. By 1300 this method had become " part of the normal procedure in almost every kind of civil action." At first those men were selected who were most likely to know the facts of the case, and they were put upon their oath to tell what they knew. Their evidence, however, was also in the nature of a verdict that settled the suit. Moreover, they were allowed to consult documentary evidence and to take the testimony of others, until gradually a distinction grew up between the witnesses and the jurors, as in modern trials.

Our grand jury, which determines whether there is sufficient evidence to warrant putting a person on trial for the crime in question, seems to have grown out of another sworn inquest of Henry's time, in which twelve knights or freemen of each hundred were to take oath to tell the royal judges whom they suspected of having committed the recent robberies and murders in their localities. Such suspected persons were then forced to undergo the ordeal to determine their guilt or innocence of the charge thus brought against them. Henry II, however, was dissatisfied with the ordeals as methods of proof long before Innocent III forbade the clergy to take part in them. Henry showed this by ordering these accused persons to leave England even though they passed through the ordeal successfully.

At some later date the jury came into use for the actual trial of criminal cases, and after Innocent's decree the ordeals went out of use. The trial jury also consisted of men of the neighbourhood, and sometimes was the same as the accusing jury. At that time there was no objection to having jurymen who were already informed about the circumstances of the crime, or who had formed an opinion about the case. At first, indeed, these were the very men for whom the king's justices were looking.

In this institution of the sworn inquest we see central and local governments working together. The new process is introduced by the King and his justices, but to execute it requires the services of the knights and freeholders of the neighbourhood. Indeed, it is probable that the new procedure would not have taken such general hold had not the English people already been accustomed in the Anglo-Saxon period to take an active part in keeping the peace and in settling cases in their local courts of the shire and hundred. In fact, one law of the reign of Ethelred II might suggest that there had been something like a grand jury even in Anglo-Saxon times. It prescribes that a court shall be held in every wapentake—a local division similar to the hundred found in some parts of England—and that " the twelve senior thegns go out and the reeve with them, and swear on the relic that is given them in hand, that they will accuse no innocent man, nor conceal any guilty one." However that may be, in the case of the sworn inquest under Henry II we see the officials of the central government going to the localities for information, which they obtain from a certain number of leading or representative men. By this method, for instance, the

Conqueror had been enabled to determine how much property there was in the land available for purposes of taxation.

Change from Local Representation to a National Assembly

Another way of achieving the same end would be to summon these men of the localities to one central meeting-place, instead of having the royal officials go to them. The idea of a general assembly and representative body was already familiar through the Church synods and councils and the feudal court attended by vassals and tenants-in-chief. Also in England the vills or townships had long been accustomed to send six men each to represent them at the court of the hundred, and the hundred in its turn sent twelve men to the shire court. All that remained to be done, therefore, was that the shires—and also the towns which had recently grown up—should send representatives to a national assembly. The first known instance of the shires being asked to send representatives was in the reign of John in 1213, two years before Magna Carta, when the King summoned four men from each shire "to confer with us about the affairs of our realm." Some time was to elapse, however, before this development toward a representative national assembly was completed, and meantime we must pause to consider Magna Carta itself.

The Tyranny of John

While England had submitted much more docilely than Henry's Continental fiefs to the legal methods and the constructive enactments of his strong government, it would not endure the illegal and capricious despotism of John, who was selfish, treacherous, unjust, and oppressive. Moreover, John was unsuccessful and lost most of the French possessions which Henry and Richard had held, and then was worsted in his quarrel with Innocent III and became the vassal of the Pope. Therefore, toward the close of his reign the feudal nobility of England banded together—by feudal theory they were entitled to take up arms against their lord if he exceeded his powers over them—and forced the King to promise, by signing the Great Charter, to reform all the abuses in his government of which they complained.

Although the Great Charter is the most important single document in English medieval history, it was not the first instance of a written charter in which a king of England made promises and concessions to his people. William Rufus seems to have made merely verbal promises of good government in order to secure English support against his elder brother Robert, whose claim to the throne the Norman barons were inclined to support. At any rate, whatever promises Rufus made, he did not keep them. But Henry I had issued at the opening of his reign a written charter of liberties in fourteen articles promising to abolish the evils of Rufus's reign. Henry II confirmed this charter at his accession, and it was taken as the precedent and model of the much longer Magna Carta.

Hitherto in feudal England the nation had regularly sided with the king against the barons. The king, although at times a hard master, seemed to the people to represent law and order better than the feudal lords. Under the tyranny of John, however, public opinion changed sides, and the barons, who by this time had themselves become more English, received general support in forcing the king to sign the charter. They were therefore in a sense representatives of the nation, and the provisions of the charter were beneficial to the country at large as well as to the tenants-in-chief of the king. A majority of the sixty-three clauses deal, it is true, with feudal matters, and the greater part of these in turn are concerned with the relations of the king with his immediate vassals. He is not to increase the amounts of their feudal reliefs, nor exceed his rights of wardship and marriage, nor take any other than the three customary feudal aids without the consent of the common council composed of his vassals. There are, however, provisions for the benefit of subvassals, of the merchants, who are guaranteed standard measures and are allowed to move about freely, and of the freemen in general, while one clause mentions even the humble villein. Prominent among the provisions which benefit freemen in general are the articles correcting abuses in the administration of justice and promising that no freeman shall be imprisoned or punished without a legal trial and that "to no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice."

It is noteworthy that there should be such united action by the English feudal nobles against the Crown. This was largely due to the fact that all the great lords and many of the lesser nobles held their lands directly of the king, and that out of the feudal custom of court attendance, which as vassals they owed to their lord the king, had grown a Great Council of the leading nobles. It was at a meeting of this body in 1213 that the agitation began which led to the signing of Magna Carta two years later. The Charter in turn assigned to the Great Council an important place in the government and declared that its assent was necessary for all taxes other than the three customary feudal aids. The Great Council had come to consist mainly of the leading nobles, because the number of tenants-in-chief who held their fiefs directly of the king was too great in England to make it advisable that all of them should be strictly held to the feudal duty of court attendance. The Charter therefore directs that the king shall summon individually by letter the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, while other tenants-in-chief shall merely receive a general invitation from the sheriffs and bailiffs in the shire.

MISRULE OF HENRY III

In 1216 John died while vainly struggling to repudiate the Charter and to crush the barons. He was succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Henry III. During Henry's minority the regency was shared between the papal legates—for the Pope as feudal overlord of England claimed Henry as his ward—the barons, and Hubert de Burgh, one of the chief royal officials of John's reign. Their rule was on the whole conformable to the provisions of the Charter. But as the King came of age, he came into conflict, like his father before him, with the nobility of the realm. Henry was a better man than John, and a sympathetic patron of the Church and art and learning.

But his personality was weak, although well-meaning, and he fell too much under the influence of clever and greedy foreigners from Poitou, Provence, and Savoy, and asked for too many taxes. Moreover, during his reign the popes were constantly calling upon the English clergy and people for contributions to help them in their wars against the Hohenstaufen emperors, and were selling offices in the English Church to foreigners or giving them to members of influential Italian families whose aid the popes wished to secure. The King, too, often engaged in costly campaigns on the Continent in a vain effort to recover the fiefs which his father had lost.

The Great Council became the chief organ of national opposition to Henry's misrule, as may be briefly illustrated by one of its sessions in 1242 at London. On this occasion the nobility steadfastly refused to grant the King any taxes for a military expedition which he planned on the Continent, and in connexion with which he had already contracted alliances. They went further and bitterly criticized his government. They wished to know what had become of previous grants of money which he had received from them; they asked that the King consult first with them before committing himself to such perilous and expensive foreign expeditions. After a vain attempt to bring pressure to bear upon the individual members of the Council, Henry finally dismissed the assembly in anger, but without securing any financial aid.

So matters went on until the King accepted the crown of Sicily from the Pope for his second son, Edmund—an undertaking which would benefit England little even if it were successful, and which involved large expenditures for troops and payments to the Pope. The barons consequently lost patience, and in 1258 took the government out of Henry's hands and by the Provisions of Oxford appointed various committees from their own number to conduct the government and to reform the constitution. This arrangement did not work well, however, and the lesser nobility or knights wrote to Prince Edward, the King's eldest son, protesting against it as too oligarchical.

SIMON DE MONTFORT'S PARLIAMENT

By this time the Great Council was coming to be called a 'parliament,' or meeting to talk things over. We have heard the same word used in the Italian cities for a popular mass-meeting, *parlamento*, and in France it came to be applied to the chief court of justice, *parlement*. In England it was to be transformed from a council of magnates summoned by the king into a national assembly of two houses, one an hereditary body composed of nobles, the other a locally elected body representing the commons or people. Under Simon de Montfort, a son of the leader of the Albigensian Crusade and for a time one of the King's foreign favourites, but who now took the lead in the movement toward reform, a parliament was held in 1265 to which were summoned not only prelates and greater barons, but two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each of twenty-one towns. But the next year Simon was defeated and slain in battle by royal forces under Prince Edward, who for a time had supported de Montfort, but then had become reconciled with his father.

EDWARD I

After the death of Simon, Prince Edward won back the other barons by his conciliatory attitude, and then went off on a crusade. While he was thus absent Henry III died, but no attempt was made to dispute Edward's succession. He was the first truly English king since the Norman conquest. He was tall, with fair hair and red cheeks, and he had no liking for either foreign favourites or foreign ways. He opposed papal interference in English State affairs, and joined Philip the Fair of France in resisting Pope Boniface VIII, as the next chapter will tell. His reign (1272–1307) showed that the government of England was henceforth to be controlled neither by an absolute monarch nor by an oligarchy of nobles nor by a vassal of the pope, but by a sovereign whose power was limited by the permanent existence of a national representative and legislative body.

Edward adopted de Montfort's scheme of summoning both townsmen and knights of the shire to his legislative assemblies, and these two groups of men came to make up the House of Commons, composed of representatives of the localities, while the House of Lords included only the prelates and great nobles, who received a special summons from the king. We first hear of the two houses sitting apart in 1332, early in the reign of Edward III. Historians have often called an assembly summoned by Edward I in 1295 the Model Parliament, on the ground that it was the first body legally summoned by the king which represented all classes fully. It contained two representatives from each of one hundred and ten boroughs instead of from only twenty-one towns as in the case of de Montfort's Parliament. There were two knights from each of thirty-seven shires, ninety bishops and abbots, and forty-one barons. But there were also various representatives of the lower clergy—deans, archdeacons, and delegates chosen by the parish priests. These lower clergy had not been summoned by de Montfort, and they soon disappeared from subsequent Parliaments, so that in its inclusion of them the Parliament of 1295 was scarcely a true model.

Edward was a great legislator and issued many statutes during his reign. Some of them reformed or amended the police and judicial systems; others restricted feudal tendencies, the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and the passing of landed property into the hands of the clergy. The term 'statute' came to indicate a law promulgated by the king to which both Houses of Parliament had agreed. In the following reign of Edward II, after a period of civil war between the Crown and the barons and another unsuccessful attempt by the latter to manage the government themselves, the principle was reaffirmed that all royal and national matters "shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliament by the king and the council of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm."

Edward's wars with the Welsh and Scots, of which we shall speak at the end of this chapter, and his frequent fights with the Capetian king in Gascony and Flanders, were expensive, and he often had to appeal to Parliament for funds. The king had a certain regular income from his crown lands or private estates, from fees and fines, feudal incidents, and from his right of coinage, his forest rights, and his superior claim to such finds as hidden treasure and wreckage. He also might raise money by selling honours and offices, or by negotiations with the Jews and foreign merchants. But if he wished to levy any direct tax upon the property of his subjects, he had to get the consent of Parliament. Edward, it is true, when he found Parliament obdurate, sometimes took taxes without its consent. But the members were sure to complain of such conduct when next he appealed to them for financial aid. In 1297 they insisted that he confirm the Great Charter and promise that henceforth he would take no "aids, tasks, or prises" without their consent. Thus Parliament early maintained its control over the purse.

Edward II, a young man fond of frivolity and of low life, was disgracefully defeated by the Scots at Bannockburn in 1314 and displayed no capacity as a ruler. He was the prey of greedy and insolent favourites, and early offended the chief nobles of his realm. As a result his reign was full of disloyalty, civil war, and anarchy. But the discontented barons used Parliament against him, and he, whenever for a time he recovered his power, employed Parliament against them. Parliament, it must be admitted, was subservient to whosoever happened to be in power for the moment, but, on the other hand, neither side in the struggle could dispense with this national assembly. So Parliament was active throughout the reign, and finally in 1327 it deposed Edward II and chose his son to reign in his stead as Edward III.

Lords and Commons

To-day the House of Commons is supreme in Parliament, but at this time the Lords took the lead in resisting the royal power or initiating new legislation. However, the Commons occasionally ventured to submit humble petitions of their own. These, if accepted by the Lords and king, would become regular statutes of the realm, although their wording might be considerably altered from that of the original petitions. In the House of Commons the knights from the shires, though less numerous than the burgesses, were more influential and received twice as large salaries. The English towns were still small at this time.

It is noteworthy that the knights had become detached from the nobility and were simply the elected representatives of the freemen holding lands in the shires. The knights were ceasing to live the fighting careers of the typical feudal noble and were becoming simply the more prosperous landowners in the counties. Indeed, many such men were never formally knighted, so that it became increasingly difficult to secure knights as shire members, and the government often had to be content with ordinary freemen. One of Edward I's legislative measures, known as 'Distraint of Knighthood,' provided that all freeholders whose land yielded an income of twenty pounds sterling a year must become knights or pay a fine. But many preferred to pay the fine and remain simple esquires. Being a knight was still more expensive.

Serfs and villeins could neither be elected to Parliament nor vote for members. Their place was on the manor, where they were subject to the rulings of their lord in the private manorial court. The common law of the royal courts was not for them. The manorial system, however, had never been universal or complete in England, and some of its features were disappearing by the end of the thirteenth century. Payments in kind and the performance of personal service on the lord's demesne lands were being largely replaced by money payments of corresponding value. Men who legally were villeins bound to the manor, in actual practice were moving about from place to place working for wages as hired agricultural labourers.

In its general civilization thirteenth-century England was in large measure indebted to the Continent, yet in some respects peculiar. The friars appeared in England soon after their foundation, and English churches and universities formed one religious and scientific world with the clergy and schools of the Continent. England, however, produced an unusual number of learned writers, some of whom displayed marked originality. After the Norman period the English developed their own style of Gothic architecture, called 'Early English.' Owing to the decay and transformation of the Anglo-Saxon literature and language, England had no national literature worthy of the name until the second half of the fourteenth century, and most writing was in French or Latin. England was a wealthy country in the thirteenth century, but its towns were small compared with those across the Channel and not so far advanced in industry and commerce.

IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES

While England was developing national unity, the other peoples of the British Isles—Irish, Scots, and Welsh—remained independent. Neither the Anglo-Saxons nor the Normans had succeeded in conquering them. But they lacked any strong political union among themselves, and in civilization fell behind England, which was richer and nearer to the Continent. Henry II, not content with his other extensive Continental possessions outside England, invaded Ireland and received the submission of various native chiefs, while John, to compensate for the lands that he had lost across the Channel, tried to introduce English law and government throughout Ireland. He did not thoroughly subdue the country, however, and during the remainder of the medieval period the land was in constant turmoil and disorder, and the authority of the English king was at most times limited to a small area around Dublin.

Kings of Celtic race had gradually acquired a certain authority over all Scotland. At times they had recognized the overlordship of the English kings, but it was not until 1291 that Edward I took advantage of a disputed succession to the Scottish throne to try to bring that country really under his rule. As a result the Scots formed an alliance with France against England which was to be often renewed in the course of the later Middle Ages. The Scottish patriot leader Wallace was captured and cruelly executed in 1305, but Robert Bruce continued the struggle against annexation, Edward II was

26. AMIENS CATHEDRAL

decisively defeated at Bannockburn, and Scotland remained an independent country.

Edward I was more successful against Wales, which he subjugated and divided into shires in English fashion, but to which he did not grant representation in Parliament. The Welsh revolted several times against English rule during the Middle Ages, but without success, and the eldest son of the English king has borne the title Prince of Wales ever since the reign of Edward I.

MEDIEVAL REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES OUTSIDE ENGLAND

It should not be thought that England alone among medieval lands possessed parliamentary institutions. In most states of Western Europe there developed from the feudal courts of the great lords, whether kings or dukes or counts, tax-granting and legislative bodies representing the three 'estates' of clergy, feudal landed nobility, and townsmen. Such assemblies existed in Normandy, Vermandois, Brittany, Artois, Burgundy, Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and elsewhere. The Cortes or 'Courts' of Aragon embraced four instead of three estates, since the nobles were divided into great and small like the English barons and knights of the shire. National sentiment made itself felt in Aragon in a united protest of the estates against Peter II's submission to Innocent III ten years before the English barons forced their king, John, another of Innocent's vassals, to sign Magna Carta. In Aragon as in England the Cortes came to insist that their grievances must be redressed before they would grant the king taxes, and no law could be enacted without the consent of all four estates. The King of Denmark in 1250 called representatives of the towns to his coronation assembly (Rigsdag). He died on a campaign against Frisian peasants who had refused to pay a new tax called the 'Plough-Penny.' His successors during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had to consent at the time of their election to such conditions as annual parliaments and no arbitrary imprisonment.

But most of these other medieval states were smaller than England; most of them were in the course of time to lose their independence and become absorbed into the larger European states of later times; in most of them the medieval representative assemblies ultimately disappeared or sank into insignificance. Only in England was a parliament founded in the Middle Ages destined to lead a healthy and continuous existence into modern times and down to the present day, and furnish a model for other nations which have reintroduced parliamentary government in the last century. England also was the only large state to emerge from the Middle Ages with a unified national law.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GROWTH OF ROYAL POWER IN FRANCE

THE France of whose brilliant civilization we have already treated in several chapters was not yet a nation, but a land of ambitious feudal lords and enterprising communes. It was still a congeries of distinct peoples, and even its nobles were divided into groups according to locality. By the thirteenth century, however, the royal power began to make great strides. Many districts which formerly had been practically independent feudal states now came under the king's authority. But before a given region passed under royal control, it often had evolved distinct customs and legal usages of its own and also a representative assembly of the estates of that locality. As the king gradually extended his lordship over such feudal areas, he left to each its local customs, and often granted numerous charters assuring the ancient privileges of this or that town or abbey or provincial group of nobles. Thus each part of France was governed in a slightly different way from its neighbour and no common law like that of England was created. On the other hand, there was little united action in opposition to the French king, who signed no such general and sweeping concession as Magna Carta. The local charters which he did sign were easier for him after a time to disregard or to take away, since in each case only a certain district or group of persons was concerned to defend the charter. Thus in the end the French monarchy became more arbitrary and absolute than the English. England became a strong nation through its law and Parliament and constitutional government. But in France the king and his court and officials were the chief force uniting the different provinces, lords, and communes, and welding them at last into one people. All those small nationalities of the feudal world were ultimately swallowed up by the conquering Capetians, except Flanders, which survives in the Belgium of to-day.

Reasons for the Growth of Royal Power

There were reasons for the growth of the Capetian monarchs at the expense of the feudal lords. First, the kings had the advantage of a superior title; they were the successors of Charlemagne, and were overlords where the others were merely lords. Second, their unbroken succession in the direct male line, with few minorities and regencies, from 987 to 1328 enabled them to outlive most of the feudal dynasties, to regain much feudal territory either by escheat or by intermarriage and inheritance, or at least to see the power of their rivals weakened by long regencies of widows or by struggles over the succession to those fiefs. Third, the evolution of an efficient and centralized administration in place of the clumsy governmental machinery of the feudal court. Fourth, the able personalities and energetic reigns of several kings after Louis VI in contrast to the feeble Capetians who preceded him. Fifth, the many opportunities, of which the kings were usually quick to take advantage, for alliances with the pope, clergy, communes, or subvassals against the great feudal lords —or with the nobility of one part of France against those of another as in the Albigensian Crusade. The King of France was called 'the first son of the Church,' and in attacking its enemies usually gained something for himself.

Already in the twelfth century the kings began to take the advice of councillors of their own choice in place of the vassals who owed them feudal court attendance, and to fill their offices with men of more education like the clergy, or of especial legal training like the students of Roman law at Bologna, or of better business ability like the townsmen. These made more capable and more faithful officials than the feudal warriors and were able to give all their time to the royal service, if the king could find the money for their salaries. With the addition of this trained administrative class came also a greater specialization in government. The old feudal and ceremonial household offices gradually disappeared and the much more numerous new royal officials came to divide into three chief central bodies: the Council of State, corresponding to the Privy Council in England; the Chamber of Accounts (*Chambre des Comptes*), similar to the English Exchequer; and the *Parlement*, or royal court of justice, which was equivalent to the three English central courts of common law. The kings also created new officials called *baillis*, who were much like the *missi* of Charlemagne or the itinerant justices of Henry II of England, and who travelled about overseeing the *prévôts* (provosts) or royal agents in the localities, who resembled the English sheriffs. By the middle of the thirteenth century each *bailli* was assigned a definite territory, but they were frequently transferred. The king also began to hire troops instead of depending upon feudal military service.

Our account of feudal France in Chapter XIV ended with the successful reign of Louis the Fat, who completely mastered the territory immediately about Paris and forced even the rulers of distant Auvergne and Aquitaine to recognize his overlordship. His son, Louis VII, however, did little more than hold his own during a long reign from 1137 to 1180. It is true that he established friendly relations, which were valuable later, with some of the feudal and ecclesiastical lords in what is now South-eastern and South-western France, when he passed through those regions upon pilgrimages to the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse in the Alps and to the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Spain. But he left his realm and wasted troops and treasure on the Second Crusade, and he made the grave political error of divorcing his capricious wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, although he loved her immoderately. She thereupon married the young Count of Anjou, who soon became Henry II of England, and whose great Plantagenet empire became an extreme menace to the Capetian monarchy. Louis, however, succeeded in preventing Henry from adding Toulouse to his vast holdings, and he stirred up trouble for him with his sons and vassals.

REIGN OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS

The medieval King of France who probably most increased the royal power and territory was Philip II, or Augustus, during his long reign of forty-three years from 1180 to 1223. Of his participation in the Third Crusade, and his relations with Richard and John, Kings of England, and with Pope Innocent III, we have already spoken. At his accession "the feudal aristocracy was still the great territorial and political power on French soil. At his death the situation had been completely reversed" and the monarchy prevailed. The chronicler Rigord gave him the epithet 'Augustus' of the old Roman emperors, partly because Philip was born in August, but more because he believed the word derived from the verb *augeo* and because Philip had so augmented the territory and power of the French monarchy. Another contemporary called him 'Karolides,' or 'descendant of Charlemagne,' and a fourteenth-century poet named him 'Philip the Conqueror.' For a long time it had seemed that his father, Louis VII, would leave no male heir to succeed him, and twenty-one years passed after he had first been married before his third wife bore an heir to the throne. Thomas Becket, then an exile under Louis VII's protection, tells how darkly Henry II of England scowled when he first saw this young prince—then aged four—who was destined to give himself and his sons so much trouble and to take from John most of the vast Plantagenet fiefs in France. Little Philip showed his precocious ability by a speech which he made to the Plantagenet King on this occasion; but he had scant time to receive an ordinary education, for his life from his early teens was absorbed in practical politics and wars. He turned out to be an able warrior and military engineer, especially in conducting sieges. Even more was he a wily diplomat, quite unscrupulous about breaking promises that were not to his advantage, and this in relations with his own people as well as in foreign affairs.

Philip added to the royal domain about Paris and the province of Berri, which had comprised the possessions of Louis VII, all the territory between Flanders and Champagne on the north and east and Brittany and the Loire on the west and south, including Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and several other districts. Indeed, he had some lands south of the Loire in Poitou and Saintonge as well as Touraine and Berri. These gains were made chiefly from King John of England and from the Count of Flanders. The number of royal *prévôts* had to be increased from thirty-eight to ninety-four to administer this greatly enlarged royal domain. Philip also increased his influence as feudal overlord in regions not directly under his control, interfering in feudal marriages and the garrisoning of castles, and confirming legal transactions between the lords and their subvassals or towns or serfs. Many lords, especially ecclesiastical ones, now began to share their fiefs or ' go half-and-half ' with the king. This practice generally resulted in the long run in royal annexation of the entire fief in question.

Philip was a great amasser of treasure and always had a surplus on hand for emergencies. One contemporary complains of his financial oppression. The extension of his royal domain and feudal overlordship greatly increased his financial resources, and the revenue doubled in the course of his reign. The growing towns on his domain supplied him with militia for his wars or paid him sums of money. Louis VII had been more favourable to the gilds and communes than Louis VI, and Philip yet further encouraged towns and trade. Their representatives appear in his reign in all assemblies, together with the clergy and feudal nobles. He not only paved the streets of Paris, enlarged the circuit of its walls, increased the number of its markets, and improved its police force ; he even put bourgeois of Paris on the council of regency during his absence on crusade. But he usually protected the jurisdiction and property of the clergy in the towns against the communes. In return for such protection, however, he felt at liberty to squeeze a good many contributions from Church coffers. He made use of the Templars as bankers and sometimes of the Jews.

The brief reign of Louis VIII was memorable chiefly for his paving the way for the extension of the royal power into Southern France by his participation in the wars against the

Albigensians. He died of dysentery on the way home, leaving a son of only twelve years to succeed him. This seemed a fine chance for the King of England to recover some of his lost possessions and for the French vassals to revolt. Several coalitions were formed by the feudal lords, who had come to see that it was hopeless for them to struggle singly against the royal power. But all such efforts were thwarted by Blanche of Castile, the widowed queen-mother, a very religious and also very energetic woman, who ruled the realm with a firm hand until her son attained his majority. Indeed, she continued to influence his government until her death in 1253 while he was away on a crusade.

ST. LOUIS

Louis IX (1226–1270) was a dutiful son in whose education the rod had not been spared and whose mother often told him that she would rather see him dead than have him commit a mortal sin. In consequence he led such a holy life that he was canonized before the close of the thirteenth century, and we shall henceforth speak of him as St. Louis. His personal beauty became almost angelic in the eyes of contemporaries because of the pure life and piety that lay behind it. He wore a hair-cloth shirt and rose at midnight for matins like a monk. He attended many early masses, was fond of hearing sermons, and read much religious literature. He fasted punctiliously, every Friday he went to confession, and sometimes had himself whipped with small chains. He entertained paupers at his table, and washed the feet of the poor, or even, like St. Francis, waited on lepers. His eulogists also inform us that despite his detestation of beer he drank it all through Lent in place of wine. His penances, however, were usually performed in private. What his court and the world saw in him was a fearless knight thoroughly trained in all the arts of war; an enthusiast for the crusading movement; a conscientious, just, and energetic ruler, who was usually good-humoured, kindly, and courteous in speech and manner, but at times became impatient and angry; who in later life dressed soberly, but who was always dignified and sometimes imperious. Like many good people he could not entirely refrain from admonishing others how to conduct themselves. His six sons and five daughters stood in considerable awe of their father, with whom they apparently were not on very intimate terms, although he gave his personal attention to their education. No scandal ever disturbed the strictly moral and incorruptible court of St. Louis, who insisted that all his servants should be of irreproachable character. And if he could not prevent crime and irreligion in his kingdom, he could at least severely punish such offences.

There were some resemblances between the reigns of St. Louis and of his contemporary Henry III of England. Both began their reigns as mere boys; both married daughters of Raymond Berengar of Provence; and their brothers, Richard of Cornwall and Charles of Anjou, married his third and fourth daughters. Both Henry and Louis were religious and peacefully inclined. They had conflicting territorial claims in France; and the Kingdom of Sicily was offered by the Pope to members of both their families. Both met with sharp opposition from the feudal nobility, and the clergy at this time in both France and England protested vigorously against the increasing pressure of both papal and royal taxation. But Henry was weak in character, Louis was strong, although a certain unsuspiciousness, which inclined him to believe what any one said, was at times abused by unscrupulous persons. Henry's wife dominated him, while Louis kept the upper hand of her equally ambitious and energetic sister. The Pope made a cat's-paw of Henry to pull chestnuts out of the fire for him; but Louis, for all his piety, would not yield to bishop or pope when he believed himself to be in the right. Henry's barons were often successful in their revolts, and dictated schemes of government to him, and were troublesome almost to the end of his reign. The last feudal revolt that Louis had to crush was in 1241–1242, when the lords of Poitou joined with many of the nobles and towns of Gascony and Languedoc against him, and received support from Raymond VII, the Count of Toulouse, and the Kings of England and Aragon.

After 1243 there were no more feudal risings against Louis, who gave good and strong government where Henry III and his foreign favourites were guilty of misrule. Louis then proceeded to broaden the jurisdiction of the royal courts at the expense of the feudal tribunals and to encourage appeals to the Parlement of Paris, to do away with the wager of battle in trials within his own domain and to forbid private wars the realm over. He improved the royal coinage so that the people would prefer it to that of the feudal lords, and he forbade the circulation of any other coins in his own domain, but could only secure that his coins should not be excluded from the fiefs of his great vassals, who still retained the right of coinage within their own territories. Louis's brothers became lords of a number of the chief feudal states: Robert was Count of Artois and other northern provinces; Alfonso was Count of Poitou and Auvergne and heir to the vast County of Toulouse; Charles of Anjou also held Maine, and gained Provence by marriage and gradually subjected its cities, and then went off to conquer Southern Italy. After numerous hostilities, truces, and long negotiations, Louis made with Henry III in 1259 the Treaty of Paris, by which Henry abandoned all claim to the lost provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou, while Louis surrendered Guienne and Gascony to the English King, who, however, was to be his vassal for these. In the preceding year Louis had made the Treaty of Corbeil with the King of Aragon, settling their boundary along the Mediterranean coast.

PHILIP III AND PHILIP IV

Philip III, who was too devoted to the interests of his uncle, Charles of Anjou, and of the pope, prepared a vast expedition to punish the King of Aragon for having deprived Charles of the island of Sicily, but the undertaking turned out a complete failure. As the comparatively unimportant reign of Louis VIII had intervened between those of Philip Augustus and St. Louis, so that of Philip III comes between the more momentous reigns of St. Louis and Philip the Fair (1285–1314). Philip IV was a good-looking blond, whence his epithet of 'the Fair'; his manners and conversation were refined; he was outwardly religious ; but we hardly know whether he or his legal advisers really controlled the government. At any rate, the royal power was now further developed ; the records of foreign embassies and diplomacy greatly increased in bulk ; and the amount of royal taxation and extortion multiplied. Philip's reign is further notable for his relations with England and Flanders, for the first known session of the Estates-General, the national assembly corresponding to the English Parliament, and for his struggle with and triumph over the Papacy.

Philip the Fair resumed the policy of Philip Augustus by trying to bring Flanders and the Continental possessions of the King of England under his control. Flanders, with its large towns and flourishing industries and trade, was of great economic value and was naturally coveted by the French King. But the Flemish towns had close economic relations with England, whence they obtained much of the raw wool for their weaving industries, and whose import trade too they largely controlled. Flanders, however, was divided within itself. Besides its count there were rival parties in the communes themselves. As elsewhere in Northern France, toward the close of the thirteenth century there were uprisings of the artisans against the few rich burghers who had secured control of the machinery of municipal government and distributed all the offices and favours among themselves, while they not only taxed the masses heavily, but kept wages down to starvation rates. This caused risings against the ruling class in 1280 and 1281 in Bruges, Ghent, Tournai, Ypres, and Douai in Flanders, as well as in some towns of Northern France. In the reign of Philip the Fair the rich burghers and employers of labour looked to France for aid, and the working men to England. The count was sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other.

Philip rather than Edward I was the aggressor in breaking the Peace of Paris arranged by their predecessors, St. Louis and Henry III. On the other hand, it was Edward's aggressions against Scotland which led that country to form the alliance with France which was renewed again and again through the later Middle Ages. In the third place, it was French aggression which now drove the Count of Flanders into an English alliance. After considerable fighting Edward and Philip made peace and arranged marriages between their families, and left their allies, Flanders and Scotland, to each other's mercies. What the Scots did to Edward II at Bannockburn has already been noted, and the Flemish artisans treated the French in very similar fashion. In 1300 Philip imprisoned the Count of Flanders, declared that fief forfeit, and occupied the country. Two years later in the 'Matins of Bruges' the French were massacred as they had been in the Sicilian Vespers twenty years before. Uprisings in the other towns followed. Then in the battle of Courtrai (1302) the townsmen successfully withstood the charge of the French chivalry. The conflict is also called the 'Battle of the Spurs,' from the many spurs taken from the fallen French knights and hung up on exhibition in the cathedral of Courtrai. Indecisive warfare and vain attempts at treaties of peace then occupied many years, and the last of the three sons of Philip IV also made war upon England again.

INCREASED ROYAL TAXATION

As Edward I's wars with France and Scotland forced him to appeal to the English Parliament and resort to other devices to secure sufficient revenue, so Philip's expensive wars with England and Flanders caused him to adopt all sorts of methods of raising money, from gifts and loans, which he seldom repaid, to direct property taxes of one, two, or four per cent. on capital and five, ten, or twenty per cent. on income. Some of his methods were ill-advised, notably: (1) the burdensome taxes upon trade and the sale of commodities (*gabelles*), which helped to bring about the decline of the once flourishing fairs of Champagne; (2) the depreciation of the coinage; (3) ruinous measures against the Lombards, Jews, and Templars, who were the chief bankers, financiers, and capitalists of the time. Of his treatment of the Templars we shall speak in another connexion; he despoiled and exiled the Jews; the Lombards too were driven out, their goods were confiscated, and debts to them were cancelled except that the principal was to be paid to the Crown.

Philip's officials found it no easy task to collect the direct taxes upon capital and income, to which the country was not yet accustomed. They generally allowed the feudal lords to collect them from their subvassals and keep a fraction for themselves, and the towns to compound for a fixed sum, which they might raise from their citizens by any assessment they chose. Those who strenuously objected to the tax were assured that it would not serve as a precedent and that they would probably never again be called on to contribute, if they would help the King in his dire need this time. Nobles who refused to pay were mentioned by name to the King. But the collectors less often treated with individual communes and holders of fiefs than with the assembled nobility and town representatives of an entire feudal region. In this case they often had to make concessions and promises, expressed in written charters, in order to get the desired grants of money. The feudal nobility thus regained some of the privileges of which St. Louis had deprived them, and various local charters were granted. The Church, too, extracted charters guaranteeing its liberties in return for the contributions which it was forced to make to the King; but the concessions made were so qualified by reservations or so vaguely expressed that the King seldom observed them afterward. And, as we have said before, no document like the Great Charter was forced from the King and then enforced upon him thereafter by united action, and no power over taxation like that of the English Parliament was acquired by any general assembly representing the French nation.

THE ESTATES-GENERAL

Such an assembly, however, now came into existence. Hitherto there had been provincial estates of Normandy, Artois, Vermandois, Burgundy, and so on; now, on at least three occasions during his reign, Philip the Fair summoned the Estates-General: in 1302 to secure general support in his conflict with Pope Boniface VIII, in 1308 against the Knights

Templars, and in 1314 to secure funds for a war in Flanders. To this gathering were summoned the tenants-in-chief, lay or clerical, representatives of the towns, and also of the cathedral chapters and monasteries. The assembly divided, not into Lords and Commons, but into the three estates of clergy, nobility, and townsmen. The session usually lasted only a day and there was no general debate, but each estate was free to submit a *cahier* or list of grievances for the King to remedy if he saw fit. In 1314 the nobles and towns joined in opposition to a *gabelle* which fell heavily upon both seller and buyer, and secured its withdrawal and the promise of improvement in the coinage. But the Estates-General was not destined to gain the control of taxation and legislation possessed by the English Parliament. There was no obligation upon the king to call it; he could deal instead with different provincial estates separately and keep the opposition to himself divided. Moreover, when the Estates-General did meet, there was a lack of common feeling and interest and action among the three estates, which seldom agreed upon any united programme. Perhaps this was because there were not great lay lords and bishops grouped together in one body as in the English House of Lords, nor knights and townsmen associated together as in the English House of Commons. But we must also remember the greater chasm between feudalism and communes in France, the greater size of the country, and the greater diversity of its parts in their local customs and recent history. It should be added that the so-called Estates-General usually included representatives of Northern and Central France only; the southern provinces insisted upon making their grants through their own Estates of Languedoc.

The meetings of the Estates-General during the reign of Philip the Fair were entirely under his control. The Estates called during the brief reigns of his three sons, Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV, were in the main provincial and partial. Local leagues of feudal nobles with some following among the clergy and communes sprang up in the last year of Philip the Fair's reign against new taxes which he had introduced. Some of these federations even extended over several provinces, and they continued into the reign of Louis X. But they did not result in any permanent check upon the royal power. Charters were granted by Louis X to the nobles in a number of provinces, but the concessions made were intended to preserve old feudal customs and privileges and not to upbuild any new national and popular institutions. And through the remainder of French medieval history we shall find it in general true that, while there is occasional opposition to the Crown, it fails to put itself into permanent institutional form.

PHILIP THE FAIR AND THE PAPACY

Philip the Fair gave the supreme proof of the progress which the secular royal power had made by his time by refusing to admit in French affairs any such theories of papal overlordship and supremacy in international relations, or of papal interference in the internal politics of the realm, as the popes had been maintaining by both word and deed since the days of Hildebrand. In this he was not alone; other secular rulers of his time displayed a tendency toward greater independence from ecclesiastical control and less regard for papal wishes and threats; and they were supported in this stand by their people. The State was at last becoming more powerful than the Church. But Philip the Fair as the most powerful monarch of his age naturally went the farthest in opposition to the Papacy. Indeed, he went so far that he was able to make a pope the tool of his policies. Innocent III—a century before—found Philip Augustus refractory and independent; Philip the Fair was to find Pope Clement V subservient to his wishes.

BONIFACE VIII

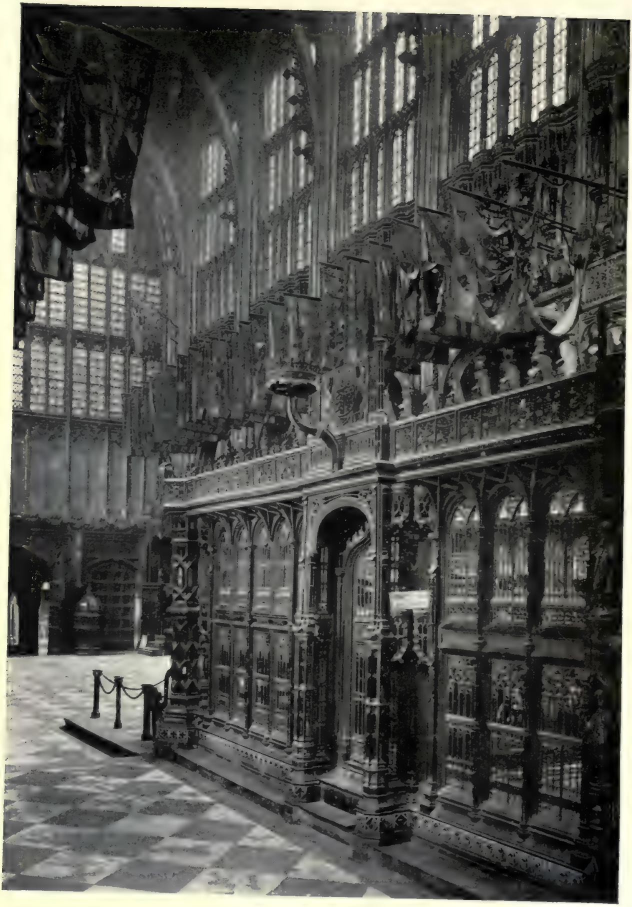
The crisis between Church and State was precipitated by the pontificate of the haughty old man Boniface VIII (1294–1303), who, unmindful of the growth of royal power and of national states and of their increasing hold upon the people during the thirteenth century, tried to carry still farther the ideals of ecclesiastical supremacy of Gregory VII and Innocent III. He seemed to forget, too, that his own personal position was rather precarious. In the first place, he had been elected, not as a result of the death, but of the almost unprecedented resignation of Celestine V, the previous pope,

> Who made from craven heart the great renunciation,

and was placed by Dante among those souls whom both Heaven and Hell rejected. Second, Boniface had quarrelled with the powerful Roman family of the Colonna and had ousted two of its members from their posts as cardinals. Third, he had offended others of the nobility about Rome by building up a strong feudal lordship there for his nephew, Peter Gaetano.

Boniface not only annoyed both Philip and Edward I of England by trying to interfere as arbitrator in their wars with each other and with Flanders and Scotland, but greatly offended them by his bull *Clericis laicos*, in 1296, which forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the State. Edward disregarded the bull and threatened his clergy with outlawry if they obeyed it. If they would not contribute to the support of the State, they should not enjoy its legal protection. Similarly Philip decided that if the French clergy would pay him no taxes, the Pope and other Italians should derive no income from France. He forbade the export of any money, jewels, food, or military supplies from his kingdom, but ordered all foreigners to depart at once, leaving, of course, their property and business and debtors behind them. It was a sign of Philip's royal power that these commands were strictly executed. Boniface soon saw—or felt—the point, and explained that the bull was not intended to apply to certain classes of clergy, nor to prevent any clergy from helping their native land with contributions in a time of dire need. The Pope also tried to placate Philip by other measures, among them the canonization of St. Louis, and the King thereupon rescinded his embargo upon the flow of French gold to Rome. Boniface's partial withdrawal of *Clericis laicos* did not fully satisfy Philip, however, and before the close of his reign he had secured from the Pope's successors a complete exemption of France from the provisions of that bull.

Meanwhile other causes of disagreement and bitterness arose between Philip and Boniface. The Viscount of Narbonne did homage for his fief to the King instead of to the Archbishop



27. Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey

of Narbonne as his predecessors had been accustomed to do, while a haughty papal legate gave Philip great offence by his demands. Since this legate was ordinarily the Bishop of Pamiers, in Southern France, when his legateship expired and he returned to his diocese Philip had him seized and tried for sedition, heresy, simony, blasphemy, disrespect to royalty, and what not. This seemed an outrage to the indignant Pope. Moreover, Boniface had been made over-confident of the support of Christendom against Philip by the success of the Jubilee, or centenary of Christ's birth, held at Rome in 1300. There had been a vast concourse of pilgrims and a great outpouring of gifts to the Papacy. Accordingly in the bull *Ausculta fili charissime* (December 1301) Boniface demanded the Bishop's release and rendition to Rome, where, too, he summoned the clergy to consult with him how the excesses of the French monarch against their order might be stopped. He also asserted the superiority of the Papacy over all kings and realms. Early in this same year Edward I had submitted to Parliament a complaint from Boniface against his occupation of Scotland and a contention that Scotland was a fief of the Papacy. Parliament had completely repudiated the papal claims. Philip now followed this example, and in 1302 submitted to the Estates-General a garbled version of *Ausculta fili*, which caused that assembly to sympathize entirely with the King. Philip was thus assured of national support in the coming struggle; even the French clergy had declared in his favour.

The Pope for his part proceeded to hold his synod, which some French clergy attended and at which he launched against Philip the bull *Unam sanctam*. The assertion in this bull that it was necessary to their salvation that all human beings should be under the Roman pontiff has been generally regarded as the extreme contention of papal theory. This proud declaration was swiftly followed by a terrible humiliation. Nogaret, one of Philip's advisers, was dispatched to Italy with instructions to seize the Pope and bring him to France for trial by a Church council to be summoned there. Nogaret was joined by the Colonna and other local enemies of Boniface, while no secular power came to the Pope's aid. Boniface had left Rome and was at Anagni, his birthplace, preparing to excommunicate Philip and free the French from their allegiance, when Nogaret and his confederates entered the gates of the town without opposition. When the Pope refused to accept their terms, which included the restoration of the Colonna family and his resignation from the Papacy and captivity in France, they stormed the palaces of the Pope and his nephew and took Boniface prisoner. Although in danger of his life, for the head of the house of Colonna wished to kill him, the old man bravely persisted in refusing to yield an inch to their demands. After he had been a prisoner for three days the townsmen of Anagni rose and freed him, but his strength and spirit were broken and a month later he died at Rome.

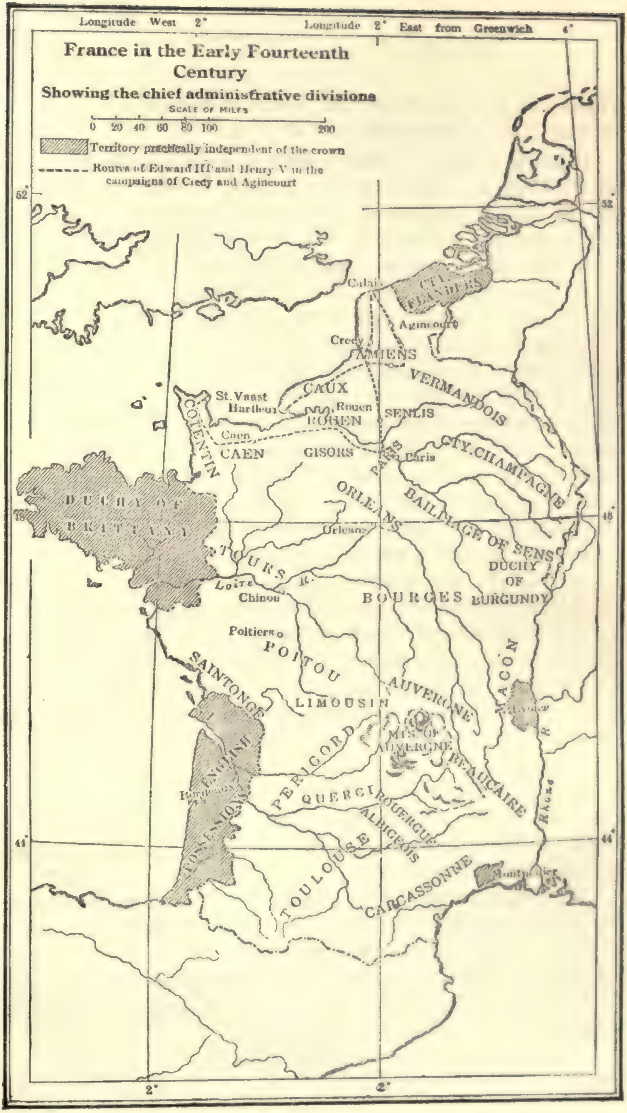
This was not, however, the first time that violence had been done a pope by secular rulers. Philip's strength was manifested more in the fact that Boniface's successors took no steps to punish the French King for the outrage. Benedict XI, who reigned for only a few months, excommunicated Nogaret, Sciarra Colonna, and eleven of their associates, but displayed a conciliatory spirit toward Nogaret's master. After Benedict's death eleven months passed before the election of a new pope, and then the choice of the cardinals fell upon Philip's candidate, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who became Clement V (1305–1314). Instead of taking up his residence at Rome, Clement was crowned at Lyons, a city which six years later became French territory, and in 1309 he came to Avignon, on the Rhone, where the popes were to live for nearly seventy years. They purchased the town from the Count of Provence and ruled it as an independent principality. It was not annexed to France until 1791. But Provence was under the rule of a French line, the house of Anjou, and the popes of Avignon were near enough to the French boundary to be under French influence, just as Clement himself was a tool of Philip, although the city of Bordeaux, of which he had been archbishop, belonged to England. Clement named many new cardinals, among them sixteen from his native Gascony and four of his own family, so that the Italians and the sympathizers with

Boniface were outnumbered in the College of Cardinals. Also Clement and Philip together despoiled the French clergy, giving all the choice positions in the French churches to their own favourites. Finally the Pope even freed Nogaret from excommunication, restored to the Colonna family its two cardinalates, and abolished the Order of Knights Templars at Philip's suggestion.

Philip owed the Templars large sums of money and coveted their property to help to pay for his expensive wars. The Knights had grown wealthy and powerful and had become rather unpopular. Accordingly Philip had all those in France arrested and examined by inquisitors. A number of shocking charges of idolatry, irreligion, and immorality were trumped up against them. The use of torture was required to procure confessions in France, and those who confessed to such acts often declared afterward that they had spoken falsehoods under pain or fear of torture. In other lands like England and Spain the Templars were not proved guilty. So they seem to have been unjustly condemned in France and Philip to have been responsible for this. Many died under torture, others starved in prison awaiting trial, more were burned at the stake, and still others were imprisoned for life. The Order was dissolved by the Pope. The property of the Templars was supposed to be handed over to the Papacy to transfer to the Knights Hospitallers. But Philip never repaid his debts to the Templars, seized all the cash that they had on hand, and did not let go their real estate until his death. Indeed, in place of turning over their property to the Hospitallers, he presented claims for the payment of sums which he alleged were owed him by the Templars and for the expense which he had incurred in keeping them in prison. In short, so far as France was concerned, the Hospitallers probably lost more than they gained by the transfer of the Templars' property to them.

PERSISTENCE OF FEUDALISM

This chapter has thus far emphasized the growth of the royal power at the expense of the Church and of the feudal system. But it must be realized that much of the ground won from feudalism was not thoroughly subdued, or after a little was lost and had to be regained later. For instance, we have already seen Philip the Fair concede again to the nobility some of the feudal customs which St. Louis had forbidden. Again, many fiefs which escheated to the Crown or which came to it by conquest or marriage the king did not venture to incorporate at once in his domain and to rule directly by his own administrative officials. It can readily be imagined that a region which since time immemorial had been under a ruling dynasty of its own would not care to give up suddenly its count and court and local customs, and instead be administered by the ignoble and unfeeling agents of a distant king. Such newly acquired territories the king might grant as appanages to his younger sons, who would take the place of the previous duke or count. Such appanages, as their holders with succeeding generations became less and less closely related to the Crown, tended to become again distinct feudal states. Instead of being granted again as fiefs or appanages, the newly acquired territories might be superintended by seneschals instead of by *baillis* as was the royal domain. A *bailli* was merely a royal creature and agent; the seneschal was some local noble who became a combination of royal agent and hereditary feudal lord. When Philip Augustus won so much territory from John, he put seneschals rather than *baillis* over the lands south of Normandy—William of Roches over Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and Aimeri, Viscount of Thouars, over Poitou, Saintonge, and Guienne. Moreover, the local customs, feudal and otherwise, of different parts of France were preserved either by guaranty of written charter or simply as unwritten customs without saying anything about it. Finally, while monarchy was gradually getting the better of feudalism as a system of government, the feudal land system with its fiefs and manors, and the feudal social system with its knights and nobles, were still flourishing in France of the early fourteenth century, where it had now become the rule that there was " no land without its lord."



France in the Early Fourteenth Century

Showing the chief administrative divisions

Longitude West 2°
Longitude 2° East from Greenwich 4°
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 200
▨ Territory practically independent of the crown
------ Routes of Edward III and Henry V in the campaigns of Crecy and Agincourt
52°
48°
44°
2°
CTY. FLANDERS
Calais
Agincourt
Crecy
AMIENS
VERMANDOIS
CAUX
St. Vaast
Harfleur
Rouen
ROUEN
SENLIS
COTENTIN
Caen
CAEN
GISORS
PARIS
Paris
CTY. CHAMPAGNE
DUCHY OF BRITTANY
ORLEANS
Orleans
BAILLIAGE OF SENS
TOURS
Loire R.
Chinon
BOURGES
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Poitiers
POITOU
MACON
SAINTONGE
AUVERGNE
LIMOUSIN
MTS. OF AUVERGNE
PERIGORD
ENGLISH POSSESSIONS
Bordeaux
QUERCI
ROUERGUE
BEAUCAIRE
R.
Rhone
ALBIGEOIS
TOULOUSE
CARCASSONNE
Montpellier

TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

It would be hard to draw a definite boundary line on a map for the French monarchy at the close of the reign of Philip the Fair in 1314 or at the end of the direct Capetians in 1328. It would also not be easy to distinguish sharply between the royal domain, the possessions of great feudal lords who were nevertheless loyal enough to the French king to be reckoned as within his territory, and the fiefs of these who, like the King of England, while nominally vassals of the King of France, were really to all intents and purposes independent sovereigns. But roughly we may say that Brittany, although brought in Philip Augustus's time under a younger branch of the Capetian family, and the English possessions in the south-west in Guienne and Gascony were quite outside of the French king's control, as was the city of Montpellier on the Mediterranean, which owned the jurisdiction of the King of Aragon. In the south-east the river Rhone was approximately the French boundary. To the north-east the Count of Champagne and the Duke of Burgundy were now docile vassals, and French influence had recently been pushed yet farther east in Lorraine and the County of Burgundy. Early in the fourteenth century we are fortunate in having a list of the chief administrative divisions of France. In Southern France there were twelve seneschals, of Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Périgord, Auvergne, the mountains of Auvergne, Querci, Toulouse, Albigeois, Rouergue, Beaucaire, and Carcassonne. Over Normandy were five *baillis*, and there were nine others in the north, at Paris, Senlis, Vermandois, Amiens, Sens, Orléans, Tours, Bourges, and Mâcon.

The language spoken in and around Paris had now begun to spread over the rest of France, supplanting the other dialects. It had already become recognized as the standard literary language and polite speech of the upper classes, and it also, of course, was the official language of the royal government and court.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

IN the present chapter we continue to follow the history of France and England, considering them together in connexion with the so-called 'Hundred Years War' between them, and comparing the development of the royal power and national assemblies in the two countries. There is also a certain convenient coincidence in the dates and duration of reigns in the two lands at this time. During the fifty years' reign of Edward III of England there were three French kings, Philip VI, John II, and Charles V. Then the situation was reversed, and during the long reign of Charles VI in France there were three English monarchs, Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V. Finally, the reigns of Charles VII of France and Henry VI of England, which close the Hundred Years War, covered exactly the same years 1422 to 1461.[1] In considering the time of the Hundred Years War, we pass beyond the prime of medieval civilization and enter the later Middle Ages. "We pass, as it were, out of the light and truth of the thirteenth century, that wonderful, if troublous, seed-time of principles and realities, into the gorgeous, chivalrous, unreal, selfish, oppressive, and unprincipled fourteenth."

The Hundred Years War itself, however, is rather a misleading phrase. War between the kings of France and England had been chronic since the Norman conquest, and this so-called Hundred Years War made no important change in the relations between the two lands until its close, when England lost her possessions on the Continent and turned subsequently to the upbuilding of her sea power. We might, therefore, better speak of a four hundred years war from the Norman conquest to the close of the Middle Ages. Moreover, this so-called 'Hundred Years War' was not exactly a century in duration, but covered the period from 1337 to 1453. On the other hand, the number of years of actual warfare were much less than a hundred, since in the course of this period there were numerous long truces and two treaties of peace intended to put a stop to hostilities entirely. But at the time usually accepted as the end of the war there was no treaty. Finally, the causes of the reopening of hostilities in 1337 between Edward III and Philip VI were not new, but the old problems of Guienne, Flanders, and Scotland over which Edward I and Philip IV had fought already.

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[1] The reigns of the next two kings, Louis XI and Edward IV (1461–1483), also coincide, but do not come within the scope of the present chapter.

In 1328 the direct male line of the Capetians expired and the French had to determine to whom of the royal family the crown should go. Already in 1316, upon the death of the eldest son of Philip the Fair it had been decided that his brother rather than his daughter should succeed him and that a woman should not hold the throne in France. Hence it was now logical to decide that Philip of Valois, a son of Philip the Fair's brother, should become king rather than Edward III of England, whose mother was a daughter of Philip the Fair. Not only should women not succeed to the throne, but also the male descendants of a female line were excluded. Edward's mother accepted this decision, and the young King of England, who was not yet of age, did homage to the new French monarch for his fiefs on the Continent. But a few years later the inevitable quarrel with France over Guienne and the Scottish and Flemish questions led Edward III in 1337 to lay claim to the French crown and declare war.

Opening Years of the War

One of the first acts of Philip VI had been to aid the Count of Flanders and to wipe out the disgrace of the defeat of Courtrai by the victory of Cassel over the Flemish in 1328. But now there was a democratic uprising led by Jacob Artevelde of Ghent, the power of the Count was overthrown, and the Flemish towns made an alliance with Edward III.

The English King was also joined by many lords of the Netherlands and North-western Germany who felt their independence menaced by the growing power of France. These last allies, however, proved of little assistance. The first important battle of the war was a naval one at Sluys, off the Flemish coast, where the English fleet, aided at the last moment by the Flemish, decisively defeated the French and gained control of the sea for the next thirty years. Papal legates now arranged a truce which lasted until 1345. Meanwhile both French and English were fighting on opposite sides in Brittany over a disputed succession to that duchy. In 1345 the Flemish became dissatisfied with their leader Artevelde, who had proposed to make the son of Edward III Count of Flanders, and murdered him, but they continued for a while longer to be allies of England.

In 1346 direct war between the Kings of England and France was renewed in the famous campaign of Crécy, familiar, like so many other incidents of the war, from the chivalric pen of the fourteenth-century historian Froissart. Edward III landed with a small but well-trained army on the coast of Normandy at La Hogue, and marched through that province plundering. In particular he took and sacked the rich city of Caen. When Philip VI set out to catch him and asked him to name a place of battle, Edward suggested a point south of Paris. Instead, however, of continuing his march along the southern bank of the Seine, he repaired a broken bridge, despite the French troops guarding it, and forced a crossing not far from Paris. He then scurried north toward Flanders as fast as he could go. The river Somme was also guarded, and only by crossing an estuary at low tide did Edward escape being caught in an unfavourable position by Philip, who was close on his heels with a much larger army.

When the French overtook the English army three days later, it was drawn up in a favourable position on rising ground at Crécy waiting for them. The French were hot, hungry, and thirsty, but so eager for battle that those behind kept pressing on instead of obeying the royal command to halt. Presently Philip's fighting blood was aroused too, and he ordered his Genoese crossbowmen to open the battle, just as a modern general begins with a heavy artillery fire. These mercenaries were not so eager to advance as were the French knights, however, especially since a recent shower had affected their bows. On the other hand, the English archers had kept their long-bows dry, and the destructive volleys of shafts which they poured in throughout the battle were probably the decisive factor. When the Genoese made no headway, the French King lost his temper and ordered the knights to ride them down, thus throwing his entire front into confusion. The knights made many successive attacks upon the English position, but to no avail, and they were slaughtered in great numbers.

Edward did not follow up his victory by invading France again, but continued his march northward, and, after a long siege, took the important port of Calais, just across the Channel from Dover. England would henceforth have a Continental port handy for landing armies to invade France and for its wool and import trade with Flanders. Meanwhile the Scots had been defeated at Neville's Cross and their king captured, and a like fate befell the French candidate in Brittany. Another truce was arranged by papal intervention, which lasted from 1347 to 1355. Meanwhile the count recovered his power in Flanders, but Edward III did not attempt to save the Flemish towns either on this occasion or later in the Treaty of Brétigny. In Calais he now had a port of his own for the Continental wool trade, and many Flemish weavers were emigrating to England and manufacturing their cloth there.

THE BLACK DEATH

In 1348 not only both France and England but the countries of Europe generally were visited by a plague, compared with which the most destructive wars of that time seemed but slight disasters. This pestilence was known as the 'Black Death,' from the dark blotches which appeared upon the body. It was also marked by swellings of the glands in the groin, armpits, and neck, where hard lumps would suddenly appear as large as hen's eggs, and by many smaller boils and carbuncles. Sometimes those stricken by the plague vomited blood and sometimes they became delirious. The majority died within from one to three days. This terrible plague probably came from the East by the trade routes across Asia and was spread over the Mediterranean by Italian merchants from a trading station on the Black Sea. It was essentially the same as the bubonic plague which still exists in the Orient, and in Europe it frequently cropped out again during the remainder of the Middle Ages and early modern times.

It has often been said that the Black Death carried off from one-third to one-half of the population. If such estimates are anywhere near correct, it must have been an almost inestimable calamity for civilization and for society. Individuals would lose their relatives and friends and have no one to lean upon or to help them or to start them in the world. There would be countless widows and orphans. Homes would be broken up and entire families, some of them the noblest in the land, would be blotted out. Agriculture would cease on the manors for lack of tenants and labourers or for lack of lords and overseers. In the towns in many gilds there would be no master-workmen left to hand on the knowledge of their crafts to apprentices. Trade would diminish greatly in bulk and everything would be upon a smaller scale. Monasteries would have hardly enough monks left to maintain them ; schools would cease and the Church and learning suffer. Many artists and authors would have perished, and with so greatly reduced a population there would be little demand for new ecclesiastical and municipal edifices—the difficulty would be to keep in repair those which already existed. And society would be too busy in readjusting itself to the changed conditions to spare much time for works of art or of literature. There is a temptation to connect with this destructive pestilence the close of the great creative period of Gothic architecture, the decline of the romance and *fabliau* and other types of medieval literature, the stagnation of scholasticism and theology in the later Middle Ages. Other explanations, however, can be given, and these things seem to have begun to decline a little before 1348. Possibly the great mortality in the plague was, like other things, due to a dying out of medieval vitality and power.

As yet the Black Death has been little studied except in connexion with English history. There we know that it seriously crippled the Church and lowered the quality of the clergy; that it broke up manors and left crops to rot and cattle to starve and the surviving serfs to wander off looking for work as free men. For the great mortality made labour, especially agricultural labour, very scarce and wages very high. Prices also went up. In many manors and towns the court rolls and other records are very scanty or cease altogether for many years after the pestilence. In some places all local government may have come to a standstill; in others there was no one left who could write. Yet medieval English literature reached its height after the plague in the writings of William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer in the second half of the century.

It was perhaps, however, in the Black Death that Langland lost the father and friends who had paid for his education, but whose deaths left him unprovided with a regular living in the Church, and compelled him, though he was " poor gentle blood," to " dwell on Cornhill, Kit and I in a cot, clothed as a loller," and to " beg without other bag or bottle than my belly," or " in the habit of a hermit unholy of works to wander wide in this world wonders to hear." It was thus that he gained that intimate knowledge of the low life of his time : the vagabonds; the beggars; the poor, uncared-for lunatics, " more or less mad according as the moon sits," and who walk " witless but with a good will in many wide countries "; the false clergy and pretended hermits and pilgrims ; the deserving poor, " prisoners in pits and poor folk in cottages," who " go hungry and thirsty " in order to dress decently and " are ashamed to beg "; the tavern-keepers and their customers—Sis the shoemaker, Wat the game-warden, Tomkyn the tinker, " Hickey the horse-dealer and Hogg the needle-seller," " a fiddler, a rat-catcher, a Cheapside scavenger "—all these and many more live for us in his pages. If Will, as the poet calls himself, depicts low life for us and also satirizes iniquity in high places, he none the less cherishes high ideals in both politics and religion, and also portrays ideal characters such as Piers the ploughman, the thrifty and industrious peasant. As for Will himself, after a long search for Saint Truth and for Do Well, Do Better, and Do Best, in which he was occasionally cheered by the song of wayside birds and of sweet brooks and by many a marvellous dream, Hunger and Fever met him and proved too much for him. Finally, we are told,

> Death dealt him a dent and drove him to earth.
> He's now covered with clay. May Christ have his soul!

POITIERS AND BRÉTIGNY

When the war began again, John the Good, so called because he was a 'good fellow,' not a good general or king, was on the throne of France, and Charles the Bad of Navarre, whose sobriquet we do not need to qualify, was giving him trouble. This Charles, born in 1332, was son of that daughter of Louis X who had been excluded from the succession, and so Charles had the same sort of claim to the throne as had Edward III. Edward's eldest son, the Black Prince, so named because of the black armour which he wore to set off his fair complexion, had won his spurs at Crécy and now became the English commander in Gascony. From there he made a plundering raid into Toulouse as far as the Mediterranean, and then, after marching north and finding that he could not cross the Loire, retreated to Poitiers. There he defeated and captured King John, who spent the remainder of his reign in honourable captivity in London, voluntarily returning thither when his son, who had taken his place as a hostage while he returned to France to try to collect the remainder of his enormous ransom, broke his parole. Meantime, in 1360 peace had been concluded in the Treaty of Brétigny, for although the French government had neither army nor money left, the English could not capture the walled towns, and even the peasantry offered a local resistance. The treaty gave Edward III a little territory near Calais and greatly enlarged his borders in South-western France, where he received all Gascony, Guienne, and Poitou, free from any feudal bond to the French

King. In return he renounced his claim to the French throne. The terms of the Treaty of Brétigny are of slight importance, however, since it was soon broken and went by the board.

The French had suffered and were yet to suffer far more injury from the war than the English, not so much because they had been beaten as because the war was fought on French soil. Both sides soon came to rely mainly upon hired troops under mercenary leaders, and these companies, as they were called, lived on the country, and, if they did not receive their pay promptly, made it up by plundering. Even after peace had been declared it was almost impossible to get rid of them in France. They defeated the royal troops in 1362 and lasted into the next reign.

EDWARD III AND PARLIAMENT

In order to secure generous grants for the prosecution of the war abroad, Edward III had rather allowed the Parliament to have its way in the conduct of internal affairs. Once he annulled some laws to which he had agreed the previous year, but Parliament secured a promise that he would not so offend again. Sometimes he took taxes before asking their consent, but either obtained it later or promised not to levy such a tax again. Thus, the principle was repeatedly stated and upheld that legislation and taxation must be through Parliament. Important legislation of the middle of his reign included the Statute of Treason, which further safeguarded the crown, the Statute of the Staple, regulating trade, the Statute of Labourers, an attempt to keep down the wages of agricultural labourers after the great pestilence, and the Statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire*, directed against papal appointments of foreigners to positions in the English Church and appeals of cases from English courts to Rome. The Parliament also repudiated the annual tribute which King John had agreed to pay the pope.

In France under Philip VI the royal power continued to develop. Philip gave away a good deal of territory in appanages, it is true, but added to his dominions by purchase the city of Montpellier near the Mediterranean coast and the province of Dauphiné east of the Rhone. As the eldest son of the King of England is called Prince of Wales, so from this time in France the crown prince was known as the 'Dauphin.' During Philip's reign the central administration and machinery of monarchy were further elaborated by a series of royal ordinances. Royal taxation also continued to increase. Toward the close of this reign, however, and during the disastrous reign of John which followed, it looked for a time as if the Estates-General might acquire the same control over taxation as had the English Parliament.

THE ESTATES-GENERAL FROM CRÉCY TO POITIERS

The first meeting of the Estates-General in the reign of Philip VI concerning which we have detailed information was in 1346. It ventilated various grievances, but made no grants of money. In the next year, after the defeat at Crécy, the Estates read the King quite a lecture, and during the remainder of the reign became increasingly niggardly and exacting toward the Crown. The provincial estates were equally difficult to deal with. Under John, who was extravagant and had bad advisers and favourites, the general dissatisfaction with the misconduct of the war and the sad state of the country increased until it resulted in a revolutionary movement. In December 1355, just before Poitiers, the Estates-General granted supplies for the war only on condition that they had complete charge of collecting the taxes, organizing the army, and auditing the accounts. For these purposes they appointed committees and stipulated that they should meet again after three months to see that their wishes had been carried out. In these measures the lead was taken by the representatives of the towns, with Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, at their head. The Estates, however, had not shown much wisdom in the type of taxes which they levied, and they had to alter them twice in the course of the next six months. Meanwhile, the King suspected Charles the Bad of Navarre of fomenting the opposition and of having designs upon the throne, and in April 1356 suddenly arrested him and beheaded his councillors.

This act caused many of Charles's followers to go over to the English side.

The defeat of Poitiers and the capture of the King by the English occurred in September. This absence of the King lessened the authority of the central government and emboldened the opposition. One could say things to ministers or a regent which one would hardly utter to the King's face, and one felt less scruple about disobeying them than resisting a command made by the King in person. When the Dauphin summoned the Estates-General in October, they would do nothing for him unless he released the King of Navarre, reformed governmental abuses such as the debased currency, and replaced his advisers by men chosen by the three Estates. He thereupon prorogued them and tried in vain to secure taxes through the provincial estates. Meanwhile Marcel had armed the burghers of Paris. By February 1357 the Dauphin was forced to resort to the Estates-General again. They released Charles of Navarre, appointed a committee composed of twelve representatives from each of the three Estates to direct the government, and issued a long programme of reform, demanding, among other things, that henceforth the Estates-General should meet every three years whether summoned by the king or not, that the administration of justice should be reformed, and that private war among the nobility should cease. When the Dauphin showed himself unwilling to submit to these conditions and began to recall his former advisers, the Parisian mob killed some of his ministers, while others fled, and forced upon his head a cap with the red and blue colours of the popular party. But the other towns of France were not ready to go so far as this, and when the Dauphin escaped from Paris he received support from provincial estates and from a meeting of the Estates-General summoned at Compiègne away from the influence of Marcel and the mob of Paris.

THE JACQUERIE

But now a new uprising broke out among the peasantry of Northern and North-eastern France, called the 'Jacquerie,' from Jacques, or Jack, the common name for a peasant. This uprising was directed not so much against the royal government as against the local lords who had failed so completely to protect their tenants from the ravages of the English and of the companies of mercenaries, and yet were insisting upon their rents and services as oppressively as ever. The peasants were numerous, but poorly armed and organized, and were soon crushed by the united action of the feudal lords. As usual in the repression of such revolts, the nobles took a terrible vengeance for the acts of violence which the peasantry had committed. The Jacquerie had the effect of bringing all the feudal lords over to the Dauphin's side, while the townsmen lost support in public opinion because they were suspected of having encouraged the peasants' revolt. Moreover, Charles the Bad proved treacherous to his Parisian supporters and negotiated with the Dauphin. Finally Marcel was assassinated, as Artevelde had been in Flanders, and the Dauphin recovered Paris.

Thus the attempt to impose a permanent check upon the monarchy through the Estates-General, and in particular to give the towns a greater share in the central government, had failed. During the following reign of Charles V, known as ' the Wise,' and famous for his library and patronage of art and literature, the Estates met but once. As Dauphin he had had his fill of them. He introduced two important customs which remained characteristic of the French government until the French Revolution of 1789 : namely, the custom of having royal legislation registered by the *Parlement* or chief court of justice instead of bringing it before the Estates, and the vicious practice of customs duties on trade between the different provinces of France. Charles taxed heavily, but he was economical and intelligent, employed able officials, corrected abuses in the government, and maintained law and order to the best of his ability. He also was more successful against England than his two predecessors and did not have to shoulder the blame for any such defeats as those of Crécy and Poitiers.

RECOVERY OF FRENCH TERRITORY

Philip VI and John II had led their armies in person and had displayed inferior generalship. Charles V was himself sickly and no warrior, but found in the Breton Du Guesclin an able military leader. After some preliminary fighting against Charles of Navarre, and in Brittany, where the succession was still disputed, and in Spain, where Du Guesclin and the Black Prince fought on opposite sides in another disputed succession to the throne of Castile, direct hostilities between France and England broke out again. In 1369 an appeal from the inhabitants of South-western France against the harsh rule of the Black Prince led Charles V to renew the war, which this time turned in favour of France. The Black Prince soon became broken in health and returned to England, where his father was still king but now in his dotage. In 1372 the Castilian fleet in alliance with France defeated the English at La Rochelle, and by the close of the reign of Charles V the English had little left on the Continent except such seaports as Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. During the remainder of the century there was no fighting of importance.

It was now the turn of the English people to express dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and with their royal government. In the 'Good Parliament' of 1376 the leading part was taken by the House of Commons and its Speaker,[1] who is to-day purely a presiding officer, but then was the spokesman who presented their petitions to the king. The corrupt favourites and ministers of the aged King were banished or were impeached by the Commons before the House of Lords, the first instance of the exercise of this constitutional power Many reforms were planned in the government, and the succession to the throne was secured to Richard, the young son of the Black Prince, as against his ambitious and unpopular uncle, John of Gaunt. After this Parliament was over, the corrupt court party recovered to some extent its former position, and the programme of reform was not carried out. But then within a year came the death of Edward III, the flight of his greedy favourites, the withdrawal of John of Gaunt from domestic politics, and the accession of the ten-years-old Richard II with a council of twelve selected from both the court and the parliamentary parties.

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[1] Peter de la Mare, whom the Commons chose as their leader on this occasion, does not seem to have had the title of Speaker, but it was introduced the very next year.

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT OF 1381

The English Parliament, however, and even the House of Commons, made up as it was of representatives of the landowning class and of the more prosperous townsmen, had little sympathy with the lower classes of working men who had but recently risen from serfdom or villeinage, as it had already shown in its Statute of Labourers. This attempt to force men to work for the same wages as before the Black Death had caused great discontent among the labouring classes and was almost impossible to enforce, but the government had kept trying to enforce it, and had enacted a series of similar laws in the years from 1351 to 1381. Now, in order to meet the expense of the unsuccessful French war, Parliament agreed to a new form of taxation: namely, poll taxes which every one except absolute paupers had to pay, instead of the usual taxes levied upon land, merchandise, and other forms of property. When in addition these poll taxes were unjustly and unsystematically collected, the peasants, especially in South-eastern England, rose in revolt. They also had other grievances against both their feudal lords and the clergy. They succeeded in entering London, where the humbler artisans sympathized with them; they killed the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other high officials and did some plundering; but then most of them dispersed to their homes when the boy King promised to abolish serfdom and to redress their other grievances. These promises were not kept; even had the King been sincere, the nobility and Parliament would not have allowed it. The revolt was suppressed in the same cruel way as the Jacquerie had been put down in France. However, it was as impossible to enforce the Statute of Labourers after the Peasants' Revolt as it had been before, and it is noteworthy that poll taxes were not levied again in the Middle Ages. The peasants also continued gradually to escape from villeinage, just as they had been doing before the revolt.

Contemporary with the Peasants' Revolt in England occurred popular risings in other countries. The heavy taxation of Charles V finally resulted in popular resistance at the very close of his reign and during the minority of his son. Revolts occurred at Amiens, Laon, Rouen, Rheims, and other towns of Northern France, and in 1382 reached Paris. In Languedoc bands of peasants and artisans became brigands in order to procure food and to escape taxation. In 1379 the Flemish towns revolted once more against their count. When the rich townsmen in Bruges recalled him, the people of Ghent made the son of Artevelde their leader, conquered Bruges, massacred the foes of democracy there, and spread the movement not only throughout Flanders, but into Brabant and the Bishopric of Liége. But the French led an army against them and they were defeated, and the younger Artevelde was slain in the battle of Roosebek in 1382. It was at this same time that the city leagues of Southern Germany reached their height, and that the *Ciompi*, or lowest class in Florence, gained for four brief years the suffrage. All these movements failed and the lower classes nowhere secured equal political rights, largely, it would seem, because the well-to-do middle class preferred to maintain the established government.

The reigns of Richard II of England and Charles VI of France were somewhat alike. Both opened with minorities during which the Kings were in tutelage and affairs came largely into the hands of their uncles, whose rule in both cases was bad. The first few years of both reigns were also marked by popular revolts, as we have seen. Both Kings then declared themselves of age and ruled well for a few years. In 1396 Richard married Charles's daughter and peace prevailed between the two realms. From 1392 Charles was insane most of the time, and some have thought that Richard's reason became affected also. At any rate, after eight years of constitutional government he suddenly in 1397 began to disregard

Parliament and act as an absolute monarch and take vengeance on those who had opposed him during the period of his minority.

Such conduct resulted in Richard's deposition in 1399 and in the throne being offered by Parliament to the son of John of Gaunt, who as Henry IV was the first king of the House of Lancaster. Richard II had left no children, but even after he had died or had been murdered in prison there were alive other descendants of Edward III who had a better hereditary claim to the throne than the Lancastrians, for John of Gaunt was not the next eldest son after the Black Prince. The reign of Henry IV was filled with uprisings against the new king, whom many regarded as a usurper. Therefore Henry IV and his two successors, Henry V and VI, were careful not to offend Parliament, which enlarged its powers during their reigns. They also favoured the Church in order to secure its support. There had been considerable opposition to the clergy as well as to the Papacy in England in the second half of the fourteenth century, as we shall see more fully in a later chapter.

When Charles VI became insane there ensued a struggle for the control of the central government between two parties, one led by his brother, Louis of Orléans, the other by the Duke of Burgundy. In the reign of John II the old feudal dynasty in that duchy had died out and the fief had escheated to the French Crown. But John had promptly granted it again to his younger son, Philip. This Philip presently married the daughter of the Count of Flanders, and when her father died in 1384 they inherited not only Flanders, but also the counties of Burgundy, Nevers, Rethel, and Artois. Philip had had less difficulty with the towns of Flanders than his father-in-law had experienced, and now Paris and the other French towns joined the Burgundian party, while the feudal nobles were generally Orléanists. In 1404 John the Fearless became Duke of Burgundy, and three years later murdered Louis of Orléans. This for the moment left the Orléanists without a head, but in 1410 various nobles formed a league against Burgundy, in which the leading spirit was the Count of Armagnac. Henceforth, therefore, the civil strife is spoken of as between the Burgundians and Armagnacs. The Dauphin sided first with one party and then with the other.

AGINCOURT

This divided state of France gave the brilliant and ambitious King of England, Henry V, an opportunity to carry the war once more into French territory. He opened negotiations with the Burgundian party, and in 1415 conducted a campaign similar to that which had led to the battle of Crécy in 1346. Like Edward III, he landed on the coast of Normandy, but north of the Seine, where he besieged and took Harfleur. He then marched north and had difficulty in crossing the Somme, just as had Edward III, and finally won, over a much larger French army, a victory at Agincourt nor far from Crécy, and by similar tactics to those employed at that battle. He also resembled Edward III in not following up his victory, but in continuing his march north to Calais and returning home. In 1417, however, he resumed his attempt to reduce the towns of Normandy and gained a rapid series of successes, and was now actively aided by the Duke of Burgundy, who had held aloof from both sides at Agincourt. In 1418 Paris opened its gates to the Burgundians and the Count of Armagnac was murdered. But soon the English successes and exorbitant terms of peace named by Henry V caused Duke John of Burgundy to seek a reconciliation with the Dauphin. By this time the death of his elder brothers had made dauphin the youngest son of the insane King. As the Duke of Burgundy knelt before this sixteen-year-old prince, he was attacked and slain, paying the penalty for his murder of Orléans fifteen years before.

The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, held the Dauphin responsible for his father's murder and came over wholly to the English side. He agreed to the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, by which Henry V married the French princess Catherine and was to become King of France upon the death of the insane Charles VI. An assembly of the estates at Paris approved the treaty, and Henry was making good his claim by further conquests at the Dauphin's expense, when death overtook him in 1422 at the age of only thirty-five. Charles VI died a little later in the same year. Henry VI, son of Henry V, was not yet a year old; but his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, tried to procure the French throne for him, and continued the military successes of the English for some years. He also tried to give Normandy and other French territory under his rule good government. But the people were neither prosperous nor happy under English rule; the country was still suffering from the effects of the war; the captains of Charles VII, as the former Dauphin styled himself, kept making raids; and local resistance to English rule kept breaking out.

The situation by 1429 was as follows: Charles VII, who was but nineteen at his father's death, whose face was unprepossessing in appearance, and whose short knock-kneed legs moved with an undignified gait, had so far remained inactive south of the Loire. He appeared to have no money and to be controlled by unworthy favourites, and was derisively known as 'the King of Bourges,' from the cathedral town where he most often held his court. The English and Burgundians held everything north of the Loire and some territory on the south-western coast. We have before noted the strategic importance of Orléans, situated upon the northernmost bend of the Loire, as the key to the interior of France. It now barred the way of the English south and they were besieging it. Charles, located for the present at Chinon rather than at Bourges, seemed unable to do anything to relieve the beleaguered city.

JEANNE D'ARC

An illiterate peasant girl now turned the tide of victory in favour of France. Saintly voices and visions, Jeanne d'Arc, or Joan of Arc, believed, bade her leave her home on the border of Lorraine and go to the help of her King and her country. Her father had little sympathy with what he regarded as idle fancies; but she persuaded an uncle to take her to a royal captain in the neighbourhood. After this captain had refused her once, she finally induced him in turn to supply her with an escort so that she might ride through the intervening hostile territory to the royal headquarters at Chinon. Here, strange to say, she persuaded Charles to give her a few troops and let her try to save Orléans. But many other soldiers joined her as she marched through Blois toward Orléans. She brought provisions into the starving town by boats on the river, and then, by capturing one English fortification after another, forced the English within a few days to abandon the siege. Then she led the army of the Dauphin, as she called him until his formal coronation, north-east in a victorious march through the enemy's country to Rheims, where he could be duly crowned king in the great cathedral.

Joan's marvellous success was due chiefly to the fact that all the French needed at this time to defeat and drive out the English was confidence and leadership. She supplied both. She believed firmly in her 'Voices,' and the age was still ready to accept the miraculous. Consequently many of her followers believed her to be a saint divinely inspired, and found in that belief assurance of victory. Even the English had to admit that there was something supernatural about her, but they preferred to insist that she was a witch and an instrument of the devil. Joan also loved her country and her King. She wanted to relieve her suffering land and to drive the English home where they belonged. That there were plenty of other Frenchmen who felt as she did is evidenced by the strong backing she at once received and by the way she set her soldiers' hearts on fire. The idea of one France in contrast to feudal states and local interests had now come into being, and devotion to the King was a sentiment that burned in many a breast as well as in the pure bosom of the peasant maid of Domrémy. Joan had other qualities of leadership. She was not an ordinary visionary, but natural, self-possessed, and apt at repartee despite her lack of education. Her life was pure and noble, she was genuinely religious, she inspired respect in the rough soldiers, and enforced strict discipline and order throughout the camp. Although she endured many hardships and wore armour like a man, she remained womanly and in battle carried a banner in order not to kill any one. Yet she spoke out boldly her opinion in the King's councils of war, and was the most aggressive of his commanders. Where there was the most danger, there was her banner.

Charles VII was still too sluggish or cautious to keep pace with her impetuosity for long. He hesitated about attacking Paris until it was too late, and then withdrew to Bourges again. Joan went off to relieve Compiègne from the Burgundians. She was captured and tried at Rouen, the English headquarters in France, by a large ecclesiastical court under English influence in an effort to prove her a witch or at least a heretic. The trial was unfair and she was unfairly dealt with in prison. She was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake only two years after her relief of Orléans. The English had hoped to justify themselves and to throw discredit upon her by this course, but the result was just the opposite. Charles VII made no move to save her at the time, but twenty-four years later the Pope ordered a retrial of her case and her name was cleared of all suspicion of heresy. In 1909 occurred her beatification by the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1920 her canonization, by Pope Benedict XV, before an immense gathering.

After their execution of Joan, the English won no more victories. In 1435 the Duke of Bedford died, and thereafter there was dissension and lack of capable military leadership among Henry VI's advisers and generals. In 1435, too, the Duke of Burgundy abandoned the English alliance and made the Treaty of Arras with Charles VII, from which he received territorial and other concessions. The next year the French King re-entered Paris. There was a truce from 1444 to 1449, but in 1450 the English lost Normandy and in 1453 their possessions in Southern France. Calais alone was left to them. No definite treaty was signed relinquishing their claims, but none was needed; they were not to recover the lost ground. However, it was some time before English monarchs wholly gave up the idea of invading France. Edward IV came in 1475 with the largest army that England had yet sent across the Channel, but he went home without having fought an engagement. Henry VII came too, but also allowed himself to be bought off with money. Henry VIII was possessed in his youth with the notion of winning glory in French campaigns, but was soon turned from this policy by the wiser head of his minister Wolsey.

The war left France in a sad state of desolation, depopulation, and apparent ruin, with large areas thrown out of cultivation, with homes and fields replaced by forests and wild beasts, with large beggar and criminal classes recruited from the impoverished peasants and disbanded soldiers. Crime had increased and religion had declined. It is true that the recovery from all this was surprisingly rapid. But an irreparable hurt was that for over a century France, hitherto the leader in medieval culture, had been held back from further accomplishment and development. Nationality had been attained, but at a great cost.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GERMANY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

GERMAN history in the later Middle Ages lacks unity compared with that of France or of England, and is more closely connected with lands to the east like Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, and with the countries about the Baltic Sea to the north, than it is with the states of Western Europe. Italy is now seldom visited by the Holy Roman Emperors and has its own separate history. Germany itself is nominally under the rule of one emperor, but really has become a shifting chaos of principalities and powers, great and small. Various local dynasties rise and fall, increase or diminish in territory, impinge upon or give way to one another. Among these are some worth noting as the later founders of modern states. Important also are certain co-operative forms of government which develop in this period: the Hanseatic League of cities in the north, the military order of Teutonic Knights in the north-east, the Swiss Confederation in the south-west. In the later Middle Ages Germans, although divided politically, are still expanding territorially. Teutonic colonists throng into Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; the Knights conquer and convert Poles and Letts; the Hanse towns acquire a commercial supremacy over Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—in fact, from the east coast of England to Novgorod they almost monopolize trade. German cities in general flourished in the later Middle Ages as never before: the great southern cities of Augsburg and Nürnberg reached the height of their prosperity about 1500.

After the extinction of the Hohenstaufens the Holy Roman Emperors had little authority. The right to elect the emperor had by this time become limited to seven of the leading lords of the land, three ecclesiastical, namely, the Archbishops of Cologne, of Mainz or Mayence, and of Trier or Treves, and four secular princes, each bearing a different title, namely, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia, whose electoral right, however, was sometimes contested by the Duke of Bavaria. These seven electors in many cases did not elect the son of the preceding emperor, but chose some one from an entirely different family. Often, too, they imposed conditions upon the man whom they selected, and if he did not live up to these pre-election promises or in other ways disappointed them, they would depose him and choose another. Sometimes they disagreed among themselves and elected two candidates simultaneously.

THE GOLDEN BULL

The power of the electors was permanently defined in written legal form in the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV in 1356, but this was for the most part a restating of what had long been customary. It may be regarded as the chief constitutional document in the history of medieval Germany, and thus somewhat comparable to Magna Carta in English history. Whereas the Great Charter shows a united action by the baronage which was something akin to a national opposition and which later perpetuated itself in the Parliament, the Golden Bull reveals the great local lords as the chief power in the Empire and is largely devoted to their ceremonial functions and political privileges. It is treason to attack their persons; they elect the emperor and hold the chief offices about his person; in their own territories they may coin money and collect taxes and hold independent courts of their own. While the imperial office is elective, the office and lands of each lay electorate are to be transmitted hereditarily, observing the rule of primogeniture and territorial indivisibility.

The electors, however, were not able to monopolize such rights for themselves; a number of other lords were equally independent in their local government. But the rule of primogeniture was not universally followed; family lands were sometimes partitioned among several sons, and intermarriage also kept altering boundaries. Germany came to be composed of two or three hundred little states. There were ecclesiastical principalities ruled by archbishops, bishops, and abbots; there were dukes and counts and margraves and landgraves. There were simple knights with perhaps a solitary castle and not enough lands and subjects to support them, so that some resorted to plunder and private warfare and were hence known as 'robber knights.' But even such nobles often claimed to be independent sovereigns. Then there were the free or imperial cities which also undertook to govern themselves and recognized only the vague authority of the emperor over them. The territories of these lords and states, great and small, wound in and out among one another, and their jurisdictions overlapped and conflicted in a way to make the preservation of peace and order practically impossible and feud and neighbourhood war practically certain. And it was easy for criminals and outlaws and fugitive serfs to escape across the frontier of one petty state into the territory of another.

COURTS OF THE VEHM

This defect was to some extent remedied by an organization whose members in the fourteenth century existed in all parts of Germany and which is known as the *Vehm* or *Fehm*. This society had grown out of earlier local courts among the people in Westphalia. Some of its meetings were open to the general public, but others were secret, especially those concerned with criminal justice and with witchcraft or heresy. It was these secret tribunals that were of the most importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The penalty for any outsider who intruded at one of these secret sessions was death. Any freeman, however, who was of honest birth and character was qualified to apply for membership and be initiated into the mysteries of the organization. Such an initiate took a solemn oath to assist his associates in serving summonses on accused persons and in executing the sentences of the Vehmic courts.

and was then informed of the passwords and secret signs by which the *Wissendi* of the Vehm recognized one another.

The only penalty of these criminal courts was death. If three or more members of the Vehm caught a criminal red-handed in the act, they killed him on the spot without further trial. Otherwise crimes were investigated by the method of sworn inquest, every member of the Vehm being pledged to tell what he could of crimes in his neighbourhood. Having thus determined whom they should accuse and bring to trial, the next step was to summon the accused before the Vehm. This was done mysteriously by nailing a notice on a tree or leaving it in some other spot where the accused would be sure to see it, but would not know who had posted it. At the trial, if the accused appeared and were himself a member of the Vehm, he could usually clear himself of the charges against him by his solitary oath. If not himself a member, he would have to produce more oath-helpers who were members to swear on his behalf than had already taken oath against him. If, however, as many as twenty-one initiates gave their oaths in his favour, he was acquitted in any case. If condemned and present, he was executed without delay. Otherwise it was the duty of the first member of the Vehm who met him to hang him to the nearest tree, leaving by his side a knife marked with the cryptic symbols 'S.S.G.G.,' to show that the Vehm had done its work.

This impressive method of intimidating the criminal classes, which reminds us of lynchings and vigilance committees, but whose self-help and summary procedure were to a large extent a survival of primitive German custom, was favourably received by the society of the time, as the Vehm proved more efficacious than any other court. Only at a later date did the secret character of the organization breed abuses and call forth complaints and lead finally to its suppression. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was joined by entire cities, by bishops and great lords, and finally by the emperor himself, who encouraged this rough-and-ready way of dealing with offenders against justice because he had nothing better to offer—indeed, had no imperial system of justice at all.

It was almost impossible for the emperor to maintain order between the various principalities or to carry out any policy dealing with Germany as a whole, especially since no institutions of imperial government had been developed in the past, and since the heads of the local states seldom cooperated loyally with him in any proposed measures for the general welfare. Whether from these reasons or from mere selfish ambition, the emperors in the later Middle Ages were apt to employ the term of their office and their imperial power chiefly in extending their own family possessions within or without the boundaries of the Empire. These local lordships they could hope to hand on to their sons, whereas the imperial office might go to some other family upon their death. For money, troops, administrative assistance, and the like, the emperor had to rely mainly upon the particular state of which he had been head before he became emperor. If he exploited it for the benefit of the Empire, he would be liable to ruin the possessions of which his family had hitherto been reasonably sure. It seemed better and safer to him to exploit the imperial office, to which he had been fortunate enough to be elected, and to make what marriages and diplomatic alliances and territorial acquisitions he could for the benefit of his family.

THE GERMAN DIET

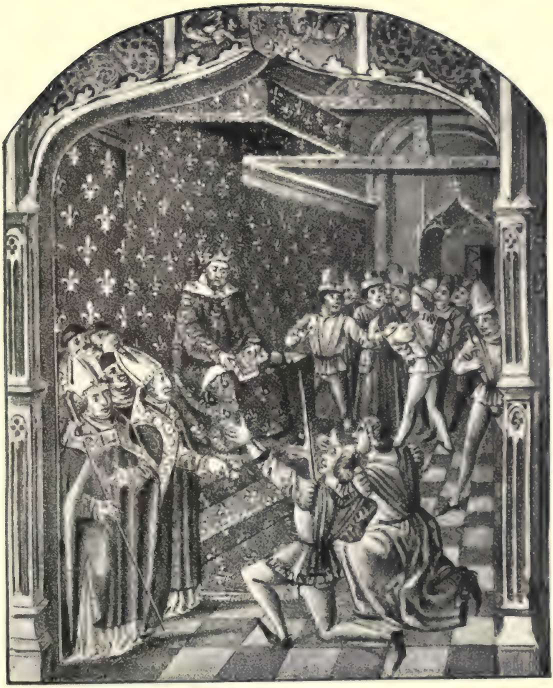
If the person holding the imperial office did little for the good of Germany and of the Empire as a whole, the general assembly or Diet or Reichstag of the princes and nobility did still less. This body was poorly attended and seldom accomplished anything or even gave the emperor hearty support when he had proposals to make for the general welfare. The free cities desired representation in this body, but were kept out by the feudal lords until the close of the fifteenth century. It should be added that most of the principalities into which the Empire was divided had, if they were of any size, their own assemblies of the local nobility, with whom the head of the state had to consult in all important legislative and financial matters.

A rapid chronological survey of the emperors of Germany from the end of the house of Hohenstaufen to the beginning of the unbroken succession of the house of Habsburg will supply some specific illustration of the general statements made in the preceding paragraphs. From 1256 to 1273 no one was generally recognized as emperor. There had been conflicting elections in 1257 of Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England, and Alfonso the Wise of Castile. Both these foreigners continued to be rank outsiders, for Richard returned to England after a year and a half, while Alfonso gave practical demonstration of his wisdom by not coming to Germany at all.

During this period of interregnum King Ottocar II of Bohemia, an ally of the pope against the Hohenstaufens, was the strongest prince in the Empire, and Bohemia became under his rule one of the most powerful states of Europe. Indeed, Ottocar brought together under his rule districts and peoples and tongues suggestive of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire—namely, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Hungary itself, however, was not under his rule, and its king, Bela IV, tried to resist his expansion. Ottocar forwarded the movement of German colonists eastward by encouraging them to enter Bohemia, where they brought woodland under cultivation and helped to found many new cities. He himself twice participated in crusades to Prussia to aid the Teutonic Knights in extending the territory of Christendom north-eastward.

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

After the death of his friend Richard of Cornwall in 1272, Ottocar became a candidate for the imperial office. But the other princes regarded him as already too powerful, and instead chose in 1273 Count Rudolf of Habsburg, one of the lesser lords in the Empire. He was of a family hitherto obscure, but already rapidly rising and destined to become one of the greatest ruling houses in Europe. It reigned in Austria-Hungary until 1918. The original possessions of the family were in Alsace; to these they had added various fiefs and offices in what is now Switzerland. Rudolf had increased



28. Philip IV of France listening to an Appeal for Justice

his territories by marriage, inheritance, and war. He had also shown military ability in the employ of the cities of Basel, Zürich, and Strassburg, and had been marshal at the Bohemian court. He was fifty-five years old when chosen emperor, and was a man of unusual height—seven feet tall, says a chronicle of the time. He was an affable, energetic, and popular warrior.

Rudolf's main achievement was to recover Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia from Ottocar and then to keep them—with the exception of Carinthia, which he gave to his ally, the Count of Tyrol—as his own possessions. He was so occupied with Austria that he did not intervene in Italian affairs, and allowed French influence to increase in Lorraine and the County of Burgundy. His scheme of reconstituting the Kingdom of Arles in the regions along the Rhone failed. Especially in the entire north of Germany did he exert little influence. In the south he tried to check private wars by 'land-peaces'—in which the states of a certain region would co-operate to keep the peace—and to collect taxes especially from the towns, which during the absence of Frederick II in Italy and the interregnum had attained to prosperity and self-government. Sometimes he summoned representatives of the cities to him in order to procure a subsidy, but not in company with the ecclesiastical and lay princes. Often he went instead to the cities or dealt with each separately, so that he failed to establish a Parliament or Estates-General as his contemporaries Edward I and Philip IV did.

Rudolf was not able to hand on the Empire to his son Albert. Instead the electors chose Adolf of Nassau (1292–1298), but he proved even more eager to increase the possessions of his own family at the expense of others than Rudolf had been. The electors accordingly turned back to Albert, who met Adolf in a battle which was decided by Adolf's death. After Albert's reign, however, the electors again passed by the house of Habsburg and chose Henry VII of Luxemburg (1308–1313), who proceeded to acquire the Kingdom of Bohemia for himself and his descendants. In 1314 there was another double election, and both Louis of Bavaria and the Habsburg Frederick of Austria claimed the crown. Louis finally won. The house of Habsburg, however, continued to hold Austria and surrounding territories, and in 1363 added the Tyrol or Eastern Alps to its possessions.

Louis IV belonged to the Wittelsbach family, till recently the royal line in Bavaria. After him the Luxemburg house returned to power in the person of Charles IV (1347–1378), who published the Golden Bull, and his son, Wenzel, who was deposed in 1400. Wenzel was so addicted to intoxicants that anyone wishing to make sure of finding him sufficiently sober to transact State business did well to interview him early in the day. He was liable to be found under the table by the end of breakfast. It is one of the ironies of history that one of the chief extant monuments associated with this emperor is the bronze font in which he was baptized at St. Sebaldus Kirche, Nürnberg. Wenzel's reign was marked by wars between leagues of cities, leagues of knights, and the greater territorial princes. There were associations of knights in Hesse, Westphalia, Franconia, Southern Germany, and along the Rhine. The two chief city leagues were those of Swabia and of the Rhine. The Swabian League was formed in 1376, when fourteen towns banded together to resist new taxes levied by Charles IV. In two years' time the membership increased to eighty-nine towns. Wenzel was helpless before this situation, but the princes inflicted some defeats upon the towns, until in 1389 both sides agreed to dissolve their leagues.

After Rupert, who had previously been Count of the Palatinate, had disputed the imperial title for ten years with Wenzel, who refused to remain deposed, Sigismund, a younger son of Charles IV, was elected emperor in 1410. He finally prevailed upon his brother Wenzel to yield the throne to him, and outlived another claimant named Jobst. Sigismund was full of schemes, but for want of support was unable to carry most of them out. He succeeded, however, in getting together a great Church council at Constance which healed a triple schism in the Papacy. He found it so hard to get any money with which to pay his expenses while in the Empire that he absented himself from it during much of his reign, especially since he had important possessions and problems outside of

Germany. Sigismund tacitly confessed his inability to maintain order and justice in the Empire by joining the courts of the Vehm.

ORIGIN OF THE HOHENZOLLERNS

Sigismund also established two German dynasties that ruled until our day. The Wettin line, whom he made Electors of Saxony, became its kings. The Hohenzollerns, whom his father had made princes of the Empire, he further raised to be Electors of Brandenburg, which in modern times they developed into the powerful Kingdom of Prussia and the great German Empire. The Hohenzollerns got their name from the height of Zollern, in the Swabian Alps, where their original castle was located. In 1191 Count Frederick III of Hohenzollern succeeded the Burgrave of Nürnberg, whose daughter he had married, and Frederick VI was still Burgrave of Nürnberg when Sigismund made him an elector. But the family had also acquired Ansbach, Bayreuth, Culmbach, and estates in Austria. In 1427 the Hohenzollerns sold their rights as burgraves to the city of Nürnberg.

With the death of Sigismund in 1437 the house of Luxemburg became extinct in the male line, so his son-in-law, Albert II of Austria, was chosen as his successor. With Albert began a practically unbroken succession of the Habsburg family to the imperial office until its abolition by Napoleon in 1806. Frederick III, who followed the brief rule of Albert II, had a long reign from 1440 to 1493, and was succeeded by his brilliant but erratic son Maximilian.

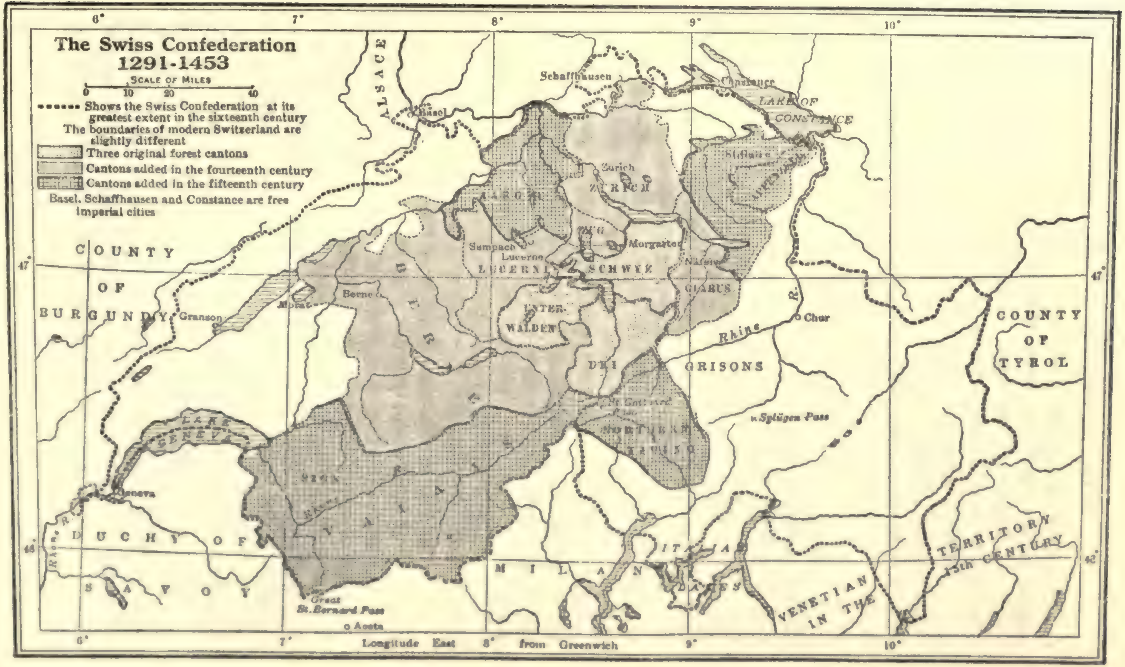
After the downfall of the Hohenstaufens no emperor visited Italy until Henry VII, who died there without having accomplished much. The efforts of the next emperor, Louis of Bavaria, to maintain an Italian policy involved him in a struggle with the Papacy in which he was humiliated and all but lost his throne. His successor, Charles IV, was inactive in Italy and submissive to the Papacy, and, although he went to Rome to be crowned, promised the pope not to stay there overnight. The pope himself at this time was still at Avignon, but was none the less jealous of any imperial activity in Italy.

By Sigismund's time the pope had returned to Rome and quite a ceremony was made of that emperor's coronation, which did not occur until almost the close of his reign. Frederick III was the last emperor to be crowned in Rome. One might almost say that with him the Medieval or Holy Roman Empire ended and the Habsburg monarchy began. Through the later Middle Ages first the Kings of France and then the Dukes of Burgundy pushed their boundaries eastward at the expense of fiefs supposed to belong to the Empire.

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

The leagues of the Rhine and Swabian cities to which we have already referred were not permanent federations. But out of the ruins of the old Hohenstaufen Duchy of Swabia developed from the thirteenth century onward a union of cantons and towns which was the beginning of modern Switzerland. The first stages of this development were made at the expense of the house of Habsburg. The oldest historical document concerning the Swiss Confederation which has come down to us dates 1291, and records a defensive league formed between the three forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, located about the Lake of Lucerne. There had, however, been an earlier union, but the story of William Tell is a later legend. This defensive league was against the Habsburg family, whose feudal claims in these territories the natives had disputed, asserting their right to self-government and to immediate relations with the imperial authority. In short, they rebelled against their feudal lords and became rural communes like so many other places in Western Europe. Rudolf of Habsburg had recognized only Uri as directly under imperial authority. Adolf of Nassau added Schwyz, and Henry VII extended the privilege to Unterwalden. Both these emperors were hostile to the Habsburgs and glad to encourage their foes.

Although supposedly a league for defence only, the three forest cantons speedily attacked and plundered neighbouring Habsburg possessions. In 1315 the Habsburgs led an army against them, but were defeated in the battle of Morgarten.



**The Swiss Confederation
1291-1453**

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40
Shows the Swiss Confederation at its greatest extent in the sixteenth century
The boundaries of modern Switzerland are slightly different
Three original forest cantons
Cantons added in the fourteenth century
Cantons added in the fifteenth century
Basel, Schaffhausen and Constance are free imperial cities
6°
7°
8°
9°
10°
47°
46°
Longitude East from Greenwich
ALSACE
Basel
Schaffhausen
Constance
LAKE OF CONSTANCE
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
Granson
Morat
Berne
BERNE
AARGAU
Zurich
ZURICH
ZUG
Sempach
Lucerne
LUCERNE
Morgarten
SCHWYZ
Näfels
GLARUS
UNTERWALDEN
URI
APPENZELL
Chur
Rhine R.
GRISONS
COUNTY OF TYROL
St. Gotthard Pass
NORTHERN TICINO
Splügen Pass
VALAIS
LAKE GENEVA
Geneva
Rhone R.
DUCHY OF SAVOY
Great St. Bernard Pass
Aosta
MILAN
ITALIAN LAKES
VENETIAN TERRITORY IN THE 15th CENTURY

Other rural districts which desired to escape from Habsburg control joined the three forest cantons during the next half-century. Some of them were temporarily recovered by the Habsburgs, but at Sempach in 1386 and at Näfels in 1388 the Austrians were defeated. They then recognized the independence of eight cantons, including the three original ones, Lucerne, Glarus, Zug, and the towns of Berne and Zürich. In 1403 the Bishop of Sion and the peasants of the Valais were brought under the protection of the league, in 1411 Appenzell, in 1412 the town of St. Gall. By aggression the Swiss also added to the territory under their control a region to the south of the St. Gotthard Pass, and to the north-east of the Lake of Lucerne the Aargau together with the original Habsburg castle. The confederates now reached from the Italian lakes to the Jura Mountains and the Lake of Constance. Jealousy and dissension broke out, however, between the rural and urban members of the confederation, and when Zürich was worsted in a local war with Schwyz it allied with Austria against the forest cantons. But they again proved unconquerable, and in 1450 Zürich returned to the league and Austria gave up its hopes of recovering the Aargau.

THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

Like Rudolf of Habsburg, most of his successors in the Empire had very slight authority in the north of Germany and paid little attention to that region. Therefore the towns, deprived of imperial protection and free from imperial interference, formed leagues among themselves for mutual protection and trade. Gradually these smaller local unions became merged in one extensive Hanseatic League, so called from the word *hanse* meaning a gild or union for trade. The traders of Northern Germany had early pushed into foreign countries. For instance, at Wisby off the Swedish coast on the island of Gotland merchants from as many as thirty German towns were represented and formed an association—some were from places as far west as Cologne and Utrecht. It was through such co-operation in foreign trade that the

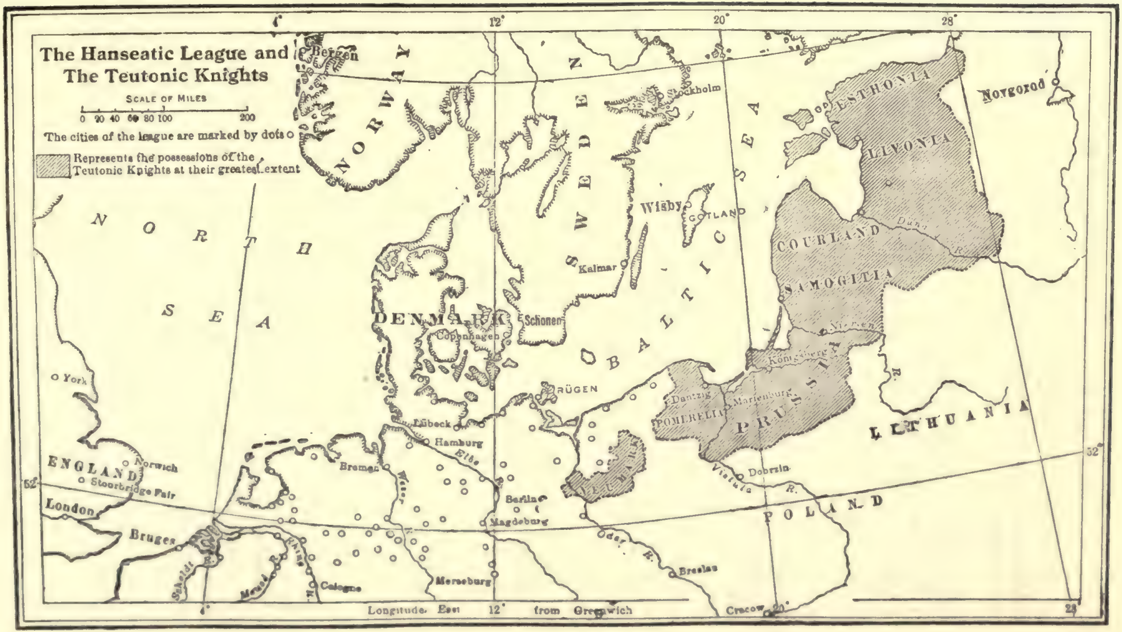
Hanseatic League was formed, a loose union, primarily for commercial purposes, of some seventy cities. Just when it came into existence would be hard to say, and its membership fluctuated a great deal. The towns in it can scarcely be said to have formed a political federation, but they held assemblies, arranged with one another for the extradition of criminals, and sometimes waged war. In 1367 fifty-seven towns declared war upon the Kings of Norway and Denmark and defeated them in several naval engagements.

The league secured special trading privileges and planted settlements composed of its own members in various foreign ports. Its chief colonies of this sort were at Bergen on the Norwegian coast, Novgorod in Russia, Bruges in Flanders, and London in England. These posts were sometimes strongly fortified, as in the case of the 'Steelyard' in London, and the Hanse representatives were subjected to strict discipline, and were forbidden to marry during their residence abroad. As if these restrictions were not sufficient, newly arriving apprentices at Bergen were initiated into the Hanse by numerous floggings and duckings or by being hauled up by a rope through a smoky chimney and made to answer questions *en route.* At Bergen and Novgorod the Hanse merchants became all-powerful, largely monopolizing the trade of Norway and shutting off the Russians from the Baltic Sea and from direct intercourse with Western Europe. And while Hanseatic merchants had many privileges in Bruges and London, they tried to keep the commerce of the Baltic entirely for themselves and to exclude traders of all other nations from their home towns. The fisheries in the Baltic and North Seas were a source of great profit, since in the Middle Ages every one abstained from meat on Friday, and monks on most other days. Wax for candles and amber for rosaries were other Northern commodities then in great demand. Other products in which there was an extensive trade were timber, furs, certain metals, grain, and beer.

The prosperity and greatness of the Hanseatic League continued through the fifteenth century. Then came its gradual decline owing to such events as the capture of Novgorod in 1478 by Ivan of Russia, changes in ocean currents and in the locality of the herring fishing, the rise of the Dutch and English peoples to maritime and commercial power, and the confusion in Germany caused by the Protestant Revolt and the religious wars which followed it.

THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

The Teutonic Knights not only carried on a long crusade against the heathen Prussians and other non-German peoples of Poland, Lithuania, and Western Russia, but established a territorial state along the east shore of the Baltic and encouraged German colonization in this area. About 1202 the town of Riga had been founded by a German who became its first bishop and who employed the Brethren of the Sword in conquering Livonia from the Wends and Letts. Ten years later a monk tried to play the same *rôle* as Bishop of Prussia, where he founded the Knights of Dobrzin. This effort, however, was a failure. So in 1228 the Teutonic Knights, hitherto active in the Holy Land, were invited in, and began in the next year their conquest of what is now called East Prussia. The Grand Master of the Order was made by Frederick II a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. The two other military orders which have been mentioned soon amalgamated with the Teutonic Order, which became very popular and was loaded with gifts. Early in the fourteenth century the Knights, whose activities had at first been eastward from the Vistula, acquired Pomerelia to the west of that river and thus shut off Poland from the Baltic. In 1346 Denmark ceded Esthonia to the Knights. The numerous towns which sprang up along the east coast of the Baltic as a result of the Knights' conquests usually joined the Hanseatic League. The fourteenth century saw the Knights at the height of their power and constantly campaigning against the Lithuanians. Their territory extended along the Baltic coast from West Prussia to the Gulf of Finland. But the conversion of the Lithuanians deprived them of the excuse for any further conquests, and the union after 1386 of Poland and Lithuania under one ruler produced a neighbour who was too strong



The Hanseatic League and The Teutonic Knights

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 200
The cities of the league are marked by dots ○
▨ Represents the possessions of the Teutonic Knights at their greatest extent
4°
12°
20°
28°
52°
Longitude East 12° from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
Bergen
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Wisby
GOTLAND
Kalmar
Schonen
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
RÜGEN
Lübeck
Hamburg
Elbe
Bremen
Weser
Berlin
Magdeburg
Merseburg
Cologne
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Scheldt
Bruges
London
ENGLAND
Norwich
Stourbridge Fair
York
Oder R.
Breslau
Cracow
POLAND
Vistula R.
Dobrzin
NEUMARK
POMERELIA
Dantzig
Marienburg
PRUSSIA
Königsberg
Niemen
LITHUANIA
SAMOGITIA
COURLAND
Duna R.
LIVONIA
ESTHONIA
Novgorod

for them. In the fifteenth century they were defeated by Poland and their power was confined to East Prussia, where it had started.

The Three Scandinavian Kingdoms

We have not space to consider in detail the medieval history of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Their kings were elected, as was the custom also in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. The clergy and nobility as a rule during this period increased in landed property and political power at the expense of both the Crown and the mass of peasant proprietors, who tended to sink toward serfdom. Trade was in the hands of the Hanseatic League and the chief towns passed under German influence. For the rest, the course of events in these northern lands bore a general resemblance to that in other European countries. They felt the influence of the Hildebrandine reforms in the Church and of the Cistercian monks; they participated in the Crusades and sent scholars to Paris and other universities; they had their troubles with papal legates and interdicts, with unpalatable royal taxation and depreciation of the coinage. Save for Norse and Icelandic literature, they were somewhat behind the development of civilization in Western and Southern Europe. For instance, while Sweden was nominally converted at the beginning of the eleventh century, the faith was not really spread throughout the land nor the Church thoroughly organized until the middle of the twelfth century. Similarly the first Scandinavian universities were founded at Upsala in 1476 and at Copenhagen in 1479.

Denmark was a great power from 1182 to 1223, with sway over such cities as Hamburg and Lübeck and over the regions of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Pomerelia, Prussia, and Esthonia. But then its empire underwent speedy dissolution, and later Denmark itself seemed liable to divide into several petty states. In 1397 the three Scandinavian kingdoms came under one sovereign in the Union of Kalmar, which did not benefit nor please any one of the three countries, and which was maintained with difficulty and occasional secessions during the remainder of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XXIX

EASTERN EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

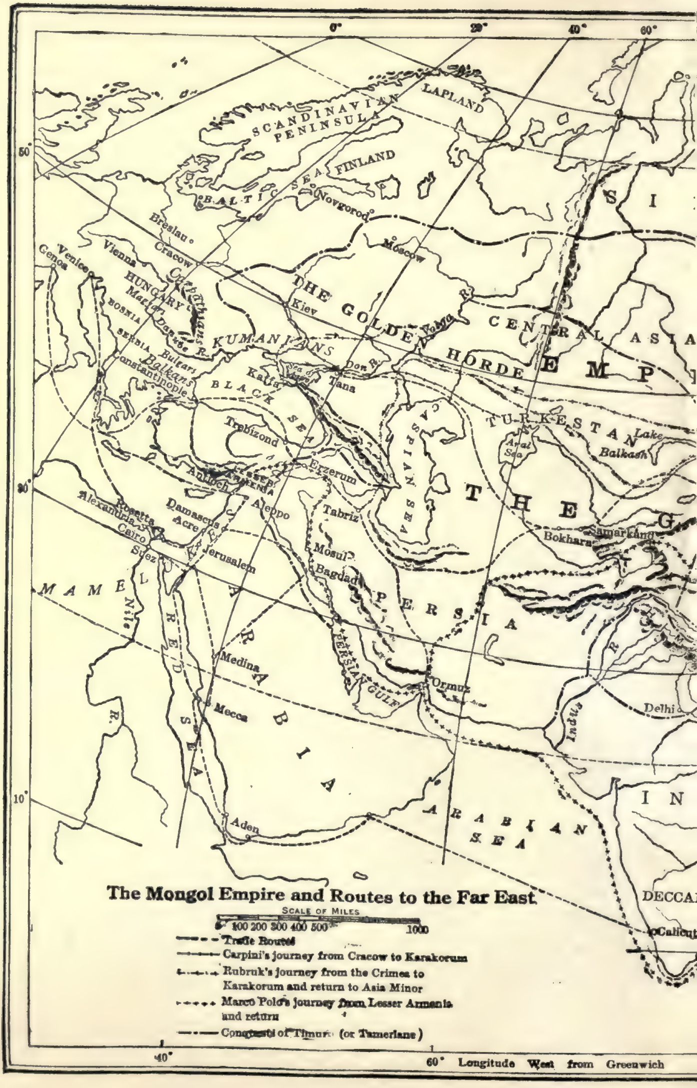
AGAIN we must turn back to the thirteenth century, this time to trace the history of Eastern Europe from the Mongol invasions of 1241 to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453—the same date that marked the close of the Hundred Years War. In the preceding year, 1452, had occurred the last coronation of a Holy Roman Emperor at Rome—that of Frederick III.

THE MONGOL INVASIONS

The chief event in the history of Asia and of Eastern Europe in the thirteenth century was the rise of the vast empire of the Tartars or Mongols and their invasions as far west as Central Europe and the Balkans. The Tartars were of a kindred race to the Huns and other Asiastic mounted nomads whose incursions westward we have already noted, and whom they closely resembled in life and customs. But their home was farther east, and they were of Mongolian rather than Ural-Altaian stock. They soon, however, included the Altaian nomads in their empire. The founder of this Mongol empire was Jenghiz Khan, under whom the Tartars united in a vast conquering horde which swept over Asia in a career of victory after victory. Early in the thirteenth century they broke through the Great Wall of China and took Peking; they rapidly subdued Central Asia; and about 1222 they reached Europe and defeated the Russian princes and the Kumanians who lived between the Don and the Danube. The Kumanians and the Russians continued their resistance, nevertheless, and received aid from the Bulgars and the Magyars, who were respectively located south of the Danube and east of the Carpathian and the Transylvanian Mountains. Then the ruler of the western dominions of the Mongols, Batu by name, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan, sent east for reinforcements. In 1237 this new wave of nomads reached the Volga; the next year they took Moscow; in 1239 they so defeated the Kumanians that these took refuge in Hungary; in the following year Kiev, Cracow, and Breslau were sacked; in 1241 King Bela of Hungary was completely crushed and his army almost annihilated. The cruel and savage Tartar host then fearfully devastated the Hungarian plain, and also ravaged Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia. Then news of the death of the Great Khan caused their withdrawal eastward. Much, however, of what is now Russia remained under their rule until almost the close of the fifteenth century, and for a still longer period was more influenced in its civilization by the Orient than by the Western world. A collection of Russian laws which has come down to us from the period before the Mongol invasion shows that the country was then little behind Western Europe in its customs. This past civilization was blotted out and future development was long retarded by the Asiatic inroads. The Kingdom of the Golden Horde, as the westernmost encampment and dominion of the Mongols was called, extended from Turkestan and the Caspian Sea to the river Don and to Novgorod, a city which the Mongols had been unable to capture, but which was compelled in 1260 to pay tribute to the Khan.

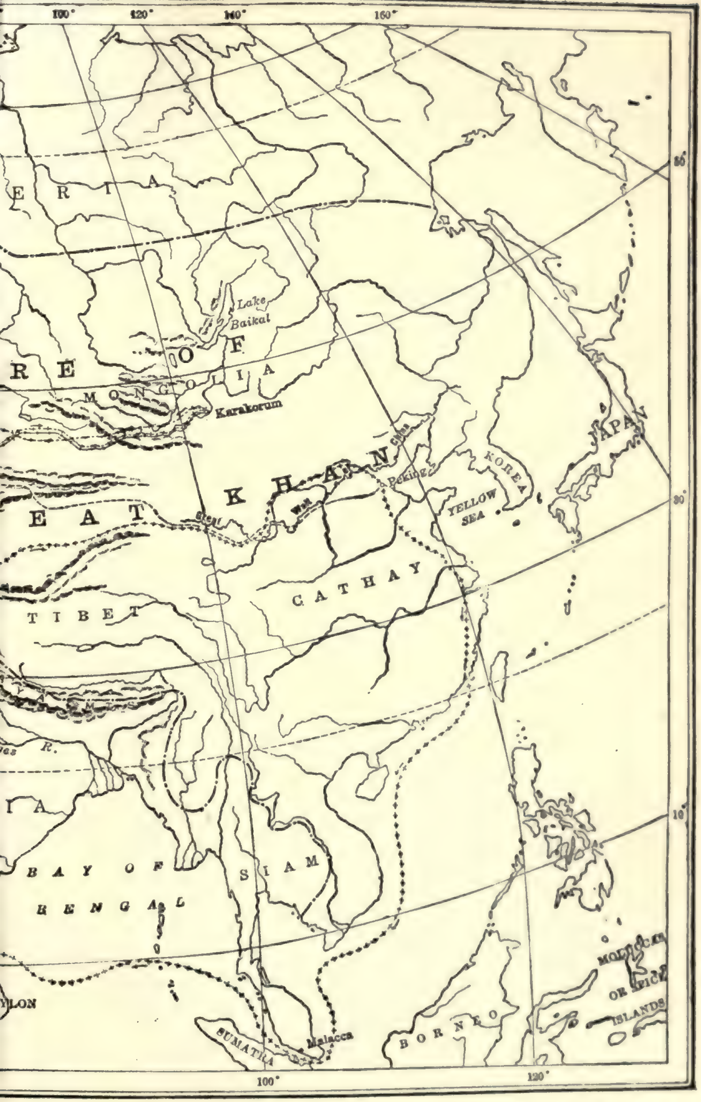
Mohammedan as well as Christian lands suffered at the hands of the Mongols. Persia was terribly ravaged by their attacks and some cities ended their existence. Even Bagdad was taken and sacked in 1258, but soon recovered a measure of its former prosperity, although its greatness under the Abbassid caliphs was gone. After taking Bagdad the Mongols had pressed on into Syria, but were driven out by the Mamelukes of Egypt. These Mamelukes were captives in war of whom the Seljuk sultans had composed their bodyguard, but one of them had recently made himself Sultan of Egypt.

The Mongols at first struck Christian Europe with much



0°
20°
40°
60°
50°
30°
10°
LAPLAND
SCANDINAVIAN PENINSULA
FINLAND
BALTIC SEA
Novgorod
Breslau
Cracow
Vienna
Venice
Genoa
HUNGARY
Carpathians
Marica
Danube R.
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Bulgars
Balkans
Constantinople
KUMANIANS
Kiev
Moscow
THE GOLDEN HORDE
Volga R.
Don R.
Tana
Sea of Azov
Kaffa
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
LESSER ARMENIA
Antioch
Erzerum
Aleppo
Tabriz
Mosul
Bagdad
CASPIAN SEA
CENTRAL ASIA
S I
E M P
TURKESTAN
Aral Sea
Lake Balkash
T H E G
Samarkand
Bokhara
Damascus
Acre
Rosetta
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Jerusalem
MAMEL
Nile
RED SEA
ARABIA
Medina
Mecca
Aden
PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
Ormuz
Indus
Delhi
I N
ARABIAN SEA
DECCA
Calicut
R.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Trade Routes
Carpini's journey from Cracow to Karakorum
Rubruk's journey from the Crimea to Karakorum and return to Asia Minor
Marco Polo's journey from Lesser Armenia and return
Conquests of Timur (or Tamerlane)
40°
60° Longitude West from Greenwich

The Mongol Empire and Routes to the Far East


100°
120°
140°
160°
E R I A
R E O F
G R E A T K H A N
Lake Baikal
M O N G O L I A
Karakorum
China
Great Wall
Peking
KOREA
YELLOW SEA
JAPAN
CATHAY
T I B E T
es R.
I A
BAY OF BENGAL
SIAM
YLON
SUMATRA
Malacca
BORNEO
MOLUCCAS OR SPICE ISLANDS
50°
30°
10°
100°
120°

Between pp. 324 and 325

the same horror that the Huns had produced, and many looked for them to fulfil the prophecies concerning Antichrist and Gog and Magog. Then, however, came hopes of using them as allies against the Moslems in the East and even of converting them to Christianity. Ambassadors were dispatched from the West to the court of the Khan, and Roman Catholic missionaries also went out to the Far East, where hitherto only Nestorian Christians had been known. Of the letters, reports, and books written by such travellers to Asia and by merchants like Marco Polo we have already spoken in discussing the knowledge of geography in the Middle Ages. Kublai Khan, at whose court and in whose employ Marco Polo spent so many years, had taken up his residence in Peking and had adopted much of Chinese civilization, although in the summer he still migrated, in nomad fashion, north to his native Mongolia. The envoys from the West failed to effect much of diplomatic advantage in their long-distance interviews with the Khan, and the missionaries had no lasting success. The Western Tartars were gradually converted to Islam, and those in China adopted the heathen faiths current there. In 1368–1370, however, the Chinese revolted and drove the Mongols out of their land.

TRADE ROUTES TO THE FAR EAST

The fact that the whole breadth of Asia was under the despotic rule of a single head made it easy to trade with the Far East. The Great Khan was feared far and wide, for he maintained relays of swift horsemen between the different parts of his extensive empire, to keep him informed of what was going on, and his dreaded cavalry would have descended rapidly upon any region that disregarded his commands or attacked persons who were under his protection. The shortest trade route to Cathay and Peking from Europe was the northern one from ports at the mouth of the Don or on the Sea of Azov. This ran north of the Black Sea, beyond the Volga, past the Caspian Sea and then across the expanse of Central Asia. From Trebizond on the south shore of the Black Sea, and also from the Cilician ports of Lesser Armenia, trade routes converged on Erzerum, and thence led to Tabriz, which was the chief market of Western Asia under Mongol rule. A Spanish traveller in 1404 described it as containing over two hundred thousand dwelling-houses and as reported to have once had an even greater population. From this centre routes continued east to Bokhara and Samarkand, while others led south to the great port of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, whence one could proceed to India and Ceylon by sea. There was also, of course, the southernmost route by the Red Sea, which did not pass through Mongol territory.

Russia remained under the sway of the Golden Horde until nearly the close of the fifteenth century. The Mongols allowed the Russians their own religion and to some extent their own laws and princes, who were, however, liable to be executed at any moment by order of the Khan. But the Mongols forced the Russians to serve in their armies, burdened them with oppressive taxes, and enslaved them if they did not pay. Under such conditions economic or intellectual progress was impossible. Finally, about 1480 the Golden Horde broke up and Russia escaped from the Mongol yoke. Ivan III of Moscow (1462–1505) now tried to bring all Russia under his rule. He ruined Novgorod and drove out the Hanseatic merchants, and carried on successful campaigns against the Lithuanians.

Kingdoms of Central Europe

While both Poland and Hungary had suffered terribly from the first Mongol invasions, they escaped the later domination of the Golden Horde. These two countries and Bohemia were contiguous, and as a result tended to form dynastic unions or to engage in wars over questions of boundaries with one another. In all three countries the kingship was elective. Silesia, comprising the upper valley of the Oder, was the disputed territory lying between Poland and Bohemia. Galicia, just north of the Carpathians, was the frontier region between Poland and Hungary, while Moravia intervened between Hungary and Bohemia.

During much of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Poland had been divided into several contending states. From 1300 to 1306 the King of Bohemia became king of the Poles also, and when the two countries again had separate rulers the Duchy of Silesia went with Bohemia. On the other hand, when the native line of princes came to an end in Galicia that region was annexed to Poland. King Casimir the Great (1333–1370) collected and published the laws, favoured the growth of cities, yet was known as 'the Peasants' King' because of his care for their welfare, and laid the foundations of the later (1400) university at Cracow.

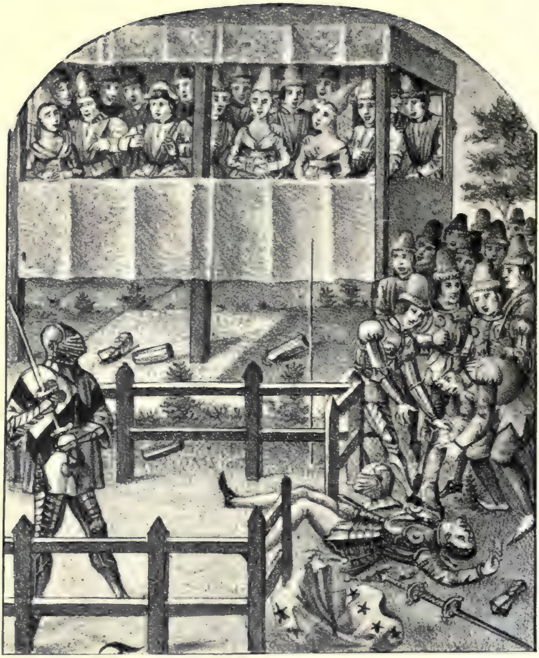
From 1370 to 1382 Poland was ruled by Louis, King of Hungary, but upon his death the nobility offered the crown to Jagello, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, upon the condition that he married Louis's daughter, Hedwig, and that the Lithuanians accepted Christianity. The Principality of Lithuania, with its capital at Vilna, had expanded to cover much of Western Russia. It even included Kiev and stretched to the Black Sea. Thus the union with Lithuania in 1386 under the dynasty of the Jagellons greatly increased the extent of Poland. It acquired more territory and access to the Baltic as well as to the Black Sea by its conquests during the fifteenth century at the expense of the Teutonic Knights, who finally lost all their other possessions and continued to hold East Prussia only as a fief from the Polish king.

From 1310 to 1437 Bohemia was ruled by the house of Luxemburg, many of whom were Emperors of Germany as well as Kings of Bohemia. Charles IV furthered the prosperity of the land and founded the University of Prague (1348), where the students formed four nations of Bohemians and Poles, Bavarians and Saxons. He encouraged the Czech language and the native merchants, although he continued, like Ottocar II and other previous princes, to call in German colonists, and although his chancery at Prague did much to fix a written form of Middle German which marks an important step in the development toward a common German tongue. Charles IV, indeed, probably hoped, like Ottocar, to make Bohemia the centre from which his dynasty should rule Germany, or at least large portions of it. Thus, while his university was the first one started in the Empire north of the Alps, and was meant for Germans as much as for Poles and Bohemians, he located it in the Bohemian capital. In the fifteenth century Bohemia became a prey to religious discontent and the destructive Hussite Wars of which we shall speak in the next chapter in connexion with Church history.

A branch of the same house of Anjou which the popes had called in to rule Naples in the thirteenth century reigned in Hungary in the fourteenth from 1309 to 1382. When King Louis died in 1382, Sigismund, who had married his elder daughter, became King of Hungary, although the Poles refused to have him and, as we have seen, instead took Louis's younger daughter and married her to Jagello of Lithuania and chose him as their king. The reign of Sigismund in Hungary was not over-glorious, since it took him some time to establish his authority, and then in 1396 the Ottoman Turks defeated him at Nicopolis and overran a good deal of his kingdom. Sigismund, who, it will be remembered, became emperor in 1410, succeeded his brother Wenzel as King of Bohemia as well, where he reigned from 1419 till his death in 1437, so far as the Hussites, indignant at his betrayal of their leader, would let him. On Sigismund's death, Bohemia and Hungary, like the imperial office which he had held, passed for a few years to the house of Habsburg. But then, through exercise of the old custom of election by the nobility, the two lands came under the rule of native kings and did not again come into the possession of the Austrian dynasty until well into the sixteenth century.

The Balkan Peninsula and Constantinople

From Hungary we pass on in our survey of Eastern lands to the Balkan peninsula. In 1261 the Genoese, who were jealous of Venetian preponderance in the Ægean and Black Seas, helped to overthrow the Latin Empire, which the Fourth Crusade had set up in 1204, and to restore the rule of a Greek dynasty at Constantinople. But this revived Byzantine Empire was small and weak; the Frankish principalities in Central and Southern Greece remained independent; and



29. A Medieval Duel

Venice kept her possessions on the coasts of Greece and in the islands of the Ægean. In 1291, however, the Latins lost their last foothold on the coast of Syria to the Moslems. Some time after the Mongols had receded from the territory which is now Rumania, the two native principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were founded. They "continued to exist in one form or another until their union under a single ruler in the nineteenth century." Under Stephen VI (1331–1355) Serbia became for a time the chief power in the Balkan peninsula. Stephen extended his sway over Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Albania, Bosnia, and part of Bulgaria; and assumed the title of Emperor of the Romans.

RISE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS

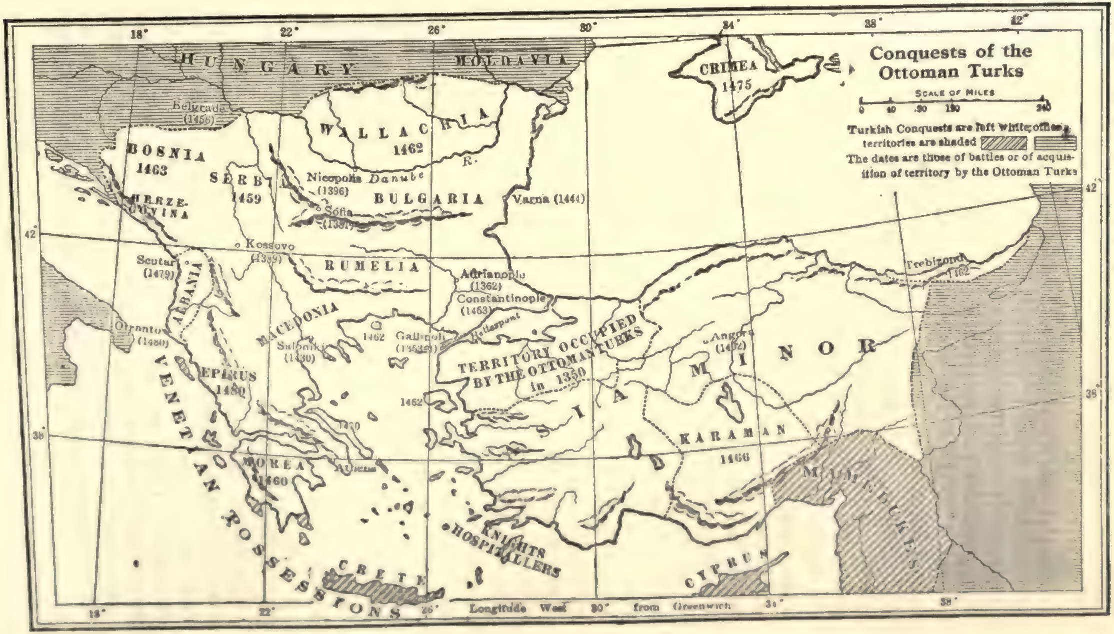
In the later Middle Ages the Ottoman Turks, so named from Osman, one of their early leaders, take the place of the Seljuks of the crusading period, and have remained a problem of world diplomacy to this day. Their invasion of Europe represents the last we have to consider of those successive waves of mounted Asiatic nomads who, ever since the Huns drove the West Goths across the Danube, had so frequently appeared in medieval history. In the thirteenth century the Ottoman Turks established themselves in Asia Minor, and by the first part of the fourteenth century had conquered all the Byzantine possessions in Asia except Trebizond. In the course of time they altered considerably their nomadic mode of life, but they have never shown much capacity for civilization. They were great fighters and fanatically devoted to Islam. They were fortunate from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in having sultans of great ability. They themselves preferred to fight on horseback, but they also made much use of the Janizaries—Christian children who were captured and trained to serve as infantry.

Presently a civil war broke out in Constantinople, and the rival parties not only turned for aid to Serbia, Bulgaria, Venice, and Genoa, but also employed the Ottomans as mercenaries. The result was that not only Serbia, Bulgaria, and Genoa took for themselves slices of Byzantine territory, but that in 1353–1354 the Turks seized some strongholds at Gallipoli on the European shore of the Hellespont. Under Amurath or Murad I (1359–1389), they began to extend their power into the Balkan peninsula and to emigrate and settle there in considerable numbers. They took Adrianople in 1361. In 1371 they defeated a Serbian prince at the head of a coalition of Rumanians, Magyars, and Bosnians. Another ten years and they had taken Sofia, the present capital of Bulgaria. Just before his death Murad I defeated the alliance of the Balkan states at the bloody battle of Kossovo (' the plain of the blackbirds ').

Under Murad's son, Bajazet (1389–1403), the conquest of Macedonia and Thessaly was completed, the independent Kingdom and Church of Bulgaria were blotted out, and many Bulgarians were transported to Asia Minor. Bajazet also forced the Princes of Serbia and Wallachia to recognize his overlordship, and sent punitive expeditions into Bosnia. Bosnia in the later Middle Ages was a land weakened by incessant local warfare, and by religious strife between the Roman Catholics, the Greek Christians, and the heretical Cathari. It consequently offered slight resistance to the Turks. Hungary was now endangered, and at Sigismund's request the Pope preached a crusade in which French, English, Germans, and Poles as well as Hungarians participated, but they were crushed at Nicopolis in 1396. Bajazet next turned his attention to Constantinople, which already had been forced to pay tribute, and it would probably have fallen at this time had he not been called away from its siege to meet a new conqueror in Asia.

TAMERLANE

Timur (1336–1405) or Tamerlane—which, however, means Timur the Lame and was really an insulting epithet applied to him—had renewed the terrible invasions of the Mongols. He had made himself master of Central Asia, had conquered Persia, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and had penetrated southward to Delhi in India. The Golden Horde also owned his sway and he made expeditions to the Volga.



Conquests of the Ottoman Turks

Scale of Miles
0 10 30 120 240
Turkish Conquests are left white; other territories are shaded
The dates are those of battles or of acquisition of territory by the Ottoman Turks
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
CRIMEA 1475
Belgrade (1456)
WALLACHIA 1462
BOSNIA 1463
SERBIA 1459
HERZEGOVINA
Nicopolis (1396)
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Varna (1444)
Sofia (1381)
Kossovo (1389)
Scutari (1479)
ALBANIA
RUMELIA
Adrianople (1362)
Constantinople (1453)
Hellespont
Otranto (1480)
MACEDONIA
Salonika (1430)
1462
Gallipoli (1353)
TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE OTTOMAN TURKS in 1350
EPIRUS 1480
1462
1460
Athens
MOREA 1460
VENETIAN POSSESSIONS
KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS
CRETE
ASIA MINOR
Angora (1402)
Trebizond 1462
KARAMAN 1466
MAMELUKES
CYPRUS
18°
22°
26°
30°
34°
38°
42°
Longitude West 30° from Greenwich

Indeed, he conducted all his conquests in person, and with great cruelty, leaving a trail of blood and ruin behind him. He built towers of the skulls of those whom he had slain, or embedded the bodies of the living in walls with stones and mortar. His eldest son, however, outvied him when he began to tear down all the famous buildings that he could lay hands on, in order " that men might say, 'Miran Mirza did nothing himself, but he commanded the destruction of the world's noblest works.' " This morbid craving for ill-fame his father discouraged by deposing him. Timur himself maintained a showy court at Samarkand, and, when he sacked other cities, transferred their treasures, artisans, and scholars thither to adorn his new capital. In 1400 he defeated the Mameluke Sultan of Syria and Egypt, burned the city of Damascus, which had surrendered without resistance, and massacred many of its inhabitants. The next year he took Bagdad, and is said to have reared a trophy of 90,000 human heads. In 1402 at Angora he crushed the army of the hitherto victorious Bajazet, who died in captivity the next year. Timur returned to Samarkand and prepared a great expedition to conquer China, but died on the march. His vast empire quickly dissolved. An interesting account has come down to us of thirty-two years of travel and adventure as a slave in all sorts of lands, including Siberia, by Hans Scheltberger, a German boy of sixteen who was captured by the Turks at Nicopolis. They spared his life because of his youth; then he was captured from Bajazet by Timur, and thereafter was tossed to and fro for years among the wandering Tartars.

Renewed Turkish Advance

For some years after their defeat at Angora the Turks were too weak to renew their attacks upon Christendom, and Bajazet's sons were occupied in quarrelling over his dominions. But under Murad II (1421–1451) Constantinople was again unsuccessfully besieged, and Saloniki was captured from Venice only after a siege of seven years. In 1439 the Turks overran Serbia, but failed to take Belgrade, and then had several successive defeats administered to them by the Hungarian general John Hunyadi, so that they agreed in 1444 to evacuate Serbia and Herzegovina and to yield Wallachia to Hungary. But the King of Poland, who also claimed the throne of Hungary, broke this treaty of peace in the hope of driving the Turks from Europe entirely. Instead, he was defeated and killed at Varna and the Turks recovered all that they had surrendered.

FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

In 1448 even Hunyadi was beaten, and Constantinople at last was taken in 1453 by Mohammed II (1451–1481). The Byzantine emperor had agreed in 1438 to unite with the Western Church, but he received little aid from the Western Powers, while the loyalty of the clergy and populace of Constantinople was lessened by this submission, as they regarded it, to the Papacy. Mohammed II left the Christians their own language, religion, and customs, and they speedily restored the Greek Church. But the Byzantine Empire was for ever at an end, and from 1453 Constantinople was the capital of Turkey, and Justinian's great church of St. Sophia served as a Mohammedan mosque.

In 1456, however, the Turks again failed to take Belgrade, which was relieved by an army of crusaders under John Hunyadi and a papal legate. Hunyadi died soon after his victory, but his son, Matthias Corvinus, was elected King of Hungary, and the Bohemians at the same time chose a native ruler, George of Podiebrad. But instead of uniting against the Turks these two national kings became embroiled in strife with each other. Meanwhile Trebizond had been conquered by the Turks, Central and Southern Greece had been occupied by them, and the Parthenon at Athens was converted into a mosque. Wallachia, Serbia, and Bosnia were also all in the hands of the Turks. Albania had held out since 1443 under its able leader Scanderbeg and then under his son, but with the fall of Scutari in 1479 its resistance was over. Thus the Turks held practically the entire Balkan peninsula. Venice, to save its trading privileges in the East, made peace with them in 1479. The next year the Moslems made a vain attempt to capture Rhodes from the Hospitallers, and also landed in Southern Italy at Otranto. But then the death of Mohammed II caused their withdrawal, and they attempted no further conquests in Europe during the rest of the century.

CHAPTER XXX

THE PAPACY AND ITS OPPONENTS IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

FROM 1309 to 1376 the popes remained at Avignon, a period of seventy years which suggested comparison with the Babylonian Captivity of the Jewish people. This long absence from Rome greatly scandalized many persons. First, the Romans, who lost the presence of the splendid papal court and the profitable stream of pilgrims and clergy from other lands. Second, the Italians, like Dante and Petrarch, who felt aggrieved that Italy had thus been abandoned to its fate and that Italian families had been deprived of their accustomed first pick of all the choice Church positions. Third, the English, who contended that the popes were favouring their foes, the French. Fourth, the Germans, who resented the pope's claim to temporal superiority over the Holy Roman Emperor and his refusal to confirm as emperor whomsoever they elected, his disinclination to recognize any longer the imperial power in Italy, and his attempt on one occasion to make the French king Holy Roman Emperor. Fifth, all Christians who believed as a matter of principle that Rome was the true capital of Christendom.

A prominent feature of the Avignon residence was a large increase in papal expenditure and revenue. This was accomplished partly by bringing into the pope's hands the right of appointment to an increasing number of Church offices, and then demanding of these papal appointees one half of the first year's income of the bishopric or other prebend. This payment was known as 'annates.'

Moreover, far-sighted office-seekers in the Church sometimes, by a liberal expenditure, received assurances at the papal court that a certain position should be theirs upon the death of the present incumbent. Another source of papal revenue was from payments for dispensations, and from the contributions of the faithful in connexion with indulgences, pardons, and jubilees or anniversaries. There were regular papal collectors scattered over Western Europe, which was systematically divided up for the purpose into seven regions—namely, the British Isles, the Scandinavian kingdoms, Poland and Hungary, Germany and Bohemia, France, the Spanish peninsula, and Italy.

At the papal court great magnificence prevailed, and the subordinate officials at least were very corrupt and demanded no end of bribes and fees. One reason, however, why the popes required more revenue at Avignon was that their possessions in Italy were in a state of rebellion and confusion, and that they not only derived little income from them any longer, but spent a good deal in endeavouring to subdue them. Indeed, the popes remained at Avignon partly because Rome and its vicinity had for a long time been gradually growing too hot for them.

Whatever good reasons it may have had for being at Avignon, the Papacy did not escape criticism. John XXII, besides his struggle with the German emperor, Louis of Bavaria, had another with the Spiritual Franciscans, as those of the Order called themselves who insisted upon absolute fidelity to the injunctions of St. Francis and standards of apostolic poverty. The Pope, on the contrary, supported the inquisitor of Narbonne in his declaration that it was heresy to assert that neither Christ nor the apostles individually or collectively possessed any property. There were other movements akin to the Spiritual Franciscans, such as those of the Fraticelli and the Beguins and Beghards. These, too, were often persecuted by the Church as heretics.

Louis of Bavaria's court physician, Marsiglio of Padua, who had been rector at the University of Paris, and who sided with the Emperor and the Spiritual Franciscans against the pope, wrote a remarkable work, *The Defender of Peace,* which was translated from the Latin into both French and Italian. The idea in the title is that the exorbitant power claimed by the Pope has disturbed the peace of the world, to recover which it is essential to restore the State to its proper place of superiority in all worldly concerns, to reduce the Pope to his and the clergy to their proper places in the Church itself as well as in society, and to recognize the fundamental sovereignty of the entire community of believers in the Church and that of the people in the State. The clergy should not judge or govern the people, but merely preach and administer the sacraments to them. The Church itself is made up of laymen as well as of the clergy. Such a power as that of excommunication should be exercised only by the entire Church. Marsiglio also asserts that the theory of papal primacy is not supported by the Bible.

ENGLISH CRITICISM OF THE CHURCH

Of the feeling against the Papacy in England in the fourteenth century we have already noted signs in the Statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire,* the repudiation of John's tribute, and the hostility toward the clergy manifested in connexion with the Peasants' Revolt. And it had even been proposed in Parliament to confiscate the property of the clergy for political needs. The author of *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman,* although he is careful to protest his orthodoxy and is evidently deeply pious and devotes the greater part of his poem to religion, nevertheless finds, like Dante and Chaucer, much to criticize in the Church of his time. The friars are "preaching to the people for profit of their paunch." Papal legates keep fools and jesters and encourage flatterers and liars. Parsons and parish priests, archdeacons and deacons

> Are loping to London by leave of their bishop
> To sing there for simony, for silver is sweet.

The pardoners who blind the people's eyes with their bulls and briefs are really "gluttons" and "profligates who practise vice" and who spend "what otherwise the poor of the parish would have." At the Day of Judgment, the poet opines, indulgences and pardons and "a pocketful of provincial's letters" won't be worth "one pie-crust." He complains that money "bestows bishoprics on men who are base" and permits priests "to have concubines all their lives," and that "popes and patrons refuse poor gentle blood and take Simon's son to keep sanctuary." The sin of Sloth is personified as a clergyman and confesses:

> I have been priest and parson passing thirty winters;
> Yet I can neither tell the notes, nor sing, nor read a saint's life.
> But I can find in a field and in a furlong a hare,
> And hold a knight's court, and account with the reeve;
> But I cannot construe Cato, nor speak clerically.

JOHN WYCLIF

Such was the feeling in England when John Wyclif late in life began his work as a popular preacher and religious reformer. Previously he had been a professor at Oxford and had written works of the scholastic type in Latin. His scholastic theories of divine and civil lordship had, however, an important bearing upon his attitude to the problem of Church and State and led him to question the doctrine of papal supremacy. Wyclif found for a time a powerful patron in John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III, and supported the Parliaments toward the close of that king's reign in their hostile attitude toward the pope's temporal and financial claims. Like the author of *Piers the Ploughman,* Wyclif criticized the pilgrimages, indulgences, and worship of relics of his time, the mendicant orders, and the lives of other clergy. He believed that it would be better for the Church to lose its vast lands and wealth and be reduced to apostolic poverty. He also believed that the people lacked religious instruction. He preached to them and wrote tracts for them in their own tongue, founded an organization of 'poor priests' to do the same, and had the Bible translated into English. Thus he is one of the founders of English prose.

Wyclif was a forerunner of the later Protestants in making the Bible the sole standard of religious belief and practice, and in rejecting such customs and doctrines of the medieval Church as he felt could not be justified by Scripture; for instance, auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, masses for the dead, and the doctrine of purgatory. He not only denied to the pope and clergy any political power and held that the State was as directly founded and authorized by God as was the Church; he not only declared that the clergy were entitled to their privileges and property only so long as they lived and taught in a way to deserve them: he also argued that their spiritual power depended upon their personal faith and conduct. Even a pope who did not live a Christlike life was no head of the Church, but an antichrist. Salvation, Wyclif taught, depends not upon obedience to pope or priest, but upon divine grace and predestination and upon the faith of the individual believer. Wyclif, in fine, proclaimed 'the universal priesthood of believers' and denied the special sacramental power of the clergy. Some of the seven sacraments, like confirmation and extreme unction, he rejected entirely, and he even dared to attack the theory of transubstantiation in the mass. He denied any material change in the bread and wine or any priestly miracle, and taught that in the sacrament one does not actually partake of the body of Christ, but sees Him through faith and communes with Him in spirit.

The Pope had tried to call Wyclif to account in 1377 before he had done much more than attack the political power and worldly possessions of the clergy, but the support of John of Gaunt and of the populace saved him. After this he went on to more and more radical utterances, until in 1381 his denial of transubstantiation lost him the favour of John of Gaunt and his position at Oxford. The Peasants' Revolt, for which many held him responsible, further injured his popularity. But the House of Commons declined to co-operate with the Archbishop of Canterbury in persecuting him, and while he retired to his parish in Lutterworth, he continued to produce pamphlets until his death in 1384. His followers, known as

'Lollards,'[1] continued through the reign of Richard II, when they seem to have been influential even at court; but early in the reign of Henry IV Parliament passed the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo,* which provided that they should be burned at the stake when turned over by the Church courts to the secular authorities. After this the Lollards were pretty well stamped out in England, but some survived to help to kindle the later Reformation.

THE GREAT SCHISM

The great schism in the Papacy, which began in 1378, had probably emboldened Wyclif to increase the vigour of his attack upon the Papacy and had enabled him to escape punishment for his heretical views. Gregory XI had at last returned to Rome in 1377 and had died there the following year. The Roman populace now raised a great tumult outside the Vatican palace and insisted upon a Roman, or at least an Italian, as the next pope. The cardinals thereupon elected the Archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, who became Pope Urban VI. He soon turned the cardinals against him by his scoldings and other measures directed against their worldly extravagant life and their corrupt manipulation of ecclesiastical offices. Moreover, during the past century the cardinals had acquired considerable power and were therefore incensed at what they regarded as an unwarrantable infringement of their privileges and a cruel tyranny. They expected half of the papal revenues and a share in the direction of papal policy. Finally the Ultramontane or French cardinals left Rome and elected one of their own number, Robert of Geneva, as Pope Clement VII (1378–1394). There had been schisms in the Papacy before, but the anti-popes had usually owed their office to the Holy Roman Emperor. Now the Church was divided against itself; the schism was due to a quarrel between the cardinals and the Pope. The French cardinals declared that the election of Urban had been forced upon them by the Roman mob. It was hard to learn the true facts of the case and many pious people were in honest doubt who was the rightful pope. The cardinals, however, had not raised objections to Urban's election immediately, but only when they saw how he acted as pope. The Roman Catholic Church since has regarded Urban as the rightful pope.

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[1] The origin of the word 'Lollards,' a term of reproach applied to the followers of Wyclif by their enemies, has been disputed. But the word 'loller' often occurs in *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman,* and evidently means one who lolls about and reclines at his ease; in other words, an idler, loafer, vagabond, or irregular wandering clerk or hermit. This last is the sort of life that the poet represents himself as leading when he was "clothed as a loller . . . in these long clothes." Again he speaks of "lunatic lollers and wanderers," and in a third passage says:

"This is the life of lollers and lewd hermits;
To look very lowly in order to gain alms of men,
In hope to sit at evening by the hot coals,
With outstretched legs lying at their ease,
Resting, and roasting their backs by the fire,
Drinking dry and deep."

Meanwhile Urban had more than doubled the number of cardinals by appointing twenty-nine Italians in order to command a majority of the college. It must be admitted that Urban was a person very hard to get on with. He moved his court from Rome to Naples, from Naples to Nocera, from Nocera to Genoa, from Genoa to Lucca, from Lucca to Perugia, from Perugia back to Rome, where he died in 1389—poisoned, it was whispered, by the Romans. No matter who might be monarch at Naples, Urban quarrelled with him; and the Pope's own Italian cardinals were soon conspiring against him. But when he died they elected another pope who continued the struggle against Clement VII; and when Clement died his cardinals also chose a successor. Thus the schism bade fair to become interminable, since there were two rival colleges of cardinals ever ready to continue it. Another circumstance that perpetuated the schism was that the different rulers and nations of Europe had taken different sides. The support of the French king seemed to ensure the pope at Avignon from overthrow; he was also recognized by Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Scotland, Flanders, and a few Italian and German principalities. But most of Italy and Germany, also Poland, Hungary, the Scandinavian kingdoms, England, and Portugal, sided with the line of popes which began with Urban VI.

In order to retain the support of these states, the rival popes had to make many concessions and abandon to a large extent the previous papal custom of interference in national politics. On the other hand, there were now two papal courts to be maintained, and so the burden of papal taxation was felt more than during the Avignon period. Also in many localities there were struggles for Church positions and benefices between rival appointees of the two popes. These circumstances, and the unreadiness of the rival popes and cardinals to make sacrifices in order to restore Church unity, caused great scandal and distress throughout Christendom and greatly damaged the prestige of the Papacy. The religious life of the people also suffered. As a result, many writers, especially at the University of Paris, suggested methods for ending the schism and demanded accompanying reforms in the Church.

The Council of Pisa

At last the two colleges of cardinals came to an understanding and in 1409 joined in summoning a general council at Pisa and ordered their respective popes to appear before this assembly. When they failed to appear, they were both deposed as notorious schismatics and heretics, and the cardinals combined to elect a new pope, Alexander V. But the Kingdom of Naples and a few other states of Italy and Germany persisted in supporting the cause of Gregory XII, the third successor of Urban VI, while the Spanish peninsula and Scotland still adhered to Benedict XIII of the Avignon line. Alexander V died the next year and was succeeded by a warlike cardinal who had been helping him to conquer the Papal States and who now took the title John XXIII. Thus the Council of Pisa, instead of ending the schism, had made it a triple one.

The Council of Constance: Healing of the Schism

The Emperor Sigismnud now succeeded in assembling at Constance, a German city where no one of the three popes would have much influence, a larger and more generally representative council than that at Pisa. It was, indeed, one of the most impressive gatherings during the Middle Ages, and lasted for three years. John XXIII came in person, bringing with him a throng of Italian supporters. But their numbers were rendered of no avail by the decision of the council that voting should not be by heads, but by four nations—namely, the French, Italians, English, and Germans. This recognition of different nationalities by a Church supposed to be catholic was indeed significant of the rise of new social groups and forces. The council also received the envoys of Gregory and Benedict as papal legates, and it became evident that the plan was to secure the resignation of all three popes. John at first agreed to resign if both the others would do the same, but then he fled from Constance and called his clergy to him. But the English, French, and German nations stood firm; the cardinals and other clergy who had joined John soon deserted him again; Frederick of Tyrol, who had given him protection, was defeated by Sigismund with the aid of the Swiss; and John himself was captured, deposed, and kept a prisoner until the council was over and the schism ended. Gregory resigned voluntarily, but although Sigismund went to Narbonne and Perpignan to interview Benedict, he could not persuade him to abdicate. Sigismund did, however, induce Benedict's Spanish and Scottish supporters to abandon him and to participate in the Council of Constance. Martin V, of the Roman family of Colonna, was elected pope in 1417, and therewith the great schism was practically ended.

JOHN HUSS

While healing the schism the council also considered the problem of a new heresy. The writings of Wyclif had by the end of the fourteenth century reached Bohemia, and his views had been adopted and widely spread by John Huss, rector of the University of Prague, and a preacher of great influence among the people. As a result he had already been excommunicated in 1411. Jerome of Prague had further disseminated these ideas in Austria, Hungary, Poland, and even in Lithuania and Russia. Huss also had opposed a papal bull, which preached a crusade against the King of Naples and offered indulgences in order to raise money for this purpose. He had none the less become the idol of the Bohemian people, and all efforts to check the spread of Wyclifism in that country had thus far been unavailing. Huss willingly appeared before the council in the vain hope of winning over to his views some or all of the clergy there assembled. He had received a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, but the council paid no attention to it. Huss and later Jerome of Prague were condemned to be burned at the stake. This action simply caused Huss to be regarded as a holy martyr as well as a national hero in Bohemia, and the whole country was up in arms. Priests were driven from their parishes and monasteries were burned.

Many of the German colonists in Bohemia, however, remained loyal to the council and to Roman Catholicism, and the Bohemians were unable to agree among themselves as to their religious beliefs. The more moderate and conciliatory party, known as the 'Calixtins' or 'Utraquists,' and represented especially by the Bohemian nobility, soon adopted a platform of four articles, demanding (1) free preaching of God's word, (2) the communion in both kinds for the laity, (3) surrender of worldly power and property by the clergy and a return on their part to the life led by Christ and the apostles, (4) punishment by the magistrates of all deadly sins and public disorders, even if committed by the clergy. The stress laid upon allowing the laity the wine as well as the holy wafer in the Lord's Supper shows that, unlike Wyclif, the Utraquists were far from regarding the communion as a purely spiritual affair. Their name comes from the Latin word *utraque*, referring to the communion 'in both kinds,' while Calixtins is derived from the *calix*, or cup containing the wine. Earlier than this there had been an agitation in Bohemia for a more frequent or even daily partaking of the sacrament by the laity.

Thus two different currents combined to form the Hussite movement. The demand by the laymen for a fuller participation in the Eucharist over-emphasized the value of the rite upon which the medieval Church already laid the most stress. The other more progressive movement, following along the trail which Wyclif had blazed, attacked the clergy and departed more or less from the customs and doctrines of the medieval Church. The Utraquists had gone but a little way in this direction; the more radical party became known as the 'Taborites,' because their first meeting was held upon a hill, to which in characteristic fashion they gave the Biblical name Mount Tabor. They wished to do away with much of the formality and ceremony in religious worship, and their priests officiated without wearing any distinctive ecclesiastical vestments. They also addressed one another as brothers and sisters, and represented a democratic movement among the peasantry and lower classes in contrast to the Utraquist nobles. While the Utraquists and Taborites were the two chief religious parties among the Hussites, there were further divergences of belief, and from time to time factions appeared within the two main parties.

King Wenzel, who had done little toward suppressing the Hussites, died in 1419. His obvious successor was his brother, Sigismund, but the Bohemians were suspicious of the man who had allowed Huss to be burned to death, and it became evident that Sigismund would have to employ force to win his kingdom. The pope proclaimed a crusade against Bohemia and a great army gathered. The majority of the crusaders were Germans, just as the orthodox party in Bohemia itself was composed largely of the German settlers. Thus to religious strife was added the racial antipathy of Teuton and Czech. The crusaders, of course, hoped to win large estates for themselves in Bohemia. But the method which the Church had found effective against the Albigensians of Southern France was not to prove successful in this case. For although the Hussites were divided among themselves, they usually united to repel the foreign invaders, and in John Ziska, the leader of the Taborites, they possessed a great military genius. He employed the new firearms which had followed the invention of gunpowder, and also made use of ironclad wagons, which were chained together in four lines or columns and which could readily be formed into a hollow square. Even after his death from the plague in 1424, the Hussites continued their series of victories. In 1427 and 1431 the crusading armies fled without risking a battle, and in the years between these two dates the Bohemians invaded Germany and spread terror far and wide. Both the crusaders in Bohemia and the Hussites in Germany were guilty of shocking atrocities.

Since the Hussites could not be suppressed by force, another general council was called at Basel in 1431 and long negotiations ensued. While these were in process the Hussites quarrelled among themselves and the moderate party of nobles administered a crushing defeat to the Taborites. Finally, in 1436 the moderate Hussites accepted their four articles in a new form suggested by the council which somewhat weakened their force. The important question, however, was whether this agreement would be lived up to. The pope refused to confirm a Hussite whom the Bohemians elected Archbishop of Prague, and Sigismund was inclined toward a Roman Catholic reaction. He died the next year, however; the reign of his Habsburg successor, Albert of Austria, was brief; and then followed the long minority of Albert's posthumous son.

During this minority George of Podiebrad, the leader of the Utraquists, gained the chief power, and when the young King died in 1457 he was chosen king. He maintained the Hussite archbishop, and, on the other hand, captured Mount Tabor, where the radicals had been holding out to the last. They survived, nevertheless, as a persecuted sect and later became the Bohemian Brotherhood or Moravians. The pope now refused to stand by the compromise which the Council of Basel had made with the Hussites, and preached another crusade against Bohemia, which was undertaken by Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. Podiebrad died in 1471, but was able to secure the election of a younger son of the King of Poland as his successor rather than Matthias.

FINAL OUTCOME OF THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT

This king, Ladislas II, was himself a papal sympathizer, but found it necessary to tolerate the Utraquists, who continued to receive the communion in both kinds. The Bohemian nobles also kept the estates which they had taken from the Church lands in the course of the Hussite wars.

The German colonists and the monks had been pretty well driven out of the country, but the native peasantry, who for the most part had belonged to the defeated Taborite party, now sank into serfdom. On the whole, Bohemia had lost greatly in economic prosperity and in civilization as a result of the long period of bitter strife and cruel anarchy. But the Church and the Papacy had failed during the whole course of the fifteenth century to reduce Bohemia to obedience. Ecclesiastical authority had been long and successfully defied, and that on a sacramental question.

Many who attended the Council of Constance had come there persuaded of the need of a thoroughgoing reform of the Church "in head and members." Various committees had been appointed and suggestions made, but in the end the council broke up without having accomplished much, leaving the task of reform to the new pope and a future council. A decree had been passed that another council should assemble at the end of five years, a second after seven years, and others every ten years thereafter. This revealed a strong tendency to introduce something like parliamentary and representative government into the Church, and to limit the pope's absolute power. Indeed, at the time of John XXIII's flight and attempt to break up the council, that body had passed the decree *Sacrosancta*, affirming the supremacy of the council over all Christians, even the pope, on the ground that it represented the entire Church and derived its power and inspiration directly from Christ. Martin V, therefore, had no desire for more councils, and the one which met at the end of five years at Siena accomplished nothing of moment. Neither did the Pope execute the reform programme which the Council of Constance had entrusted to him, because the most desired reforms were limitations of the excessive interference which the popes had come to exert in the local churches, especially in the three matters of appointments to ecclesiastical benefices, financial exactions, and the drawing of lawsuits to Rome. Instead of reducing his own powers in these respects, Martin V gave his attention to the recovery of the Papal States in Italy.

EUGENIUS IV AND THE COUNCIL OF BASEL

When, however, the failure of the crusades against the Hussites necessitated the calling of the Council of Basel, public opinion was again insisting upon a real reform in the Church in order to prevent the further spread of heresy. The pope was now Eugenius IV (1431–1447). Instead of attending the council, he tried first to postpone it for eighteen months and then to have it meet in Italy at Bologna. But the council refused to disband and reaffirmed the declaration made at Constance of its superiority even to the pope. It then proceeded not only to arrange the compromise with the Utraquists, but to pass various decrees for the reformation of the Church. In 1433 the Pope was forced to make his peace with the council, which was supported by most of the European governments. But when the council continued to pass reform measures which were directed especially against the Papacy, Eugenius IV broke with it again and held a rival assembly in 1438–1439, first at Ferrara and then at Florence, which arranged a fleeting union with the Eastern Church. Meanwhile the Council of Basel had deposed Eugenius; and it continued its sessions until 1449. By that time Europe had grown rather weary of the council and most rulers had decided in favour of Eugenius, who usually in return promised to observe more or less of the reform decrees of Basel, or to share his powers of appointing to ecclesiastical benefices with the local secular rulers. Finally the Council of Basel recognized Eugenius's successor, Nicholas V, as pope and disbanded, and the conciliar movement was over. No further attempt by the Church as a whole to reform itself was made until after the Protestant revolt.

Charles VII, however, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, in 1438, had assured to the French churches freedom to fill their own church positions by election, and had strictly limited the papal income and appeals to the papal court from France. This was the foundation of the later liberties claimed by the Gallican Church. In 1482 Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile secured from the pope pretty complete control of the Church and even of the Inquisition in Spain, and proceeded to execute a thorough reformation of the Spanish clergy. They saw to it that the right sort of men became bishops, that the clergy in general were well educated and of high moral character, and that purity of doctrine was maintained.

After the conciliar movement was over the popes devoted themselves largely to Italian affairs. They gave some attention to the Turkish menace, planning crusades against the advancing Moslems ; they were still looked up to as international arbiters, as appears in the appeals of the Portuguese and Spanish sovereigns to the pope to sanction their exclusive title to all new discoveries in America and the East ; but they neglected the problem of reforming the Church until it was unpleasantly forced upon their attention once more by the Protestant revolt. For the present some of them played a prominent part in Italian politics, while others were patrons of the Renaissance. One or two were learned men themselves, namely, Nicholas V, who founded the great Vatican Library, and Pius II, who before his election was the humanist Æneas Sylvius. To this Italian Renaissance, which thus captivated the Papacy, we now turn.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE: POLITICS AND HUMANISM

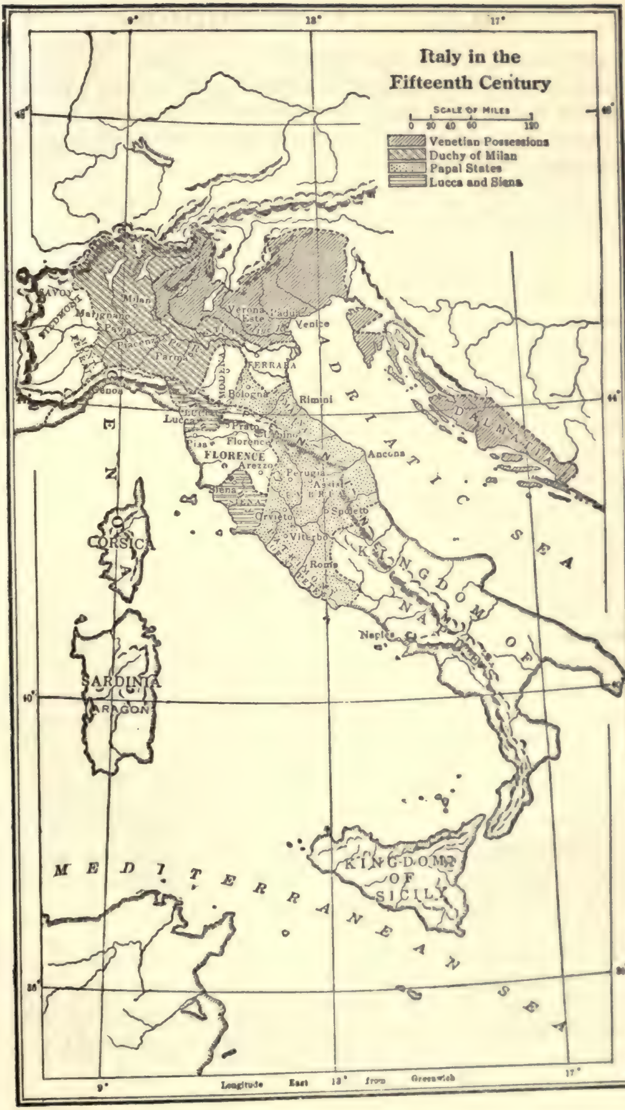
IN the later Middle Ages the Italian cities lost for the most part their political independence and communal institutions. But as a result of the economic prosperity won in the previous period and continued in this, they produced and patronized a host of writers, scholars, and artists. This output in culture is known as the ' Italian Renaissance.' If we regard Dante as in a sense closing the great period of medieval culture, we may begin the so-called Renaissance in Italy about the middle of the fourteenth century with Petrarch. The movement had attained its height in Italy and had begun to spread abroad through Europe at about the opening of the sixteenth century—the time selected for the close of this volume. Before considering the Renaissance itself, we may briefly notice the chief political changes in the Italian peninsula during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The constant strife between cities and within cities, of which we have had to speak whenever we mentioned the Italian communes, had three outcomes. First, the rise of despots or princes, absolute rulers who deprived the citizens of the political rights which they had failed to exercise harmoniously. Second, the aggrandizement of a few cities at the expense of the rest, which were for the most part reduced to subjection and deprived of their self-government. Third, the employment of mercenary troops and leaders, called *condottieri*, who were not moved by patriotism, but solely by self-interest. These three things ruined public spirit and were accompanied by a great deterioration of political morality. The *condottieri* had reduced war to a science of getting as much pay as possible out of their employers, as much plunder as possible out of the country, and as great victories as possible for the sake of their military reputations without either losing many of their troops or terminating a war which was profitable to them. They would change sides at almost any moment if offered enough pay.

A despotism was the logical outcome of the single magistracy of the *podestà* which at the beginning of the thirteenth century had replaced the earlier boards of consuls in the Italian communes. Although at first the tenure of office was annual, a *podestà* who showed himself capable of allaying party strife and of giving the city order and prosperity was very likely to be elected for several successive years and finally for life. Gradually the office might cease to be elective and become hereditary. In some towns it was not the *podestà* of the communes who thus transformed himself into a prince, but the *podestà* of the merchants, or the *potestas populi* (' captain of the people '), chosen by the *popolo*, which included members of all the gilds and constituted a more democratic electorate than the original commune. In other places the vicars who had been entrusted with the town government by pope or emperor converted their appointment into a permanent princedom. Besides slipping into power by these peaceful and gradual methods, one might suddenly force one's way into a princedom as the leader of a successful revolution or as a commander of the city's army. It was especially during the troubled times of the warfare of Frederick II and his sons with popes and communes that ambitious and unscrupulous individuals were able to establish despotisms.

Some despots, like some of the ancient Roman emperors, won an unenviable reputation as cruel and vicious monsters. But taken as a whole their crimes and violence were little if any worse than those of the contending parties which had preceded them. As a rule they were able, alert, resourceful men : indeed, they had to be, in order to retain their offices, which often had no legal justification. They could not ' muddle along ' like a king, on the strength of his royal title. They also were more likely than were republican governments to encourage artists and writers, partly because they had more sympathy with genius, partly from a concern for their own fame. They usually treated the lower classes in the city, the peasants outside the walls, and the population of conquered towns better than had the preceding form of government, which had almost always been characterized by a limited citizenship. The contemporary Florentine historian Guicciardini wrote on this point: "It is better to be the subject of a prince than of a republic, for a republic keeps all its subjects under and gives no share of its greatness save to its own citizens. A prince is common to all; one man is as much his subject as another; therefore every one can hope to be favoured or employed." Although a despot who ruled well could, therefore, count upon at least the passive moral support of the masses, he had to be constantly on his guard against those whom he had supplanted in office or deprived of the franchise, against influential noble families and ambitious individuals. The air was full of conspiracies and banishments, of assassinations and imprisonments and suspicions of poisoning. Power was too much valued for its own sake, and all other considerations were subordinated to political and personal ones.

This state of affairs was, at the close of our period, set forth in clear, concise, convincing, and cold-blooded style by the brilliant Florentine historian and publicist Niccolò Machiavelli, in his little book *The Prince*, which aimed to teach the beginner how to be a despot. That cruelty, violence, and deceit must occasionally be employed he shows from classical history and Italian politics of the time. He expects that his pupils in the princely art will indulge in some vices, but beseeches them at least to avoid those which are liable to cost them their thrones. A fair sample of his rules in diplomacy is the precept to ally with the weaker rather than the stronger of two warring states; for, should the stronger state win, it would then try to crush you too, even if you had allied with it. If the weaker wins, whether it is grateful for your aid or not, both sides will still need and value your alliance. Machiavelli should not be held personally responsible



Italy in the Fifteenth Century

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 120
▨ Venetian Possessions
▨ Duchy of Milan
▨ Papal States
▤ Lucca and Siena
9°
13°
17°
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
Milan
Marignano
Pavia
Piacenza
Po R.
Parma
Genoa
Verona
Padua
Este
Venice
MODENA
FERRARA
Bologna
Rimini
Lucca
Prato
Pisa
Florence
FLORENCE
Urbino
Arezzo
Ancona
Perugia
Assisi
Siena
Orvieto
Spoleto
Viterbo
Rome
Naples
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ARAGON
KINGDOM OF SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude East 13° from Greenwich

for the immoral statecraft set forth in his book. He held no brief for despotism and wrote another work on the republic. He did not invent the conduct prescribed for despots in his volume, but simply observed shrewdly and set down what he saw going on all about him.

The Chief Despotisms in the North

In Northern Italy Milan had absorbed most of her neighbour communes, and so had become one of the leading Italian powers of the time of the Renaissance. The Visconti family was the first dynasty of despots in Milan. One who became archbishop utilized that office to establish a princedom for his nephew. In 1450 Francesco Sforza, a mercenary general who had married Bianca, a daughter of the last Visconti duke, became despot. To the west of the Milanese possessions princely dynasties had been ruling in Montferrat and Piedmont ever since the feudal period. To the east Verona and Padua were the centres of powerful principalities, ruled by the Scaliger (de la Scala) and Carrara families respectively until the first half of the fifteenth century, when Venice conquered those territories and brought her possessions up to the frontier of Milan. Other smaller despotisms whose courts became centres of the Renaissance were Mantua, under the Gonzaga; Ferrara, ruled by the house of Este; Urbino, under Federigo di Montefeltro; and Rimini, under Sigismondo Malatesta, famed for his moral enormities, his military skill, and his culture. He and Federigo were deadly enemies and often fought against each other upon opposite sides as *condottieri*. Such, indeed, was the military repute of both that if one were hired by one side in a war, the other was pretty sure to be engaged by the other side. The cities of Ferrara, Urbino, and Rimini were nominally in the Papal States, where other petty tyrants abounded.

Further Development of the Venetian Constitution

Venice was one city in the north which remained free from despotic rule. The power of the doge was more and more limited until his position became largely a ceremonial one.

He was paid a princely salary and was expected to maintain great state and magnificence; he presided over all the various boards and councils of the government; but he now had almost no opportunity for independent action. His six councillors were supposed to be in constant attendance upon him, and without their presence he was not allowed to open a letter or grant an interview. Then there was the College of Experts or Sages, a sort of cabinet of sixteen members, subdivided into three sections, namely, a board of five for maritime matters, another board of five for the Venetian possessions on the mainland, and the six grand sages for city or home affairs. These sixteen specialists, together with the doge and his councillors and the three heads of another body known as 'the Forty,' constituted the 'Full College,' or chief executive council. The Forty by the time of the later Middle Ages were chiefly important as the supreme court of Venice, and their other functions passed to the Senate of one hundred and sixty members, which had developed out of the earlier custom of the doge of occasionally inviting groups of leading citizens (*pregadi*—'the invited') to give him their advice. The Senate was the chief legislative body, and also considered questions of foreign policy and received the ambassadors of other states.

While the Venetians had thus limited the power of their doge, they by no means had a democratic government. In the later Middle Ages all the above-named magistracies were elected by the Great Council and filled from its membership, which varied from one thousand to fifteen hundred. In 1297 membership in this Great Council had been limited to certain families. Venice was thus ruled by an oligarchy of nobles who represented but a small fraction of its total population. They were, however, for the most part merchant princes and not a feudal or landed nobility.

In Venice, although to a less extent than in most Italian cities, since its constitution was far more stable than the average, first one magistracy and then another would come to the front and then drop to a secondary place in the constitution. After 1310 the Council of Ten gradually became perhaps the most potent single factor. In that year a dangerous conspiracy led to the establishment of this new board, which was at first intended as a temporary committee of public safety, but was afterward retained as a permanent feature of the constitution. Primarily it was a court before which persons dangerous to the State or guilty of gross immorality could be secretly tried, and, if it seemed best, secretly condemned. This body probably did much to prevent revolutions and to maintain the established form of government, in which there was little further change during the remainder of the Middle Ages. The Ten usually met together with the doge and his six councillors. Gradually they came, not merely to act as a secret court of treason and criminal tribunal, but, in the case of an emergency or when prompt action was urgent, to take a hand in foreign affairs and in the government of the city. But they never ceased to be a committee of the nobility and responsible to them, for, like most of the Venetian magistracies, they were elected annually by the Great Council and could not be immediately re-elected.

The fear instilled in the public mind by the secret and summary methods of the Council of Ten was perhaps not altogether unsalutary. At any rate, it must be admitted that in general the Venetian aristocracy gave the city a very good government and one which was satisfactory enough to the mass of the population. Its rule was strong and intelligent and left the common people undisturbed and prosperous. The nobles worked hard for the State themselves, setting an example of patriotism to others. The State, too, was so closely identified with the business prosperity of the city that every one had a selfish interest in it. Taxes were light, the laws were good, the courts numerous, and the settlement of cases speedy. The city had a special court for foreigners, who often voluntarily brought their lawsuits to the Venetian courts to settle, so high was their reputation. The Church was carefully regulated by the State at Venice and did not exist as a conflicting and trouble-making jurisdiction. Venice was one of the first European states to do for its inhabitants what the modern state does, but what the Church had largely attended to in the Middle Ages. In other words, Venice had its own city hospitals, public institutions, and pension system. The government kept careful records and went at its problems in a systematic way, so that the city on the Adriatic has been called the birthplace of statistics. Its ambassadors stood first among the diplomats of Europe, and in early modern times sent home reports of conditions in other countries which are among history's most valued sources. Of Venice's early public debt in 1171 we have already spoken. Its currency circulated throughout Europe, and the gold ducat, first coined in 1284, in the later Middle Ages replaced the byzant of Constantinople as the standard coin.

Of Venetian ports, islands, and other possessions and trading interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and of her relations there with the Turks as well as with Genoa and Constantinople, we have already treated in other connexions. Genoa also was Venice's greatest rival in the western Mediterranean and in trade with Northern Europe. After her overthrow of the Latin Empire at Constantinople in 1261, and her decisive defeat of Pisa, her chief competitor on the west coast of Italy, in 1284, Genoa remained for a century at the height of her power. Two great naval wars, from 1350 to 1355 and from 1378 to 1381, ended the struggle between Genoa and Venice for maritime supremacy in favour of the latter. Another enmity of Venice was with Hungary over Dalmatia, the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, which was desired by Venice not only for commercial reasons, but more in order to secure a food supply near at hand for its city population. Until the fifteenth century Venice's interest in the Italian mainland was limited to keeping the routes through the Alpine passes open to her trade. But in the first half of that century the acquisition of considerable territory in the north-east of the peninsula brought Venice into close and frequently hostile relations with Milan, Florence, and the Papacy, and made it no longer possible for her to hold aloof from Italian politics as she had usually hitherto done.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF FLORENCE

Florence during the later Middle Ages brought most of the other towns of Tuscany under her sway and was more powerful than Pisa, Lucca, or Siena, her closest rivals. Her internal city government, after progressing for a while in the direction of democracy, had then undergone a reaction and deteriorated into a virtual despotism under the cover of the old republican forms. This process we may briefly trace. At about the time that Venice was restricting both voting and office-holding to its nobles, Florence took an opposite course. In 1282 the supreme magistracy was put in the hands of six priors representing the gilds and elected anew every two months, and in 1293 the members of thirty-seven noble houses were for ever disqualified for these offices. There were twenty-one gilds making up the *popolo* of Florence. Of these the seven richer gilds of notaries, cloth-makers, money-changers, wool-weavers, silk-weavers, physicians, and furriers were known as 'the fat people.' The 'little people' consisted of the fourteen gilds of linen-makers and mercers, shoemakers, smiths, salt-dealers, butchers, wine-merchants, innkeepers, harness-makers, leather-dressers, armourers, ironmongers, masons, carpenters, and bakers. Sometimes, however, the first-named five of these constituted a middle group with privileges superior to those of the other nine. These lesser gilds now began to struggle for an equal share in the government with the fat gilds, and ultimately won. Next the *Ciompi*, who did not belong to gilds at all, secured political rights by a revolution in 1378, only to lose them in a counter-revolution of 1382. Under the forms of the republic there then ensued a fifty years' rule by a political ring composed of a few burgher families. This oligarchy was very successful in foreign policy, but finally in 1435 was overthrown by Cosimo de' Medici, a wealthy banker.

Cosimo was a politician who had put himself at the head of a popular reaction against the oligarchy in power. He was careful, however, to keep all real power in his own hands, although he too preserved the old republican forms. He paid court, nevertheless, to the lower classes in the city and to the peasantry outside the walls, while he taxed the wealthy citizens heavily and was harsh toward men of too prominent family or political promise. Both Cosimo (1435–1464) and his grandson, Lorenzo de' Medici (1469–1492), were generous patrons of the Renaissance and among the most enlightened of the despots. They preserved order, were peacefully inclined, good business men, and astute diplomats. In the field of foreign affairs they were aided by their extensive banking connexions and loans to other European governments.

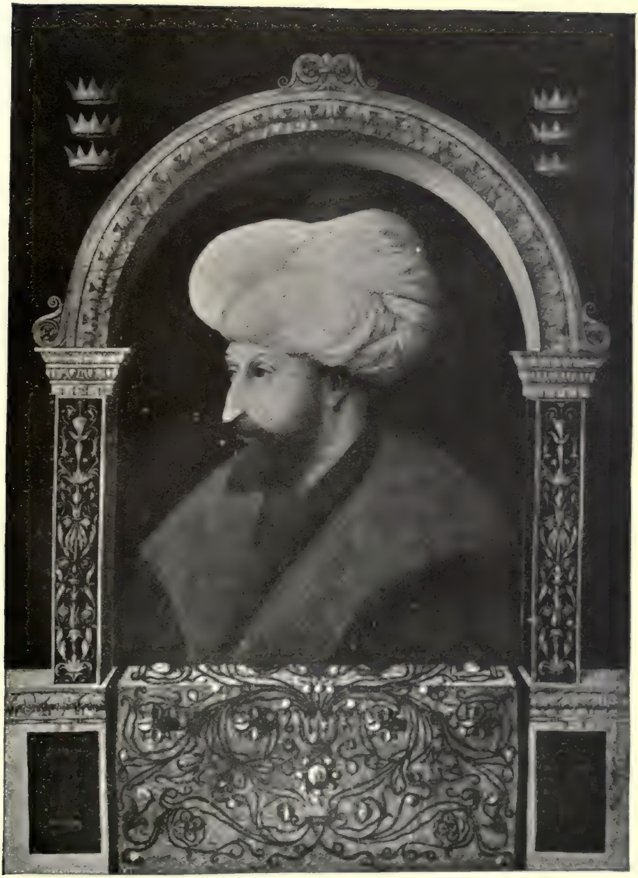
The republican government of Florence had been crippled by the eagerness of all its citizens to hold office and by their general reluctance to allow any one person to hold office for any length of time. They therefore multiplied magistracies until they conflicted with one another, shortened the term of office in most cases to two months, and elected their officials by lot. Thus authority was too much divided, the time in office was too short for any one to accomplish much or acquire experience, and officials were not selected with a view to their fitness. The clever and conceited Florentines, however, believed that they were all capable of holding any office. But really some political organizer was needed behind the scenes to manage things, especially the intricacies of foreign affairs. The method of election by lot, too, lent itself to such external control. A 'scrutiny' was first held for the purpose of determining who were 'good citizens'—that is, acceptable to the party or person in power. The names of these citizens were then placed in bags and were drawn out from time to time as there were offices to fill until the bags were empty, when a new 'scrutiny' would be held. Whoever held the bags evidently controlled the situation. To effect any real change a revolution was necessary, and when a revolution occurred the old bags were always destroyed whether they were empty or not.

The history of the Papacy during this period has been considered in the previous chapter, so we pass on south to the Kingdom of Naples. It deteriorated under the rule of the house of Anjou, which itself deteriorated too and had a family history full of violence. Especially notorious were two queens, both named Joanna, of whom the former died in 1382 and Joanna II in 1435. The throne passed then to Alfonso, King of Aragon and already ruler of Sicily, although René of Provence claimed both Naples and Sicily. When Alfonso died John II succeeded him in Aragon, but Naples went to his illegitimate son, Ferrante I (1458–1494).

Transition from Medieval to Renaissance Culture

We have seen that France, not Italy, took the lead in the great outpouring of medieval vernacular literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in the invention and development of Gothic architecture. Only with Dante at the beginning of the fourteenth century did Italian literature get well started, while Italian buildings continued to a large extent to employ the Romanesque style. Italy's greatest medieval university at Bologna had been connected especially with the revival of Roman law. Dante already displays something of that closer personal interest in the Roman past which is one of the chief features of the Italian Renaissance, and even in his *Divine Comedy* there are many allusions to ancient history and pagan mythology. This shows us that in Italy the transition from the previous culture to the Renaissance was not so abrupt as one might think. The Italian Renaissance was in a sense simply the last stage in medieval civilization.

The word ' Renaissance,' signifying re-birth, was originally applied to this movement and period by men who incorrectly regarded the preceding medieval period as a dark age when there was no civilization. They believed that with the revival of the classics civilization began to appear in Italy for the first time since the passing of ancient culture. They disregarded or were unaware of the fact that many features of modern civilization, such as the European universities and the study of natural science and modern languages, had already begun in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that many features of classical culture, such as the study of



30. SULTAN MOHAMMED II

Aristotle and other Greek learning, Roman law, and city life had also already been revived at that time.

TRUE CHARACTER OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

We cannot, then, regard the Italian Renaissance as of such vast importance as men used to regard it. Under that name, however, we may include the movement known as 'Humanism,' some further progress in Italian literature, and a period of great genius and output in the fine arts, of which painting and sculpture now develop independently of architecture. These are the chief peculiar features of the Italian Renaissance. But it was also, however, a time when certain currents of medieval civilization continued their course of development. The invention of printing, for instance, was now added to the earlier medieval inventions, such as clocks, chimney flues, stained glass, plumbing, gunpowder, spectacles, the rudder, and the mariner's compass. The medieval geographical exploration, discovery, and map-making now culminated in the discovery of America and of a sea route to India. These innovations, however, were wrought out by other lands than Italy and so are connected only chronologically with the Italian Renaissance interpreted in any strict sense. On the other hand, in most lands of Europe in the later Middle Ages many characteristic departments of medieval culture were stagnant or waning. This brought Italy into a commanding position and gave the lead to her more recently developed and vigorous culture. It may be added that her superior city life and economic prosperity gave an urbanity and refinement of manners to her culture which was very attractive alike to the royal courts and the rising *bourgeoisie* of other lands. Italy, then, was soon to become for a time the schoolmistress of Europe.

PETRARCH

As was said at the beginning of this chapter, the Italian Renaissance may be regarded as opened by Petrarch (1304–1374). Like Dante he was a citizen of Florence, the intellectual centre of Italy and home of many of the geniuses of the Renaissance. Petrarch entered the Church, whereas Dante had been a layman, but Dante was perhaps the more truly religious of the two. Petrarch sinned against the rule of sacerdotal celibacy and was also guilty of holding a plurality—that is, more than one ecclesiastical position at the same time. In his younger days he had written love poetry in Italian, inspired by a mysterious Laura as Dante had been by Beatrice. But while the masterpiece of Dante's maturity, although dealing with a solemn religious theme, had still employed the Italian tongue, Petrarch in later life became so enamoured of classical antiquity that he disdained to write in any other language than Latin. Vergil had guided Dante through the Inferno: Petrarch wrote letters to Cicero and other dead ancient authors, whom he passionately admired and with whom he longed for personal communion. When he wrote letters to his living friends he still tried to express himself as if he were writing to Cicero or as if Cicero were writing to him. It was an event in his life when a rare or previously unknown work by Cicero or some other classical author came to his notice. With eager haste and yet with painstaking accuracy he would make a copy of the precious manuscript for his own library. Besides many letters, Petrarch composed a number of other works in Latin prose and verse. But as they dealt chiefly with classical subjects—for instance, his epic *Africa* on Scipio Africanus, concerning whom he knew nothing except what he could read in classical literature itself—they have not interested posterity nearly so much as the early love poems in which he expressed his own feelings in his own language in a comparatively new verse-form, the sonnet. Among his contemporaries, however, he aroused great enthusiasm for classical studies. His letters were passed round and read before admiring circles. He had made a wide acquaintance by his travels about Italy and in other European lands. King Robert of Naples crowned him Poet Laureate at Rome in 1341.

Petrarch was one of the first humanists, and his activities and interests are characteristic of the rest. Humanism was the study of classical literature not merely to derive scientific or theological information from it, but primarily for its literary and human interest. The humanists were impressed not only by the subject-matter of the ancients, but by the elegance of their Latin style. They developed a liking for Latin poetry, orations, letters, and other works whose interest was personal, emotional, and rhetorical rather than objective, logical, and scholastic. They took an interest in the personalities of the ancients and in their manner of life and their attitude to the world. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of course, had seen a great revival of Roman law and Greek science; and interest in Latin literature and in the stories of classical mythology had never entirely died out at any time during the Middle Ages. But by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *Digest* of Justinian and the doctrines of Aristotle and Galen and Ptolemy had been studied and commented upon so often that there was little more to be got out of them. It was time to seek new authors, new works, and new points of view.

Humanism, therefore, was characterized by a search for classical manuscripts and by a great enlargement of the amount of Latin literature which was generally known. The humanist Poggio, who was employed as one of the papal secretaries and attended the Council of Constance, brought to light a number of precious finds in the monastery of St. Gall. The classical manuscripts discovered by the Italian humanists did not, however, date back to classical times. They were simply medieval copies of those works. Therefore all the Latin literature known to the humanists had been known somewhere and at some time during the Middle Ages since Charlemagne's time. The humanists, however, brought it all together into public circulation, multiplied and edited and corrected the medieval copies, which had sometimes been carelessly or ignorantly made, and then subjected this very considerable body of literature to an intensive and sympathetic study. As a result they in the end gained a much better comprehension of the Latin language and of ancient civilization.

New grammars, dictionaries, and other linguistic treatises were issued, and the foundations were thus laid for the sciences of philology and literary criticism. Learned societies were organized and literary controversies were frequent and led sometimes to abusive personalities. Scholars who began a learned argument over some detail of style or fine point of syntax would end by insulting each other's parents. Despots, republics, and popes alike employed humanists as their secretaries and orators. Gian Galeazzo, the despot of Milan, said that he feared a dispatch of the humanist secretary of the Florentine Republic more than a regiment of its citizen soldiers. The humanists prided themselves upon knowing the essentials of classical Latin style, and were careful not to commit any medieval barbarisms. Sometimes they seem singularly content with a scanty body of fact or thought, so long as they have beauties of diction in which to revel. They were in fact a little prone to follow the debased flowery rhetoric of the late Roman Empire rather than the chaste severity of earlier classical models. The later humanists, of whom Politian was probably the most proficient, improved considerably in correctness of diction over Petrarch, but their Latin works are as little read to-day as his.

REVIVAL OF GREEK

It is clear that any one wishing to comprehend classical civilization must read not only the Latin authors, but the Greek originals to which they owed so much. Petrarch owned a copy of Homer's poems in the original and longed to read Greek, but could not procure a capable teacher. For a while it was almost necessary to go to Constantinople to learn Greek or to procure copies of Greek texts. Aquinas had probably used a Greek text in his version of Aristotle; Roger Bacon had attempted a Greek grammar; and Peter of Abano, a scholastic medical authority at the close of the thirteenth century, had visited Constantinople. He speaks of Greek works which he had seen there and some of which he had translated. Toward the end of the fourteenth century noted Greek professors came to Italy to lecture. Chrysoloras at Florence is one of the best-known examples. Works of Greek literature, too, were now carried to the West. In 1423 one man brought 238 volumes to Venice. The fall of

Constantinople thirty years later, to which the spread of Greek learning in the West and even the Italian Renaissance were once ignorantly attributed, really had no such influence. The transfer of classical culture from its Byzantine storehouse had begun long before 1453, while the Turkish conquest did not blot out the Greek learning and Church or cause any great exodus of scholars and removal of treasures of art and learning. Previous Church councils, however, like that of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–1439, where the question of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches was considered, had had some effect in increasing learned communication between Italy and Constantinople. The Italian humanists before 1500 seldom reached the same point of proficiency in the Greek as in the Latin language, and were apt to content themselves with translating some Greek work into Latin. But in the course of time the study of Greek was to receive equal attention.

The humanists not only read widely in both Latin and Greek literature, but also examined ancient ruins, works of art, coins, and other such remains. Besides Latin grammars and Greek lexicons, they composed works on classical history, antiquities, geography, and mythology. Thus they came to understand the surroundings and daily life of the ancients, the history of Greece and Rome, and the classical attitude and view-point as medieval men had not done. They no longer thought of Cæsar's and Alexander's soldiers as knights nor of Nimrod as the founder of chivalry. In short, historical knowledge and sympathy with the past made marked progress. Unfortunately at the same time they lost sympathy with and knowledge of the medieval period which was now vanishing behind them.

THE CLASSICS IN EDUCATION

Italy at this time produced noted educators who emphasized physical exercise and training in manners and morals as well as intellectual schooling. The ancient Greeks had laid as great stress upon the first two as upon the last. But the main enduring educational effect of the humanistic movement was to make Latin and Greek the staple subjects in schools for several centuries. These two languages and literatures came to be regarded as the basis of a liberal education and as essential to a cultured existence. Hitherto in medieval schools every one had been supposed to read and write and speak Latin easily; but teachers and students had not minded much whether they wrote like the ancients so long as they understood one another. The other fundamental medieval subject had been logic. It was now supplanted by Greek, and much time was devoted to reading the two classical literatures and to the acquisition of a correct literary style in the ancient languages. During the Renaissance Latin and Greek were not thought of as 'dead languages'; the old-fashioned and obsolete subjects then were those of scholasticism, medieval theology, Aristotelean science and metaphysics. The fields which then seemed 'up-to-date' and full of present human interest were not economics and sociology, domestic and political science, chemistry and engineering, psychology and 'education.' The 'humanities' then were Latin and Greek; these were the subjects that aroused youthful enthusiasm and that seemed to open up new vistas of life.

The views of life found in classical literature so attracted some of the humanists that they abandoned or slighted many Christian ideals and became almost pagan or irreligious in their conduct. Especially they had scant sympathy for monasticism. In Italy, however, they seldom attacked the Church or the Papacy, since they were often enabled to devote themselves to humanistic pursuits by holding ecclesiastical benefices which paid well and required little religious work, and since the popes themselves became ardent patrons of the Renaissance. Pope Nicholas V even gave a position at his court to the humanist Lorenzo Valla, who earlier, when under the patronage of King Alfonso of Naples, had written a treatise exposing the *Donation of Constantine* as a forgery, and who also, by use of Greek texts of the Bible, pointed out errors in the 'Vulgate,' or Latin version. Many humanists, moreover, remained sincerely devout, and there was a Christian as well as a classical Renaissance. That is to say, the early

Church Fathers, Greek and Latin, were studied; and the Greek versions of the Scriptures were compared with the 'Vulgate.' Such study led in time to questioning of some of the customs and doctrines of the medieval Church, and so had an important bearing upon the Reformation.

ITALIAN LITERATURE

A further development of Italian literature accompanied the Italian Renaissance. Together with Dante and Petrarch, Boccaccio (1313–1375) completes the trio of great writers who initiated this movement. He is known especially for his *Decameron*, a collection of stories of which Chaucer made much use later in the fourteenth century in England. Boccaccio himself, like Petrarch, thought his Latin work of more value, and for a time the humanists generally scorned to write in Italian. Lorenzo de' Medici, however, helped to restore the vernacular to favour by inciting the writers under his patronage to literary composition in Italian and by setting the example himself. Among the favourite literary forms of the time were the sonnet and idyll and the *novella*, or short story. The romantic epic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had continued to find favour among the Italians; and in the later fifteenth century Pulci (1431–1487) at Florence and Boiardo (1434–1494) at Ferrara were preparing the way for the greater poetry of Ariosto and Tasso in the sixteenth century. Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* recounted partly in a serious and partly in a burlesque tone the adventures of the famous Roland and a giant named Morgante whom he conquers and converts. Boiardo, who was also a lyric and dramatic poet, told of Roland in love in his *Orlando Innamorato*. Some attempt was made to develop the drama in Italian, following classical models, but without the success attained later in other lands. A series of able historians at Florence, of whom we have already had occasion to mention the two greatest, Guicciardini and Machiavelli, gave attention to economic as well as military and diplomatic matters. Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), in his *Book of the Courtier*, set forth the amenities of social life among the Italians of the Renaissance

INVENTION OF PRINTING

The invention of printing with separate types for each letter did much to facilitate the labours of the later humanists and spread the results of their work abroad in Europe. This invention was first employed about 1450, either at Mainz on the Rhine by Gutenberg and others, or at Haarlem in the Netherlands by Coster. The printing-press greatly increased the number and reduced the cost of books, so that much larger libraries were made possible. Although some old manuscripts are as legible as and more beautiful than printed books, the average printed page would be much easier to read and copies would not differ in details as different manuscripts do. Proof-reading provides an opportunity to avoid the errors or corrections inevitable in a manuscript. For some time, however, printed books continued to look a great deal like the manuscripts, and the many abbreviations and signs for familiar words or for repeatedly occurring endings which copiers by hand had employed to shorten their labours were perpetuated in the printed page as well.

More persons would now become readers and reading matter could be got to them more rapidly. The pamphlet, the broadside, the periodical, and all other species of ephemeral literature were bound to appear soon. The day of the orator and the troubadour was over; men could read now instead of listening. In education the text-book would take the place of lectures, reading would replace personal tuition; and a more universal popular education was made possible. In scholarship the chief requisite now became knowledge of books rather than rote memorizing. In due time authors would be able to appeal to publishers and reading public instead of having to rely upon rich or noble patrons. Many of these changes, however, came very slowly. And just as there were good—some say, better—letter-writers in the days before cheap postage and typewriters, so there were great authors who wasted neither precious words nor paper in the period before the invention of printing. When both readers and writers had to go to a great deal of trouble there naturally was much less written and read, but both reading and writing were probably done more thoroughly on the average.

Some tendencies toward humanism are noticeable in France and England during the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, but they were sporadic. The Renaissance first began to be really felt in England in the reign of Henry VII and in France in that of Charles VIII, who both ruled at the very close of the fifteenth century. German humanism began a little earlier and ran its course with more vehemence. The movement in Germany was practically crowded into the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, and then soon faded into the religious reformation.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE: FINE ARTS AND VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

THE Italian Renaissance is one of the great periods in the history of art. Artists of the first rank were too numerous to be mentioned individually here, and there was a vast output of masterpieces. In the palace of the popes at Rome paintings by old masters which would command a high price to-day were actually erased to make room for new creations. Artistic sensibility was widespread through the population. Both Church and State were eager patrons and employers of the artists, and the public appreciated their genius. In short, "Art was the oxygen of Renaissance life."

The chief contemporary account of the artists of the Italian Renaissance is contained in their *Lives* by Vasari, himself an artist at the close of the movement. His work aimed to do for the Italian artists what Plutarch's *Lives* had done for the great statesmen and generals of classical antiquity. Vasari tried to cover too vast a field to attain critical accuracy in all the details of the lives of his heroes, and his art criticism has often not met with modern approval. Recent investigators have gone farther back than his essays, most of which are after all secondary sources, to family and State papers containing original scraps of biographical information which enable them to rectify dates in the artists' careers or to revise Vasari's estimates of their personalities. Frescoes and canvases have been scrutinized with the help of photography and microscope, and thus lost masterpieces have been rediscovered or it has been found that this painting has been incorrectly attributed to that artist. Vasari nevertheless remains the foundation upon which such superior historical criticism is based, and it is to him that the reader should still turn for the spirit, the gossip, and the relish of the age, while only the masterpieces themselves do justice to the genius of the artists. We may also catch something of the feeling of the times from the racy, if somewhat incredible, autobiography of the self-confessed genius, goldsmith, sculptor, musician, and desperado, Benvenuto Cellini. Both he and Vasari were Florentines of the sixteenth century as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Giotto, and Brunelleschi had been Florentines two hundred years before. It was not unfitting that the gifted city where the first sparks of the Italian Renaissance were struck should also be the spot where the last ashes of the movement were collected. It is to be remembered, however, that Vasari sometimes over-emphasizes the importance of his fellow-Florentines.

The artists impress us favourably compared with the despots and humanists. They were devoted to their art where the despots were intent on power and where the humanists were solicitous for their own fame. While so many despots disregarded moral considerations, few of the artists were afflicted with what is sometimes called the artistic temperament. Many were affable, generous, and kindly, or frugal, honest, and industrious. Even Vasari does not always do them justice. Fra Lippo Lippi, whom he depicts as a jovial spendthrift and libertine, seems not to have fallen in love until he was fifty, and to have made great sacrifices of his own comfort in order to provide for his nieces. It is also doubtful if Andrea del Sarto was an embezzler. Andrea del Castagno has been shown to have died several years before the man whom he was said to have assassinated. Perugino, instead of being a miser and atheist, " figures in the original documents as a generous giver, bestowing his time and labour upon religious confraternities for little or no pay." The artists were natural where the humanists seem sentimental and affected. While the humanists imitated the writings of classical antiquity, the artists experimented and worked out new methods. The humanists were scholars ; the artists were original geniuses.

Their versatility is also noteworthy; many were masters of more than one fine art.

Of the three great fine arts architecture was the least important during the Italian Renaissance. An abundance of churches and secular buildings had already been constructed in the preceding medieval period in both the Romanesque and the Italian Gothic style, while Byzantine influence had come in here and there, notably at Venice in the church of St. Mark, with its domes and mosaics, its marbles and metalwork. The chief historic public edifices which the tourist still sees in the Italian cities, such as the palace of the *podestà* or the hall of the merchants, had already been built in medieval style before the time of the Renaissance. To take Venice again as an example, the Palace of the Doge had a Gothic façade, and many of the old private palaces lining the canals are of Gothic style, like the beautiful Cà d'Oro (House of Gold). In short, "Italy before the age of the Renaissance proper found herself provided with churches and palaces, which were destined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to be adorned with frescoes and statues."

RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

Nevertheless, a considerable change took place in architecture in the course of the fifteenth century. The Italians had never grasped the principles of Gothic construction thoroughly, and were ready to revert to Romanesque methods and to study the ruins and monuments of ancient Rome and imitate these. Changes were also made conformably to the more peaceful and luxurious urban life of this period. The Renaissance architects were not so much scientific builders as they were decorators and designers. Many of them, indeed, were primarily painters or sculptors, so that if in the French Gothic art sculpture was subordinated to architecture, in the Italian Renaissance we may say that construction was rather neglected for appearance. Brunelleschi (1377–1446) is regarded as the earliest great Renaissance architect, while details from ancient Roman architecture were introduced in large measure by another Florentine, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472).

The outer walls of municipal buildings and private palaces now lost their rough fortress-like appearance, or retained a slight relic of it in rusticated stonework or in iron bars before the windows on the ground floor. Rustication, however, soon disappeared and the facing of the walls became smooth and elegant with the component stones carefully cut and with attention given to the arrangement of the incisions or grooves between them. Along the edge of the roof elaborately ornamented cornices took the place of medieval battlements. Medallions and friezes, sculptured in low relief, decorated the otherwise rather bare walls, and inside the building the ceilings were coffered and the walls panelled. The three classical orders in column and capital were also now restored to favour and exclusively employed. The horizontal lines of the Greek temple, or the round arches and solid piers of Roman buildings like the Colosseum, were imitated. The shape of rooms and windows, as well as the general outline of buildings, all tended to become rectangular, in which respect they were more like modern and less like medieval edifices, which had intricate arcades, vaulted halls, and lofty towers. A common detail of Renaissance architecture, which may still be seen in modern houses, was the placing over the windows of ornamental gables, either triangular like the pediment of a Greek temple or curved like a Roman arch. From this period, too, dates the delusion that the windows of a mansion should be arranged in regular rows and exactly above one another. Regularity and uniformity, indeed, now triumphed too much in architecture over the picturesque and exquisite. In ecclesiastical architecture a new and disagreeable detail was the employment of huge flat scrolls at either side of the façade of the church to conceal the meeting of nave and aisle. The largest structure of the Renaissance was the vast church of St. Peter at Rome, which some greatly admire and others sharply criticize, but it was barely begun in our period and was not completed until the seventeenth century.

The great dome is the chief feature of St. Peter's, and the dome has often been represented as especially characteristic of Renaissance architecture. Brunelleschi's bold dome at

Florence, 135 feet in diameter and 145 in height, is often spoken of as the first masterpiece of Renaissance architecture. But it was the crowning feature of a cathedral in Italian Gothic style, and its builder was able to profit by a study of the earlier medieval dome of the Baptistery just across the square. Such domes as this and that of St. Peter's, which are raised on drums and pointed in shape, rise much higher above the rest of the building than the low domes of the Roman Pantheon or the Byzantine St. Sophia. To such hemispherical domes they stand in much the same relation that a pointed Gothic arch does to a round Roman arch. They may be regarded, then, as a last stage of medieval architecture rather than as a revival due to the study of antiquity.

NICCOLA PISANO AND GIOTTO

Among the gifted sculptors, numerous but for the most part anonymous, who were at work in Italy and other lands during the thirteenth century, a certain Niccola of Pisa (*c.* 1206–1278) has attracted considerable notice by the use he made of figures on an ancient sarcophagus in his design for a church pulpit. He is, however, too early to be classed as a Renaissance artist. But the paintings of Giotto (*c.* 1266–1337), who was a contemporary of Dante on the one hand and of Petrarch on the other, bring us to the borderland of the Renaissance period. North of the Alps painting had developed little as yet in the Middle Ages, except for the miniatures in manuscripts and the designs for stained-glass windows. In Italy there was more space on the walls of churches and monasteries for mosaics or for fresco paintings. A fresco is painted directly upon the wall or ceiling while the plaster is still moist. In many respects Giotto's frescoes were still crude and awkward. Objects were not of the right size compared with other objects nor in the correct perspective, and his figures were sometimes stiff. But to his contemporaries his paintings were a revelation in lifelikeness and fidelity to nature. The point was that instead of keeping his pictures symbolical in the earlier fashion, Giotto tried to make them tell an actual human story either from the Bible or the life of St. Francis. He put in monks such as people saw every day, and beds and trees and rocks and other familiar objects. Often these were crudely executed or scarcely more than indicated, like the scenery in an Elizabethan drama. Indeed, when Giotto tries to picture both the inside and the outside of a house at once, the result is something that looks very much like a theatrical stage. And that suggests the secret of his success; he was not so much realistic as he was dramatic; he put action into his pictures and held the attention of the observer. Niccola of Pisa had found bits of classical sculpture to inspire him, but there were no ancient paintings available for Giotto to study. Instead he struck out a new path by himself. Such originality was to be characteristic of Renaissance painting, and by the next century of its sculpture. Giotto also was a forerunner of the later artists in his versatility, for he designed the stately campanile which stands by the cathedral at Florence.

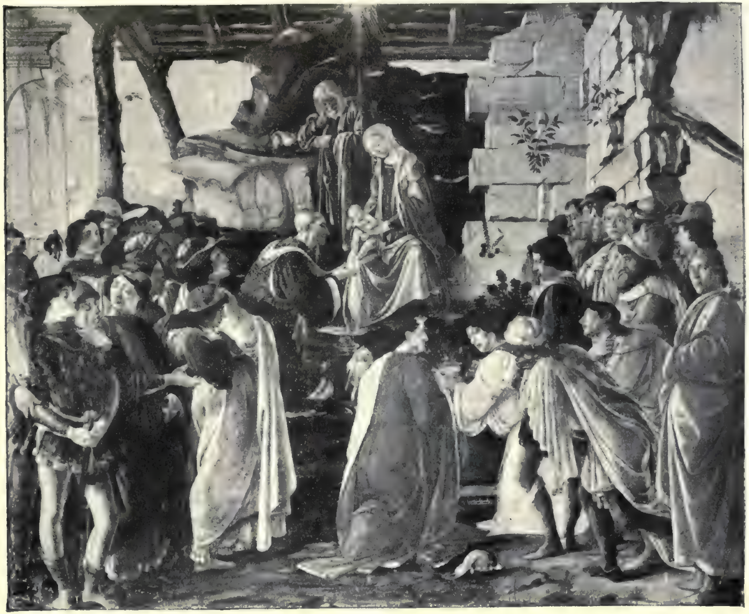
Leonardo da Vinci, probably the greatest all-round genius that the Italian Renaissance produced, tells us that "after Giotto the art of painting declined again because every one imitated the pictures that were already done. Thus it went until Tommaso of Florence, nicknamed Masaccio, showed by his perfect works how those who take for their standard anything but Nature, the mistress of all masters, weary themselves in vain." Masaccio also illustrates the precocious genius of many Italian artists, since his short life was bounded by the years 1401 and 1429. Nevertheless his frescoes were the inspiration of the greatest masters for the rest of the century, during which the art advanced to the highest point in Leonardo da Vinci and his fellows.

The Early Renaissance at Florence

With Masaccio the early Renaissance at Florence may be regarded as definitely opened. Contemporary with him was the great architect Brunelleschi, and it was also in the first half of the fifteenth century that the art of sculpture profited by the genius of three great Florentines Donatello, Ghiberti, and Luca della Robbia. The last is especially famed for his terra-cottas; Ghiberti for his bronze doors, with their panels full of sculpture in relief, to the Baptistery at Florence, just across the square from Giotto's tower and Brunelleschi's dome.

Donatello had begun his artistic career by 1406. For a score or more of years he worked in Florence on the sculptures of the cathedral and campanile and in competition with Brunelleschi and Ghiberti. From 1413 to 1428 Ghiberti and he laboured at statues for the Or San Michele. He also visited Siena, Venice, Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, and Prato, and worked for several years in Padua. In 1433 he was at Rome aiding in the preparations for the imperial coronation of Sigismund. Later he helped Cosimo de' Medici to adorn his palace for humanists with appropriate sculptures. Many stories are told of Donatello's simple and unassuming character. He is said to have kept his money in a basket hung from the roof with a cord attached with which it might be lowered by any friend who wished to help himself. His patrons, the Medici, presented him on one occasion with a sumptuous costume and in his old age with a small estate on which to retire, but he returned the one as too fine for him to wear and the other as too much bother for him to maintain. He had, however, as further anecdotes in Vasari illustrate, little patience with business men who ventured to criticize his art or who tried to beat him down on his prices. Donatello was interested in the collection of classical antiquities, and his sculpture is described by Vasari as having "the closest resemblance to the Greeks and Romans"; but he was even more of a realist and follower of Nature.

Both the style of Donatello and the themes of his sculpture were varied, and a list of some of his works will give us a notion of the scope of Renaissance art. His *Marzocco*, or seated lion, is an excellent and dignified example of animal sculpture. His frieze of boys running and laughing made Vasari regard him as the "greatest master of bas-relief." His *David*, depicted as a shepherd-boy, was the first nude bronze statue cast since Roman times. His funeral monument for Pope John XXIII in the Baptistery at Florence



31. Botticelli's *Adoration*

became the model for many similar works with their combination of classical sculpture and architecture. His portrait bust of Niccolò da Uzzano is a wonderful example of delineation of character. His bronze statue of Gattamelata, a Venetian mercenary general, on horseback, erected at Padua in 1453, is, after the Colleoni monument in Venice, the finest equestrian statue of the Renaissance. Perhaps the greatest of all his works was his *St. George.* It is unlike most classical statues, for the young saint is represented clad in medieval armour and his fiery gaze is fixed directly on the beholder, not downcast in passive beauty. Moreover, the effect striven for is not so much physical beauty and grace as vigour and energy, intellectual character, and moral purpose. Vasari has well described it : " For the gild of armourers Donatello executed a most animated figure of St. George in his armour. The brightness of youthful beauty, generosity, and bravery shine forth in his face. His attitude gives evidence of a proud and terrible impetuosity. The character of the saint is indeed expressed most wonderfully and life seems to move within that stone."

PROGRESS IN PAINTING

During the second half of the fifteenth century there was no single sculptor equal to Donatello, but the decorative side of the art was developed and further improvement was made in technique. Meanwhile the painters had been learning many lessons. Those who had served, as many did, an apprenticeship in the workshops of sculptors or goldsmiths learned lessons in anatomy and how to represent the human figure in a natural and correct way. Progress was also made in designing, some artists experimented with colours, and others worked out the laws of foreshortening and perspective. Oil-painting had been introduced at the beginning of the century, when the Flemish painter Van Eyck employed it on large canvases. For the cities of Flanders in the fifteenth century had painters second only to the Italians. The themes of paintings continued to be for the most part Scriptural—Madonnas and Holy Families, or scenes drawn from Church history and legend.

This was partly because the Church was still the chief employer of artists, partly because the ideal interests of most people were still prevailingly religious. Classical subjects, however, were also depicted, and bits of classical detail were introduced in other paintings. Many portraits of contemporaries were painted, and contemporary costumes and models and Italian scenery were employed in depicting Biblical scenes in ancient Palestine. The faces of the models were, indeed, sometimes too closely followed. Landscape and architecture were shown in the backgrounds, and animal and floral life were often brought in. Even in a portrait or group picture an exquisite landscape may be visible through an open window. But landscapes and still life were not painted separately as yet.

There were now many schools of painting scattered over Central and Northern Italy—Tuscan, Florentine, Umbrian, Lombard, Sienese, and so on. Among the many great masters it is embarrassing to attempt a selection. Fra Angelico (1387–1455), who worked in the first half of the century, lacks many of the merits of the later masters, but is celebrated for the gleaming colours of his paintings and for the spiritual rapture which shines from his angelic faces. Toward the century's close come four great artists: Ghirlandajo (1449–1494), noted for his portraits and realism; Botticelli (1444–1510), admired for the dreamy beauty of his graceful figures and lovely 'decorative composition'; Signorelli (1442–1524), who excelled in forcefulness and in representing muscular movement; Perugino (1446–1524), who expressed religious contemplation and ecstasy with consummate skill.

THE 'HIGH RENAISSANCE'

With the opening of the sixteenth century we come to the three supreme geniuses who mark the 'High Renaissance,' Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Raphael (1483–1520), and Michelangelo (1475–1564). Leonardo, although also a sculptor, architect, and engineer, was primarily a painter. As such he is noted for his composition, his use of light and shade, and for his type of face; but some of his works have suffered from his excessive zeal in experimenting with uncertain colours. Like Perugino and another great artist named Lorenzo di Credi, Leonardo had been a pupil of Verrocchio, the sculptor of the Colleoni statue. Leonardo spent much time at Milan and in France. He was a man both of beauty and grace and of great physical strength. His mind also was remarkable, and from notebooks which he left behind him, although they are somewhat cryptic owing to such habits of his as writing backward with his left hand, it has been inferred that he was interested in and more or less well acquainted with almost every branch of art, science, and philosophy. He was something of a humanist and musician, and also had a mechanical turn of mind. Some of the sketches in his notebooks seem to forecast modern inventions.

Raphael of Urbino was "the great harvester" and "serene perfecter" whose art formed the climax to the previous period of experiment and evolution in painting. He was blest with an even temperament as well as with the greatest genius, and so was able to co-operate harmoniously with others, and in the course of his brief life to amass the largest fortune of any artist of his time. He was given such a multitude of commissions that he had to have a corps of assistants and died at thirty-seven of overwork. This participation of assistants makes some of the works attributed to him unequal in execution and defective in detail.

Michelangelo, who was perhaps even greater as a sculptor than as a painter and who also was a distinguished architect and engineer, had a long career extending beyond the end of our period. Both as painter and sculptor he displayed the greatest daring and ability in representing the nude human body in every variety of posture. His personal habits are interestingly described by Vasari: "In all things Michelangelo was exceedingly moderate; ever intent upon his work during the period of youth, he contented himself with a little bread and wine; and at a later period, until he had finished the [Sistine] Chapel, namely, it was his habit to take but a frugal refreshment at the close of his day's work. Although rich, he lived like a poor man. Rarely did any friend or other person eat at his table; and he would accept no presents, considering that he would be bound to any one who offered him such. His temperance kept him in constant activity and he slept very little, frequently rising in the night because he could not sleep and resuming his labours with the chisel. For these occasions he had made himself a cap of pasteboard in the centre of which he placed his candle, which thus gave him light without encumbering his hands. In his youth he frequently slept in his clothes; being wearied with his labours, he had no mind to undress merely that he might have to dress again. In his later years he wore stockings of dog-skin for months together, and when these were removed the skin of the leg sometimes came with them."

With the close of the fifteenth century and the dispersion of artists from Florence which followed the death of Lorenzo de' Medici and the rise of the stern reformer of religion and manners, Savonarola, Rome became the great centre of the artistic Renaissance, especially when Pope Julius II called thither Raphael and Michelangelo and the architect Bramante. There Raphael decorated the Stanze in the Vatican with a series of great paintings, and Michelangelo adorned the end wall of the Sistine Chapel—a rectangular apartment so named after its builder, Sixtus IV—with his *Last Judgment* and the ceiling with his sibyls and prophets and scenes from the creation and fall of man. But with this Roman period we must take our leave of the artistic Renaissance, omitting the final period of the great Venetian school of painting in the course of the sixteenth century and the spread of Renaissance art to other lands.

CESSATION OF OVERLAND TRADE

In the fifteenth century overland communication and trade with the Far East became more difficult than in the days of Marco Polo. The crusading states in the East had all disappeared; the Byzantine Empire was hastening to its fall; the Ottoman Turks made conditions harder for merchants and travellers; and, most important of all, the Mongol Empire had lost its control of China and then had broken up into contending parts. Tamerlane had done trade and economic prosperity in Persia and other lands great damage. By the latter half of the fifteenth century the Golden Horde had lost its hold on Russia. Trade from the East became practically limited to the southern sea routes from the Indian Ocean by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. These routes were controlled by Mohammedan traders, and during the overland passage from the heads of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the Mediterranean the wares were subject to several expensive reloadings and duties. Even in the case of what might seem the short journey from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean the goods were first landed at a port in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, then transported by land to Cairo, then transferred to boats and taken down the Nile to Rosetta, then loaded on camels again and carried to Alexandria. At each stopping-place such heavy duties were levied that by the time the goods reached the Mediterranean the price had quadrupled. Evidently an immense saving and profit would be effected by any one who discovered an all-sea route from European ports to Malacca and Calicut, the two chief emporiums of the Indian Ocean.

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Meanwhile, the work of maritime exploration and discovery, which during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had been chiefly carried on by Italians, was continued by the Portuguese, especially after their conquest from the Mohammedans in 1415 of the important African port Ceuta. Under the direction of one of the king's younger sons, Prince Henry (1394–1460), the island groups in the Atlantic were revisited and settled, and expeditions were dispatched farther and farther south down the west coast of the African continent. As governor of the Portuguese military Order of Christ, Prince Henry was aiming to do in the Atlantic what the Teutonic Knights had accomplished in the Baltic—namely, to convert heathen natives to Christianity and to secure new territory for the Order and for Portugal in the Atlantic islands and on the Guinea coast. The economic accompaniment of these pious and political motives was a profitable trade in gold, ivory, and negro slaves, in capturing whom the Portuguese became very proficient. It is doubtful if Prince Henry was aiming especially at the circumnavigation of Africa or a sea route to the Indies. Nor did he personally participate in these voyages, but remained in his astronomical observatory on a sea-girt promontory conning works of history and mathematics. It has nevertheless become customary to speak of him as 'Prince Henry the Navigator.' Before his death the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered and the African coast explored almost to Sierra Leone.

After Prince Henry's death the voyages went on just the same. The equator was crossed in 1472–1473, the mouth of the Congo was reached in 1484, and two or three years later Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed far enough beyond it to make sure that the southernmost extremity of the continent had at last been reached. At the same time that Diaz was rounding the Cape, King John II of Portugal sent forth three other expeditions: one to Abyssinia by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, one to endeavour to cross Africa overland from the Senegal, and one to try to sail north-east round Europe to China and India. During the second half of the fifteenth century, too, as records in Portuguese archives show, various individuals were granted rights to islands in the Western ocean which they had discovered or hoped to find. English seamen from Bristol also had been sailing westward into the Atlantic.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

But the scheme which was destined to prove most fruitful was that in which a Genoese sailor, named Christopher Columbus, finally succeeded in enlisting the support of the Spanish court after unsuccessful overtures to other governments. In 1474 Columbus had gone to the Madeira Islands, had married there, and then embarked on a voyage to the north which took him beyond Iceland. During his residence and voyages in these distant outposts of European civilization he familiarized himself with Western waters and deep-sea sailing, and probably heard many tales of distant lands and seas. We have already noted that medieval scholars knew that the world was round and had speculated as to the distance between the western shores of Spain and the easternmost coasts of Asia. In the same year that Columbus went to the Madeiras, Toscanelli, a Florentine scholar, in response to inquiries from Lisbon had written to the Portuguese king that it was possible to reach China by sailing west and had sent a chart to illustrate his argument. The Portuguese king failed to follow Toscanelli's advice, but Columbus, although not a very learned man, got hold of this idea and determined to put it to the test by a voyage straight westward to Cathay.

Sailing from Palos with three caravels provisioned for a year, he put into the Canaries to refit and then sailed west for five weeks without reaching land. The crew began to grumble and presently to plot against him, but he held to his purpose and on October 12, 1492, came to one of the small islands of the West Indies, which he named San Salvador. After cruising about the archipelago for three months he returned in triumph to Spain. Columbus made three subsequent voyages to the West Indies and north-east coast of South America, but died in the belief that he had reached Asiatic waters. Before his death other mariners had followed in his trail. Amerigo Vespucci, who accompanied some of these expeditions, was impressed by the fact that the South American coast did not correspond at all to the latitudes assigned to Cathay in the maps and geographies, and so wrote friends a letter in which he proclaimed it at least as a 'New World.' This letter was published and his name became associated with the new continents, which both in the south and the north were finally named 'America.'

CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA

Now that Spain had apparently found a westward route to the East, it became imperative for the Portuguese to complete their circumnavigation of Africa if they wished to be the first to establish trade with India and the Spice Islands. In July 1497 Vasco da Gama left Lisbon with four ships, a well-paid and well-trained crew, provisions for three years, and the best scientific instruments then obtainable. At the Cape Verde Islands he left the coast to avoid calms and adverse winds and currents and sailed for three full months out of sight of land. This was not, however, so bold a feat as the first voyage of Columbus, since Vasco knew just where he should strike land again. He rounded the Cape in November, and by March 1498 reached Mozambique, where Arabic was spoken, and then Mombasa, where he secured a pilot who conducted him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, which he reached in May. In August he started back, and arrived at Lisbon in September 1499, with only half of his ships and one-third of his men, but with a precious cargo of gems and spices. This meant that the commercial greatness of Portugal was assured for the next century and that the day of Venice as the first sea power of Europe was over. The Portuguese proved more than a match for the rival Mohammedan traders in the Indian Ocean, and they kept secret their routes to the East and received from the pope the exclusive right to make conquests and to convert the heathen there. Portugal could, of course, greatly undersell Venice, which obtained its Oriental wares through the Mohammedans.

The Spanish discovery of a new world and the Portuguese renewal of contact in a closer way with the old world of the Orient both broadened human knowledge and quickened the imagination. Geography and astronomy acquired vast stores of new data and were able to correct previous misinformation. Science learned of new plants and new animals, which were sometimes introduced into Europe, affecting the daily life of the average man. New races and unsuspected stages of human civilization were encountered, although not at first scientifically scrutinized and appreciated. New fields were opened to economic, maritime, and colonial enterprise. Literature profited by new subject-matter and a new inspiration. Even more, perhaps, than the Crusades the voyages of discovery aroused the spirit of adventure and represented energy and enterprise. The Atlantic was now destined to replace the Mediterranean as the chief waterway of Europe, and the states bordering on it rose successively to national greatness and took the lead as maritime powers, first Portugal and Spain, then the Dutch and English. These changes came about gradually and were largely in the future, but they give us further reason for closing our survey of the Middle Ages about the year 1500. Vasco da Gama's voyage marked the beginning of that European political and economic exploitation of the Far East and of Africa which is a prominent feature of modern history. The voyage of Columbus is not only one of the boundary stones between the Middle Ages and modern times; it also reminds us that American history opens as medieval history closes.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RISE OF ABSOLUTISM AND OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

IN this closing chapter we have to note political and economic conditions and the course of events in the leading countries of Western Europe during the last half of the fifteenth century and the first few years of the sixteenth. This time was one of transition from the later Middle Ages to what is known as modern history. Its chief general features will prove to be the growth of absolute monarchies, the passing of the medieval nobility and the rise of a prosperous middle class, and the prominence of international relations and European diplomacy. The most striking particular changes are the progress of the new Burgundian state, the increasing fortune of the house of Habsburg, the sudden rise of Spain and Portugal to national greatness owing in part to the voyages of discovery. Other important events were the Wars of the Roses in England, the reign of the crafty Louis XI in France, and the French invasions of Italy. We shall now take up the countries of Western Europe in the following order, Germany, Burgundy, Switzerland, France, England, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and then close with the accession of Charles V.

The reign of the Habsburg emperor Frederick III (1440–1493) has been well epitomized as " the longest and dullest of all Germany history. The most careful inspection can reveal only a few things that are worth remembering." Frederick was slow, poor, and powerless. For the most part he merely watched the course of events, consoling himself with gardening and astrology, and mumbling his favourite maxim, *Rerum irrecuperabilium summa felicitas oblivio* (What can't be helped had best be forgot), and the acrostic of words beginning with the five vowels, *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo*, or *Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan* (All earth is ours ultimately). But for the time being both the Bohemians and the Hungarians, when their boy king, Ladislas, of the house of Habsburg, died in 1457, disregarded the claims of Frederick III and gave a passing exhibition of national feeling by electing the native kings, George of Podiebrad (1458–1471) and Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490).

A more influential figure in European politics than the slow-moving Frederick was his brilliant, cultured, and knightly son, Maximilian (1493–1519). He had already taken the government largely into his own hands during his father's last years, and had been elected King of the Romans in 1486, which assured him the imperial office upon his father's death. Of his important marriage with the Burgundian heiress we shall presently speak. In 1491, by the Treaty of Pressburg, he arranged with Ladislas II, who was then king of both Bohemia and Hungary, that in case the descendants of Ladislas died out, those countries should pass to the house of Habsburg. This actually happened in 1526, and until 1918 Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary were ruled together by the Habsburgs.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT

During the reign of Sigismund, early in the fifteenth century, some futile efforts had been made by the German Diet to reform the imperial constitution and to secure a standing army by regular taxation. Toward the close of the reign of Frederick III the free imperial cities began to send representatives to the Diet. There were frequent meetings of this assembly under Maximilian, who needed grants of money for his ambitious foreign projects. He also established a central court of justice and tried to group the various states of the Empire together in administrative 'circles.' But these belated symptoms of common action and of a national German feeling were accompanied by the completion in the chief local principalities of the transition from feudalism to centralized administration which had been going on since the twelfth century. Such regions as Bavaria, Saxony, and

Brandenburg were now practically independent territorial states. The study of Roman law, introduced into the German universities about the middle of the fifteenth century, is thought to have contributed considerably to the power of the princes at the head of such states.

In a previous chapter we stated that the German cities reached the height of their prosperity only about the year 1500. By that time silver and copper were mined extensively in Hungary, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and Germany proper. Trade also flourished and companies with large capital were formed. These tended to establish monopolies and make things hard for the small merchant and the consumer. But an especially discontented class were the peasants, who complained that their lords were requiring increased rents and services of them and were encroaching upon their common lands. From 1476 onward local uprisings against the nobles and clergy were frequent in Southern Germany. A sort of Christian Socialism became popular among the peasants, who based their demands upon the Bible and bore banners with pious inscriptions. But the great Peasants' Revolt of 1525 lies beyond the limits of our period.

Growth of the Burgundian Possessions

The origin of the house of Burgundy in the fourteenth century and its acquisition of both the Duchy and Free County of Burgundy, of Flanders and Artois, of Nevers and Rethel, and of other lands along the north-eastern frontier of the Kingdom of France during the Hundred Years War, have been already mentioned. In the first half of the fifteenth century it also acquired the Duchy of Luxemburg and numerous principalities in the Netherlands, such as the Duchies of Brabant and Limburg, and the Counties of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland. By the time of Charles the Bold (1467–1477), therefore, his possessions included most of modern Belgium and the Netherlands, a considerable slice of Eastern France, and a little of Western Germany. In other words, he threatened to create an important third state between the French monarchy and Germany with a territory extending from the North Sea to the Alps.

The chief strength and value of the Burgundian possessions lay not in the Burgundies proper, which were thinly populated and poor economically, but in the rich and populous cities of the Low Countries. Before the cities developed the peasants of the Low Countries had been freer than in most places in the early Middle Ages, because the land was so difficult to reclaim from swamp and sea that great estates of lords were not established there, but the land was cultivated largely by hardy and thrifty freemen. Many of them became sailors, however, and in time trade developed. As the land thus grew more prosperous, feudal jurisdictions and lordships also grew up. But the feudal states and lords, except for the great County of Flanders, were petty before the Burgundian period. And as towns came into existence they bought communal privileges from their lords and then fought to keep them.

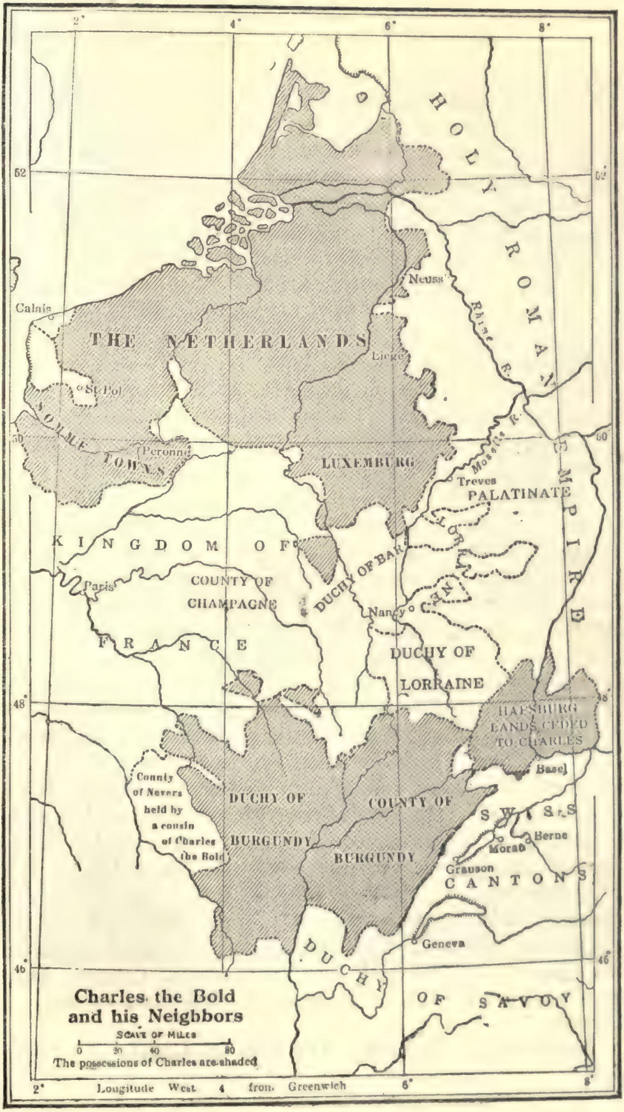
But now the Dukes of Burgundy endeavoured to build up a strong centralized monarchy with unified financial and judicial systems. This led them to disregard and ride roughshod over the particular privileges and the diversities of custom cherished by each town and locality. They also demanded large grants of money from the cities in order to carry out their dynastic and foreign ambitions. Although Charles the Bold was more economical and less given to pleasure and festivities than his father, his court was the most splendid in Europe and rich in both treasure and culture. He presided at council in person ; he always dined in state in the presence of the entire court ; sixteen equerries were in constant attendance upon him during the day and saw him safe to bed at night. Precious jewels and costly plate were abundant, and the Order of the Golden Fleece was an appropriate name for the *élite* of the Burgundian knighthood. But all this show had the purpose behind it of impressing the world with the wealth and power of the Burgundian house.

CHARLES THE BOLD

Beneath this pomp Charles was a hard-working and methodical man of business. Born in 1433, he was elected a knight of the Golden Fleece when only twenty days old, two years before he was able to ride horseback on a wooden steed constructed for him by a saddler of Brussels. He was betrothed at six, and often as a mere child, when his father happened to be busy elsewhere, had been dispatched to this or that Flemish town to ask for a money grant. In the last two or three years of the life of Philip the Good Charles was already the real head of the Burgundian state. He was frank, just, and impartial, but stern and severe to wrongdoers or to any of his subjects who resisted his commands and power. His epithet, the 'Bold' or 'Rash,' indicates his impetuosity and military daring. He was somewhat lacking in tact and knowledge of human nature, and was too much inclined to speak out his mind.

Charles made an effort to consolidate his scattered possessions into a compact and independent kingdom, but met with many obstacles. In the Low Countries revolts in the cities of Ghent, Dinant, and Liége distracted him for a time. Liége, with a population of over 120,000 and a very democratic suffrage, was an especially hard nut to crack. There the gilds of artisans had an equal voice with the richer organizations, and apprentices who were over fifteen years of age could vote in the annual city elections. The town lay in an ecclesiastical principality, and in bygone days had given its bishop no end of trouble. Now that the Dukes of Burgundy controlled the appointment of its bishop, it resisted them. Charles, however, crushed its revolt. He also succeeded in adding another province in the Netherlands, Guelders, to his possessions. Charles protected himself from the side of England by marrying Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV. Louis XI of France, who was Charles's chief enemy, therefore had to content himself with an alliance with the losing Lancastrian side in England.

Charles and Louis from the beginnings of their reigns were either openly at war or secretly plotting against each other. Their personalities were almost diametrically opposed, and Louis had made the mistake of affronting Charles before the latter came into power. The chief manifest bone of contention



Charles the Bold and his Neighbors

SCALE OF MILES

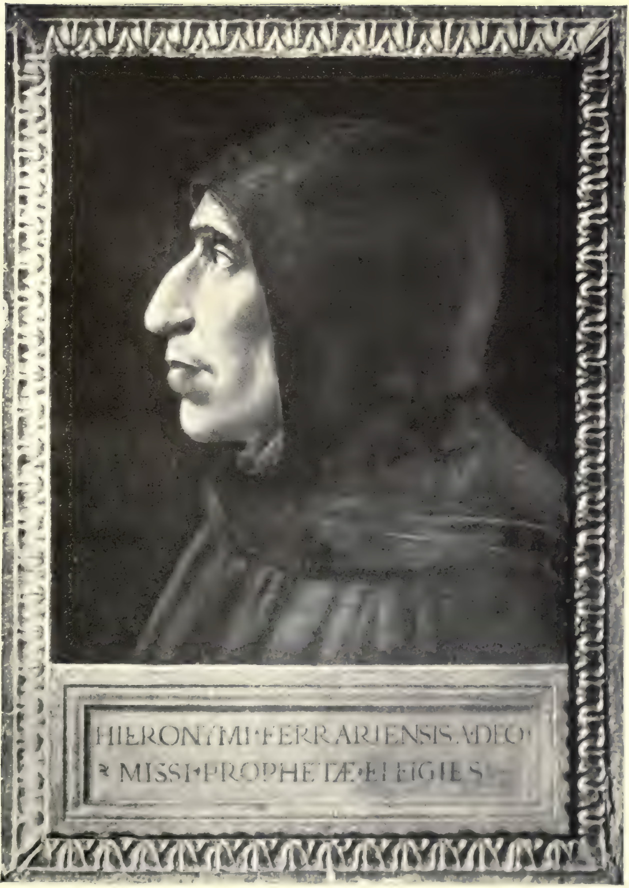
The possessions of Charles are shaded

2°
4°
6°
8°
52
52°
50
50
48°
48
46°
46
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Calais
THE NETHERLANDS
Neuss
Rhine R.
Liege
St. Pol
SOMME TOWNS
Peronne
LUXEMBURG
Moselle R.
Treves
PALATINATE
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
LORRAINE
DUCHY OF BAR
Paris
COUNTY OF CHAMPAGNE
Nancy
DUCHY OF LORRAINE
HAPSBURG LANDS CEDED TO CHARLES
Basel
County of Nevers held by a cousin of Charles the Bold
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
SWISS CANTONS
Berne
Morat
Grauson
Geneva
DUCHY OF SAVOY
0
20
40
80
Longitude West 4 from Greenwich
2°
6°
8°

between them was some towns along their frontier, the river Somme, but in general each stood in the way of the other's territorial expansion. At this time the three great provinces of Lorraine, Savoy, and Provence were all in weak hands and only waiting for some strong monarch to come and take them. At this time, too, Charles and Louis were the two strongest princes on the Continent. Could Charles have annexed these three districts, his territories would have extended from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and have shut off France from any further eastward expansion. Louis had the advantage of being the older of the two men, and before he became king had as dauphin spent ten years in Dauphiné, laying the foundations of his future treaties with the Swiss and Milan and of his future acquisition of Savoy and Provence. These provinces might, however, have been willed to Charles rather than to Louis had the Burgundian not died too soon, leaving his adversary to reap the harvest.

The territory which it was most essential for Charles to secure, however, was Lorraine, since it intervened between the two Burgundies and his possessions in Luxemburg and the Low Countries. When in 1473 the Duke of Lorraine died childless, Charles arranged by treaty that the new incumbent should be practically his vassal, and proceeded to fill up Lorraine with his own garrisons. In the same year he conferred at Treves for eight weeks with Frederick III—since many of the Burgundian possessions were nominally fiefs of the Empire —over the question of Frederick's making Charles a king and marrying his son Maximilian to Charles's daughter Mary. Once before, it will be remembered, there had been a Kingdom of Burgundy, which in 1032 had lost its independence and become incorporated in the Holy Roman Empire. But Frederick sneaked off down the Moselle river early one morning without having agreed to raise Burgundy to the status of a kingdom. Charles then wasted a year in war on the Rhine in alliance with the Archbishop of Cologne, when he should have been crushing more dangerous enemies of his own.

Sigismund of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria and Count


HIERONYMI·FERRARIENSIS·A·DEO·
MISSI·PROPHETÆ·EFFIGIES

32. Savonarola 592

of the Tyrol, had mortgaged his somewhat uncertain feudal rights in Alsace and the Black Forest to Charles, an action which aroused the fears of the Rhine cities and of the Swiss. The Swiss had previously been at war with Sigismund, who was their ancestral enemy, but now both of them combined with Louis XI in a triple alliance against Charles. The Swiss helped Sigismund to recover his mortgaged possessions, and then, encouraged by Louis XI, they declared war on Charles. He, however, induced his ally Edward IV to invade France in 1475 and distract Louis's attention. Meanwhile Charles conquered Lorraine, whose young duke had rebelled against his interference, became himself its duke, and planned to make it the centre of his dominions. But in 1476 he was defeated by the Swiss at Granson and Morat and lost Lorraine; the next year came his final defeat and death at Nancy. He left no son to try to carry out his plans, but his daughter Mary married Maximilian within a year, thereby still holding most of the Burgundian possessions together and greatly increasing the family possessions of the house of Habsburg. Bones of the Burgundian dead were still to be seen on the battlefield of Morat when Lord Byron visited it in 1816, although it was the custom of every Burgundian who passed that way to remove a bone to his native land, while the Swiss postillions sold them for knife-handles. Byron himself carried away enough to make "a quarter of a hero," and wrote his lines on "the patriot field,"

> Won by the unambitious heart and hand
> Of a proud, brotherly, and civic band.

The Swiss at this period form an exception to the general rule of the increase of absolute monarchy in Europe, but fit in well enough with the rise of the middle class. After they had further raised their military reputation by defeating Charles the Bold so decisively, they became more independent than ever. Whereas earlier their argument against Habsburg rule had been that they were amenable to the emperor alone, now they began to refuse to be bound by anything that the imperial government did or wished them to do. They would neither pay taxes to the Holy Roman Empire nor abide by the decisions of an imperial court. The result was a brief war in 1499, after which the Swiss were confirmed in their ancient rights and conquests, and remained henceforth practically an independent state quite severed from the Empire, although their formal separation and national independence did not come until 1648. Also in 1499 their territory had not yet attained the extent of modern Switzerland; there were further additions to be made, especially upon the French and Italian sides.

THE BOURGEOISIE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

In France as a result of the Hundred Years War the nobles and clergy lost much of their wealth, especially of their land. In the fifteenth century we find a considerable middle class in the country, made up of the owners of small estates and of tenant farmers who leased land for periods of a dozen or fifteen years. In the Estates-General of 1484 even peasants participated in the local elections of representatives of the third estate. The *bourgeoisie* of the towns have become richer and more influential than ever, especially as the Church has decayed and the feudal nobility has lost its military prestige through such defeats as those of Crécy and Agincourt. A townsman like Jacques Cœur, the silversmith of Bourges, where may still be seen his fine Gothic residence incorporating two Roman towers in its back wall, possessed more real power than any noble of the court of Charles VII, and was as important to the French monarchy as the Bank of England or the Rothschilds are to a modern government. He became, indeed, such a power behind the throne that he made enemies at court who procured his condemnation, but the death sentence was commuted to banishment at the intercession of the pope, and Jacques set out on a crusade against the Turks. Shrewd Louis XI, the son of Charles VII, cared nothing for courtiers and pomp. He preferred to see his nobility stowed safely away in dungeons. But he liked to stop at the houses of substantial citizens, take dinner with them, and learn popular opinion. His dress and his manners were plebeian; he chose his assistants regardless of rank; and he granted many privileges to the cities, although he also taxed them heavily.

The monarch grew more powerful as the middle class became more prominent. This was natural since the feudal lords had been a check upon them both. Although Charles VII at first had been such an unpromising king and the victim of corrupt favourites, as his reign progressed he procured better advisers and was successful not only in expelling the English, but also in augmenting permanently the power of the Crown. The Estates-General met only once during his reign, and then agreed to a perpetual annual direct tax, or *taille*, of 1,200,000 livres for the support of a standing army. Nobles, clergy, most of the royal officials and soldiers, and the citizens of self-governing towns were exempted from the *taille*, which thus fell chiefly upon the peasants. With this permanent grant the king was able to have at his beck a permanent army, regularly paid and hence well disciplined and loyal. He needed no longer to appeal to individual captains to raise bands of mercenaries, and then have difficulty in paying them or disbanding them when the war was over. Indeed, henceforth no one but the king and his royal officials could raise and maintain troops. The new army consisted of fifteen companies of knights or heavy-armed cavalry with accompanying men-at-arms and pages, and of free archers, of whom one was to be supplied by each of the sixteen thousand parishes in France, and of the artillery. The native bowmen did not prove a great success, however, and Louis XI relied in their place for infantry largely upon hired Swiss or Scots soldiers.

Louis XI

In 1440, as dauphin, Louis had participated in a conspiracy of the feudal nobility against his father, Charles VII. Later he went off to his appanage of Dauphiné, where he ruled for some ten years without regard to his father, against whose wishes, too, he married the daughter of the Duke of Savoy. Finally he fled to the Burgundian court of Philip the Good, and came very near being disinherited by his angry parent. He was already thirty-eight years old when he became King of France, full of political experience, of knowledge and mistrust of men, trained both in plausible talk and in cunning scheming, confident in his own cleverness and ability to outwit others. Able as he was intellectually, he was very superstitious in his religion, and is well known for his wooden beads, the leaden image of the Virgin on his disreputable hat, and for the fact that he could be depended on to keep his word only when he had sworn by one particular saint. His face and figure were as unattractive as were his cheap clothes, and there was something cruel and malicious and stealthy about him. His great merit as king was that he attended to everything himself. He travelled about his realm and was at pains to learn what his subjects were thinking ; he was always seeking information ; he even put his person in peril in crises for the sake of a personal interview with some adversary ; and in his spider's webs at Plessis and Loches he made periodical visits to the remotest dungeons to make sure that the prisoners were still there—and to leer at them.

Since Louis had opposed the Crown for twenty years before he became king, the great lords with whom he had conspired in the past, and especially the Duke of Burgundy, with whom he had found a refuge, looked for a restoration of their influence and power at his accession. The holders of great fiefs in France at this time were for the most part descended from younger sons of the royal family, to whom since the thirteenth century the kings had been granting appanages, thereby nullifying many of the territorial gains of the monarchy and creating a new feudal nobility. These dukes and counts soon discovered that the rule of Louis was even less to their liking than that of Charles VII, and in 1465 they formed the League of Public Welfare against him. Leading spirits in this were his own brother Charles, who had so nearly supplanted him on the throne, Charles the Bold, who was already the real ruler in Burgundy in place of his senile father, the Duke of Brittany, the houses of Orléans, Anjou, Alençon, and Bourbon, who were all offshoots of the royal family, the Dukes of Lorraine and Nemours, and the Counts of Armagnac and Saint-Pol. The league was victorious over the King chiefly because of a victory won by Charles the Bold at Montlhéry, and Louis had to cede away territories and rights of the Crown to the individual members. For the public welfare they accomplished little except to appoint thirty-six reformers to remedy abuses in Church and State and to protect the people from oppression.

Louis, however, soon regained complete control of the central government, and before his reign was over he had encompassed the death or imprisonment of nearly every member of the League of Public Welfare, and had not only recovered the lands alienated in 1465, but had acquired much additional territory. In 1466 he took advantage of a quarrel between his brother and the Duke of Brittany to win Normandy back from both of them. When Louis told a meeting of the Estates-General in 1468 that he intended to keep Normandy as a part of the royal domain, they agreed with him that the custom of granting appanages was a bad one. Indeed, the people seem to have felt little sympathy with the struggles of the nobles against Louis. But Charles the Bold, when he had Louis in his power at Péronne, forced the King to recompense his brother for the loss of Normandy by a grant of Champagne and Brie. Louis had come to Péronne hoping to get the better of Charles the Bold in a personal interview, and little thinking that Charles had learned of certain treacherous intrigues of his against him. The result was that Charles kept Louis a virtual prisoner until he had agreed to his demands. But Louis never let any one go whom he once had in his power, not even when he had given him a safe-conduct. He soon hoodwinked his brother into accepting Guienne in place of Champagne, and thus separated him by the breadth of France from his Burgundian ally. This brother had previously exchanged the Duchy of Berri for Normandy, so that it is evident that he had no particular attachment to any one locality, nor had any locality much love for him. In 1472 he died so opportunely for the schemes of Louis that the King was suspected of having poisoned him.

The next year Louis caught and imprisoned Armagnac ; the year following, Alençon. In 1475 Saint-Pol, who had played fast and loose with both Burgundy and France, was captured by Charles the Bold, who annexed his lands, but gave Louis the pleasure of executing him. In 1477 Nemours was beheaded and Louis's numerous schemes against Charles the Bold at last bore fruit in the latter's defeat and death at the hands of the Swiss. Louis then attempted to annex various Burgundian provinces, but Maximilian had married Charles's daughter and fought for her heritage, so that at Louis's death only the Duchy of Burgundy and the Somme towns were actually in his possession, although other territories were still in dispute. Louis also spirited Savoy away from the heirs of his feeble-minded father-in-law. René of Anjou (1409–1480), titular King of Naples and Sicily and Duke of Anjou and Maine, after many misfortunes and the loss of his other possessions, had retired in 1473 to his County of Provence and devoted the remainder of his life to art and literature. When he died in 1480 and his nephew, Charles of Maine, died in 1481, Maine and Anjou reverted to the Crown, while Provence for the first time in its history was incorporated in the Kingdom of France. Except for Brittany, Artois, and the County of Burgundy, France had now very nearly reached its modern boundaries, and in 1491 the son of Louis, Charles VIII, added Brittany by marrying its heiress. Artois and the County of Burgundy, however, he ceded to Maximilian to compensate him for having nullified Maximilian's previous marriage by proxy with the same heiress, and for other reasons. Savoy also regained its independence.

These very great acquisitions of territory under Charles VII from England and under Louis XI from the princely nobility and the dynasties on the frontiers could not, however, be at once absorbed into a homogeneous whole with the rest of the royal domain, especially since the royal domain itself was really not yet homogeneous, but marked by the existence of local privileges and discrepancies. Like many of his predecessors, Louis XI followed the policy of ' Divide and rule.' He was no more inclined than had been his father to call the

Estates-General except in time of need, and preferred to deal with the numerous provincial assemblies of France. Like his father, too, he created or sanctioned local *parlements* in his newly acquired territories—high courts of justice practically independent of the Parlement of Paris. In short, the king was still the chief bond of political union and France still lacked a national law. In the Estates-General of 1484, summoned after the death of Louis XI to decide the membership of the council of regency, voting was not by estates, but by six regions, 'France,' Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Provence.

England at the Close of the Hundred Years War: The Wars of the Roses

In contrast to the increasing power of the Crown in France under Charles VII, in England during the last years of the Hundred Years War the central government had been growing weaker and weaker. Henry VI was a feeble, though well-meaning, monarch; there was much disorder throughout the land; and Parliament, which had acquired so much authority under the Lancastrians, proved unable to cope with the situation alone without the aid of a strong executive. Great lords kept armed bands of retainers, and seized property which did not belong to them, and did violence to their enemies; and intimidated sheriffs and juries if an attempt was made to bring them to justice. They also controlled the elections of members of Parliament. With the close of the war in France a disorderly element of adventurers, mercenaries, and brigands had returned to England; and discontent with the outcome of the war had weakened the hold of the king on his people. As in France, the greatest nobles were connected with the royal family. Edward III had married his younger sons to English heiresses, and thus some estates of great size had been brought together. The two leading houses in the realm were the Lancastrians, who had held the throne thus far in the fifteenth century, and the Yorkists, who now had a better hereditary claim to the throne because they were descended from the second as well as the fifth son of Edward III, whereas the Lancastrians were descendants of his fourth son, John of Gaunt.

Henry VI was as little able to control his Lancastrian kinsmen, the Somersets and the Beauforts, as he was to restrain the Yorkist party. In 1455 broke out a series of battles, raids, border fights, feuds, and murders between these two parties, and also between lesser rival nobles in various parts of the land. These are collectively known as the 'Wars of the Roses,' but while the white rose was the emblem of the Yorkists, the red rose was not worn until the very last battle at Bosworth Field in 1485 by Henry Tudor. The chief central thread of interest was the struggle for the throne. Henry VI lost it in 1461 to Edward IV, previously the Duke of York. He in turn was forced to flee to Bruges in 1470 by a hostile combination of the nobility under the lead of the Earl of Warwick, known as 'the King-maker,' who restored Henry VI to the throne. Edward, however, returned in 1471 and slew most of his enemies, including poor old Henry and his youthful son. Edward IV had offended most of his own family by marrying a commoner and elevating her relations to the peerage. When he died, his brother Richard executed several of the Queen's kinsmen, seized the throne for himself, and later murdered Edward's two innocent boys. But Richard in his turn had to face hostile combinations of what was left of the nobility, and after two years on the throne lost his life and crown to Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who had become head of the house of Lancaster on the death of Henry VI, and who now became Henry VII. To make surer of his position he married Edward IV's daughter.

Some authorities date the New Monarchy in England from Edward IV's reign and others from that of Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty. Edward IV felt that he had conquered his throne, and was self-willed and made little use of Parliament except to put through bills of attainder against his enemies. He instituted a new custom called 'benevolences,' by which he got money by bringing personal pressure to bear upon wealthy individuals and corporations such as those of the municipalities. This was really taxation without the consent of Parliament. 'Benevolences,' however, were an irregular and precarious kind of revenue which could not be depended upon as could the permanent annual *taille* of France. Nor did the English kings establish a standing army. Henry VII was a sort of English Louis XI, however, equally shrewd and calculating and stingy and averse to war, but not quite so superstitious and cruel and despicable. He continued the practice of 'benevolences' and did not call Parliament often. He instituted the Court of Star Chamber, made up of members of his own council, to punish the disorders of the great nobles and to deal with cases where the common-law courts and juries had proved ineffectual. This court restored order in the land, but it was liable to be an instrument of tyranny, since it was not bound by the rules of the common law, could employ torture, and was under close royal influence. Royal influence, indeed, was to reign supreme in England for the next hundred years, since the king gave order and protection, which the Lancastrian Parliaments had failed to do.

THE MIDDLE CLASS IN ENGLAND

Battles and executions during the period of the Wars of the Roses had considerably depleted the ranks of the nobility. In England as in France the fifteenth century was the time of the rise of the middle class. The English towns now reached the height of their prosperity and independence. Secure behind their walls, they took little part in the Wars of the Roses, and during that period, as well as in the preceding weak reign of Henry VI, profited by freedom from the interference of the central government. In the country much of the manorial organization had given way to tenants who rented large plots of land on fifty-year leases. The *Paston Letters* show how in the fifteenth century a family of plebeian origin could gradually amass considerable landed property and hold important political and judicial offices. Both Edward IV and Henry VII legislated in the interest of the commercial classes and of the economic welfare of the country. Native English merchants were now getting the foreign trade into their hands. The Tudors themselves were really an upstart Welsh family of middle-class origin, and they understood how to deal with that class, how to bully it and how to please it. They replenished the nobility with other upstarts like themselves, whom for a time they were able to control. When Parliament did meet in the Tudor period, it was generally of one mind with the king. When young Henry VIII succeeded his father in 1509, he found the treasury full and his people devoted to him.

SPAIN IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

The Christian kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, during the later Middle Ages as before, had many disputed successions and family quarrels, and intermarried and fought with one another continually. France and England had interfered in their affairs a good deal during the Hundred Years' War, and the Kings of Aragon were much occupied with Sicily. But no great changes in the constitutional institutions of these kingdoms or in their relative size and importance occurred until the second half of the fifteenth century. Meanwhile the Mohammedans continued to hold Granada for over two centuries after they had lost the rest of the peninsula.

But the marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand, who was King of Aragon from 1479 to 1516, with Isabella, Queen of Castile and Leon from 1474 to 1504, and their conquest of Granada from the Moors, which was completed in 1492, ended the separate existence of those kingdoms, which merged henceforth in one nation and state, since called Spain. Spanish Navarre was annexed to Castile by Ferdinand after Isabella's death. Ferdinand and Isabella accomplished more than one territorial union. They were both able organizers and greatly developed the central government and royal power. They made much use of central councils of state and finance, and selected lawyers rather than the nobles and higher clergy as their chief administrative officials. Private war was forbidden, castles could not be built without the monarch's consent, an examination was made into the validity of the nobles' titles to their lands and considerable property was thus reclaimed for the Crown. Isabella revived an old institution by which armed brotherhoods in the Castilian towns had kept the peace in the localities, but she brought it under royal control and used it for the ends of the central government. Ferdinand extended this institution of the Holy Hermandad to Aragon. The two monarchs also revived the Holy Inquisition of the thirteenth century and had it transferred from papal to royal control in their territories. In fact, the Spanish Church as a whole was made subject to the authority of the Crown and, as we have seen, reformed. Isabella also had Ferdinand made Grand Master of the three great military orders as vacancies occurred, and thus brought those powerful organizations with their trained soldiery under the direct power of the Crown. The long struggle with the Moors for Granada during this reign also produced an efficient fighting force. The medieval army was modernized, and the Spanish infantry were soon to eclipse the military reputation even of the Swiss. An attempt was made to unify the laws of Castile, which were published in eight books.

Ferdinand and Isabella were not favourably inclined toward representative assemblies and parliamentary government, and once sixteen years went by without a meeting of the Cortes of Castile. The monarchs treated the towns in their dominions with consideration, however, as they wished for their support, and both industry and agriculture were in a flourishing condition. They also looked after the social and economic welfare of their people and gave the peasants and lower classes better protection than was afforded by any other government of the time. Queen Isabella is believed to have established the first field hospital when in 1484 she provided six large tents fully furnished and free medical and surgical attendance. Three years later it took four hundred *ambulancias* to carry the Queen's hospital. Yet Isabella and Ferdinand drove thousands of Jews from their realm, and through the Spanish Inquisition burned at the stake many heretics and Moorish or Jewish converts to Christianity who had relapsed to their original faith. Spain was not a land of great economic resources, and this persecution of some of its most prosperous inhabitants and those most skilful in business and industries further operated to prevent the growth of a middle class. The discovery of America still more increased the power of the Crown, which ruled the Spanish colonies absolutely and derived a great income in gold and silver bullion from them. This did not in the long run stimulate the economic development of Spain itself, however, but rather had the contrary effect. Castile was more amenable to the great increase of royal power under Ferdinand and Isabella than Aragon, which clung tenaciously to its old customs and local liberties. But inasmuch as Castile was three times as large as Aragon it was likely in the end to carry the smaller kingdom with it.

Ferdinand was a very astute and, it must be added, unscrupulous diplomat. He deceived or outwitted all the other European powers at least once each. When it was reported to him that another monarch had complained that the King of Aragon had cheated him twice, Ferdinand exclaimed, " He lies ! I cheated him three times ! " A favourite method with Ferdinand was to enter alliances and then to leave the others in the lurch as soon as he had secured his own object. He was generally hostile to France, with which he came into conflict in Italy and the Pyrenees. Hence he married his children to princes of other nations, giving his daughter Joanna to Philip, Archduke of Austria, the son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, and his other two daughters to John II of Portugal and Henry VIII of England. Finally, however, after the death of Isabella he himself married a niece of the French king. Upon the death of Isabella, Joanna and Philip had claimed the throne of Castile, which Ferdinand reluctantly relinquished to them. But Philip soon died and Joanna was literally crazed with grief, so that Ferdinand recovered Castile and ruled it until his death.

Portugal had with some difficulty maintained its independence of Castile during the later Middle Ages. It had increased its territory in the fifteenth century by the acquisition of Ceuta and by further conquests in Moorish North-western Africa, and exploration along the coast and settlement in the islands of the Atlantic. The king who did most to increase the power of the monarchy within Portugal was John II (1481–1495). The voyage of Vasco da Gama opened the prospect of a Portuguese commercial and maritime empire in Africa and the Indian Ocean in the next century, stimulated national spirit and enterprise, and increased the power of the Crown, since the Eastern trade was made a royal monopoly.

The French Invasions of Italy

Last in our survey of the states of Western Europe at the close of the fifteenth century we come to the Italian peninsula. In a way the French invasions of Italy at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries were nothing new. Goths and Lombards, Byzantines and Saracens and Normans, Hohenstaufens and Angevins and Aragonese, had been invading Italy throughout the Middle Ages, and much of the peninsula had always been under foreign rule. These new French invasions, however, led to important political changes in the peninsula, and determined that instead of Italy's becoming a strong state under the rule of one king like Spain, France, and England, or remaining like Germany divided into small states ruled by native princes, it was to become for the next three centuries the frequent battlefield of foreign monarchs and to be partitioned in treaties by them. These invasions closed the political period which had been at the basis of the Italian Renaissance, just as the voyages of discovery destroyed the economic prosperity upon which the flourishing of art and letters had been founded. Three successive French kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, tried to win Italian possessions, and came thereby into relations with three successive popes, Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X. Despite their efforts the chief outcome of the period of invasions was the introduction of the house of Habsburg into Italy.

In 1492 the death of Lorenzo de' Medici left Florence under the rule of his incompetent son, Piero, and deprived Italy of an able diplomat who had preserved peace and the balance of power between the rival states into which that peninsula was divided. Charles VIII of France in 1491 had attained his twenty-first year and had married Anne of Brittany despite the efforts of Maximilian, Henry VII of England, and Ferdinand. He now determined to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, taking advantage of the claim which René of Provence and Anjou had bequeathed to Charles's father, Louis XI, against the actual ruler, Ferrante of the Aragonese line. Charles was urged to invade Italy by Lodovico Sforza, who was usurping the throne of Milan at the expense of his nephew, and against whom Florence and Naples were conspiring. Before setting out Charles found it necessary to protect his rear by concessions to Henry VII, Maximilian, and Ferdinand. He bought Henry off with money, Maximilian with Artois, Charolais, and the County of Burgundy, as already recounted, and ceded to Ferdinand Cerdagne and Roussillon in the Pyrenees. In 1494 he crossed the Alps.

Lodovico gave Charles free passage through his territory. Venice held aloof. In Florence the effect of Charles's approach was the overthrow of Piero de' Medici and the ascendancy of the Dominican friar Savonarola, who set up an aristocratic constitution modelled upon Venice and its Grand Council. Savonarola was a popular preacher who had been conducting a religious revival in Florence, denouncing the sins of the time and the abuses in the Church, especially at the papal court. Machiavelli heard him attacking "your books, O priests, and treating you in a way that even dogs would not endure." Savonarola also assumed the *rôle* of a prophet and seer of visions, and had much to say about a scourge of God which was coming upon the Italians for their sins. The appearance of Charles VIII seemed to the people a fulfilment of this prediction. "This friar," wrote the cynical Machiavelli, "is colouring his lies to suit the times." Savonarola made an alliance with Charles and urged him to proceed to Rome and reform the Papacy.

The pope at this time, of whom Machiavelli heard Savonarola say "everything that can be said of any great villain," was the notorious Alexander VI of the Spanish family of Borgia. Before becoming pope he had some reputation as a theologian, but as pope he devoted himself largely to politics, and especially to building up a principality for his illegitimate son, Cæsar, and negotiating influential marriages for his daughter, Lucrezia. Cæsar hesitated at no violence or crime to accomplish his political designs, and both he and his father were popularly believed to be adepts at poisoning. Their reputation in this particular is probably grossly exaggerated. But Alexander actually negotiated with the infidel Turks against the Christian king Charles VIII. The importance of Alexander VI and Cæsar Borgia, however, is not that they were monsters seldom seen in history, but that they were representative of the popes and despots of their time. The cardinals knew well enough that Alexander had children when they chose him pope, and his immediate predecessor had had children too. As for Cæsar, Machiavelli in his famous book *The Prince* selected him as the model for all who would become despots.

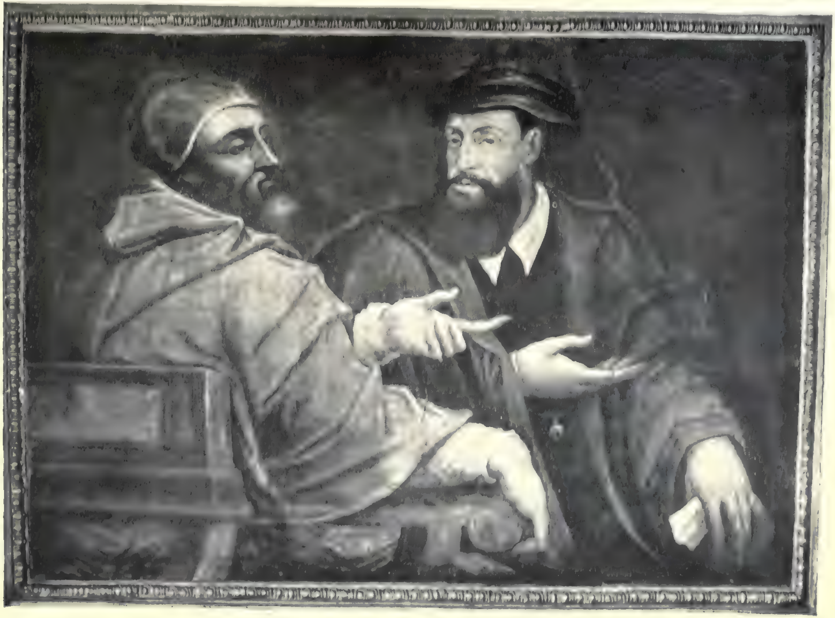
Charles did not pause at Rome to reform the Papacy or to depose Alexander VI, but hurried on to Naples. Ferrante I had died in 1494; his successor, Alfonso II, resigned in favour of Ferrante II, who in his turn fled before the French without a struggle. But after Charles had wintered in Naples the situation in the north of the peninsula began to assume a dangerous aspect, and the doors which had swung open so readily before him now seemed about to be bolted behind him. Ferdinand and Maximilian had united with Milan, Venice, and the Pope in the League of Venice against him. He left half his army, which a winter of dissipation had somewhat enervated, to hold Naples, and hurried home with the rest before Ferdinand and Maximilian could stop him. Venice and Milan, however, nearly did so in the indecisive battle of Fornovo. The French troops who had been left behind in Naples were soon expelled, and the Aragonese line returned in the person of Federigo, its fourth ruler within two years.

The only one in Italy who remained true to the French was Savonarola, and his government in Florence ended with his burning at the stake on a charge of heresy in 1498. He had tried to effect a puritanical reform in the manners and morals of the Florentines, and had induced them to destroy a great pile of 'vanities' in the enthusiasm of the moment; but they soon tired of his strictness. His unfavourable attitude drove many artists away from Florence to other centres. The Medici and the Pope were of course both bitterly opposed to him. A final reason for his fall was that he was, as Machiavelli remarked, " a weaponless prophet."

ITALIAN POLICY OF LOUIS XII

In the same year that Savonarola was executed Charles VIII died childless and Louis XII of the Orléans line came to the throne. Through his grandmother, Valentine Visconti, he had a claim to Milan, which he proceeded to occupy, imprisoning Lodovico. As for Naples, Louis made the mistake of arranging with Ferdinand that they should conquer it together and divide it equally. Ferdinand soon occupied it all and forced Louis to sell out his rights. This brought a third of the peninsula directly under Spanish rule: the recent Aragonese rulers of Naples had not been Kings of Aragon, still less of a united Spain as Ferdinand was.

In 1503 Alexander VI died and a fiery native of Genoa took the papal title of Julius II. When Michelangelo, who had been commissioned to make a colossal statue of the Pope at Bologna, asked Julius if he should represent him with a book in his hand, the warlike Pope replied, " No, with a sword! " Venice now reaped the bitter fruit of her fifteenth-century policy of expansion and aggression in Northern Italy when she quarrelled with Julius at the same time that she was already at war with Maximilian. The powerful League of Cambrai was formed against her in 1508, consisting not only of the Pope and the Emperor, but also of France and Ferdinand and a number of small Italian states. Venice naturally received a crushing defeat and had to surrender her possessions in the peninsula. They preferred her government, however, and many of them took the first opportunity that offered itself to revolt from their new masters and return to her rule.



33. CLEMENT VII AND CHARLES V

Venice also was able later to repudiate the complete submission to the papal demands in ecclesiastical matters which she had to make at the moment. But she never quite recovered from the blow which the League of Cambrai dealt her, which, together with the loss to Portugal of so much of her Eastern trade, resulted in time in her decline.

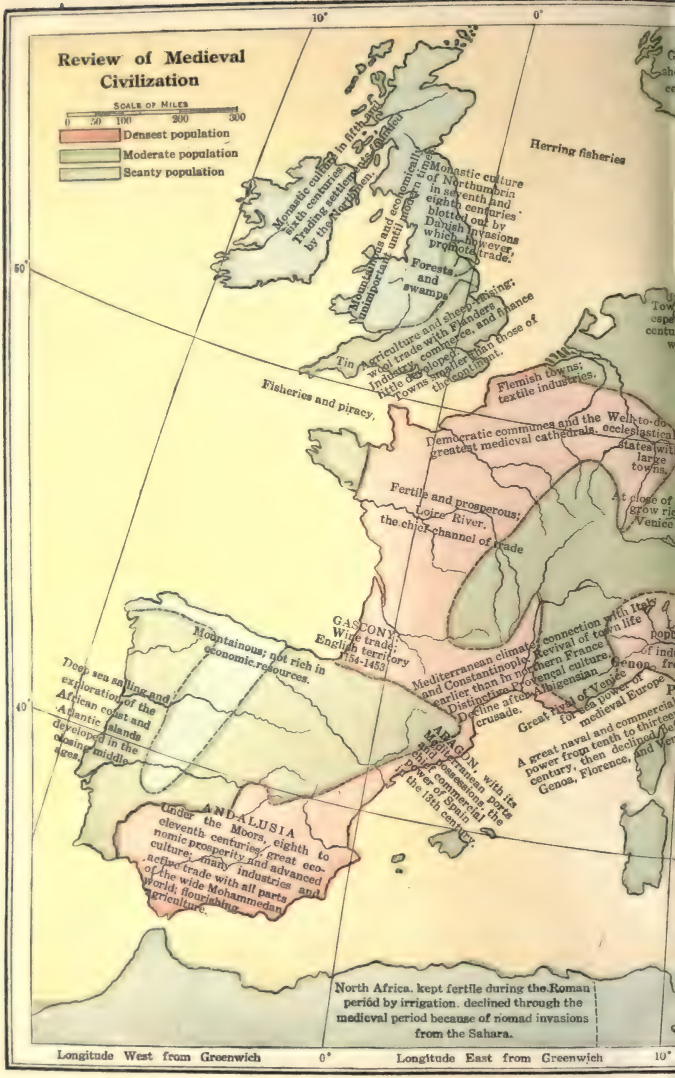
Having taught Venice a lesson, Julius II turned about and formed with her in 1511 a Holy League directed against France. Ferdinand, who was always on the winning side, joined them, as did young Henry VIII of England, the Swiss Confederates, and finally Maximilian. In short, all Europe now turned against Louis XII, just as before all had turned on Venice. The French were driven out of Genoa and Milan, and the Swiss won a slice of Milanese territory. Ferdinand conquered Navarre for himself, the Medici were restored to power in Florence, Julius II recovered Romagna for the Papal States. Maximilian had entered the League too late and had contributed too little toward its success to receive much reward, and Henry VIII, who had expected Ferdinand to help him to conquer Guienne, found that his father-in-law had made a fool of him, and learned the bitter lesson of distrust in humanity.

Julius II died in 1513 and Louis XII two years later. Leo X, a son of Lorenzo de' Medici, who through his father's influence had been made a cardinal at the age of fourteen, was the new pope. Francis I, a young man of fine manners and cultured taste but of loose and selfish morals, came to the throne of France, crossed the Alps, and by the startling victory of Marignano over the highly reputed Swiss troops regained Milan. He then agreed with the Pope to support the rule of the Medici in Florence, which was soon transformed into an hereditary grand duchy. Leo ceded Parma and Piacenza to Francis, and in the place of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which made the Gallican Church almost independent, Pope and King, in the Concordat of Bologna, increased their own influence and revenues at the expense of the local French churches.

CHARLES V

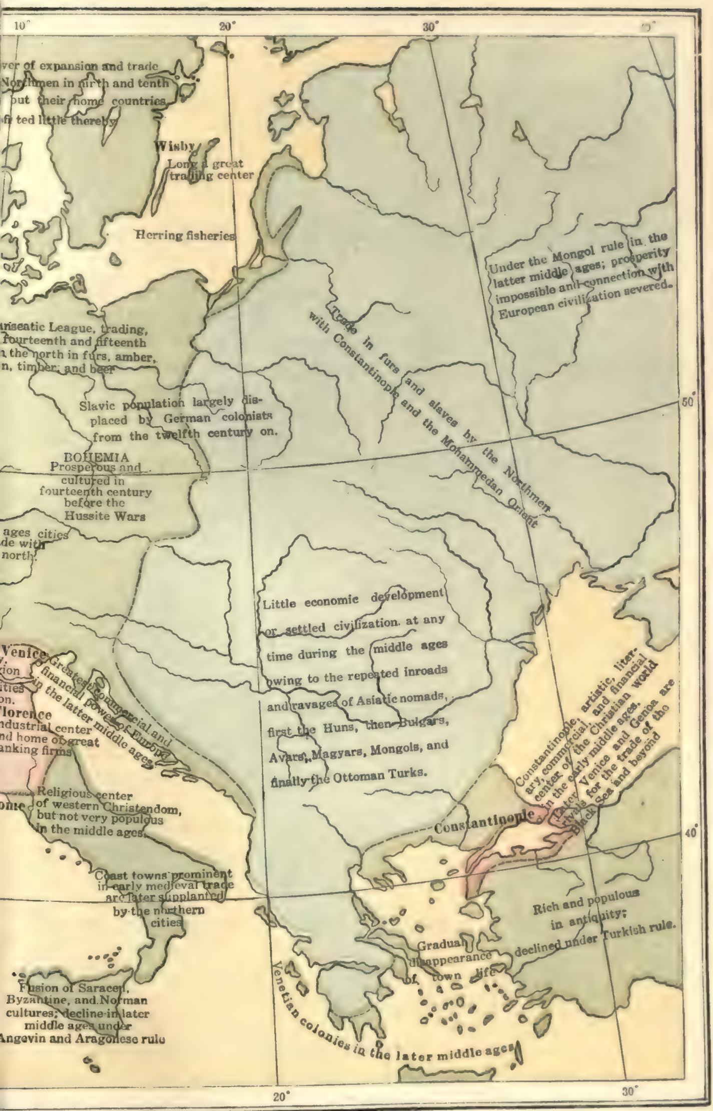
The power of France thus seemed once more in the ascendant, when Ferdinand, dying in 1516, bequeathed all his possessions in Spain, Italy, and a new world to his grandson, who, though educated in the Netherlands, now became Charles I of Spain. Charles was really a Habsburg, since his father had been the son of Maximilian; and upon that emperor's death in 1519 Charles added to his titles and territories the Habsburg family lands in Austria and the Tyrol and the Burgundian possessions inherited from Charles the Bold. He was also elected Holy Roman Emperor to succeed Maximilian, and thereby acquired Imperial claims in Northern Italy as well as a vague authority over Germany. His Imperial title was Charles V, and by this rather than his Spanish title he is usually known in history. He had causes for conflict with Francis I in Italy, in the Pyrenees, and along the eastern frontier of France. These two young monarchs were by far the most powerful in Europe, and the central political interest of the next half-century lies in their succession of wars with each other. Indeed, for long after that the struggle of France and Habsburg was to be the chief feature of European politics. Charles V had not merely France to deal with. In Germany a monk named Martin Luther had just aroused a national feeling and a religious revolt that were to disrupt the Church and work great political and social changes. Since the great medieval Church had been the one dominating and constant factor all through the Middle Ages, this Protestant Revolt in a way marked their close.

The passing of the Middle Ages was in many respects a matter not to be regarded without regret. A writer who was not a Roman Catholic and who knew both medieval and modern history, Bishop Stubbs, of the Church of England, the great authority on the medieval development of the English constitution, has thus compared the thirteenth with the sixteenth century: "The sixteenth century, as a century of ideas, real, grand, and numerous, is not to be compared with the thirteenth century. The ideas are not so pure, not so living, nor so refined; the men are not so earnest, so single-hearted, so loveable by far. Much doubtless has been gained in strength of purpose, and much in material progress; but compare the one set of men with the other as men, and the ideas as ideas, and the advantage is wonderfully in favour of the semi-barbarous age, above that of the Renaissance and the Reformation."



Review of Medieval Civilization

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
🟥 Densest population
🟩 Moderate population
▨ Scanty population
10°
0°
50°
40°
Monastic culture in fifth and sixth centuries. Trading settlements founded by the Northmen.
Mountainous and economically unimportant until modern times.
Monastic culture of Northumbria in seventh and eighth centuries blotted out by Danish invasions which, however, promote trade.
Herring fisheries
Forests and swamps
Tin
Agriculture and sheep-raising; wool trade with Flanders. Industry, commerce, and finance little developed. Towns smaller than those of the continent.
Fisheries and piracy,
Flemish towns; textile industries.
Democratic communes and the greatest medieval cathedrals.
Well-to-do ecclesiastical states with large towns.
Fertile and prosperous; Loire River, the chief channel of trade
Venice
GASCONY; Wine trade; English territory 1154-1453
Mountainous; not rich in economic resources.
Deep sea sailing and exploration of the African coast and Atlantic islands developed in the closing middle ages.
Mediterranean climate; connection with Italy and Constantinople. Revival of town life earlier than in northern France. Distinctive Provençal culture. Decline after Albigensian crusade.
Genoa
Great rival of Venice for sea power of medieval Europe
A great naval and commercial power from tenth to thirteenth century, then declined. Genoa, Florence, and Ve
ARAGON, with its Mediterranean ports and possessions, the chief commercial power of Spain in the 13th century.
ANDALUSIA
Under the Moors, eighth to eleventh centuries, great economic prosperity and advanced culture; many industries and active trade with all parts of the wide Mohammedan world; flourishing agriculture.
North Africa, kept fertile during the Roman period by irrigation, declined through the medieval period because of nomad invasions from the Sahara.
Longitude West from Greenwich
0°
Longitude East from Greenwich
10°


10°
20°
30°
50°
40°
20°
30°
ver of expansion and trade
Northmen in ninth and tenth
but their home countries
fited little thereby
Wisby
Long a great
trading center
Herring fisheries
nseatic League, trading,
fourteenth and fifteenth
the north in furs, amber,
n, timber, and beer
Slavic population largely dis-
placed by German colonists
from the twelfth century on.
BOHEMIA
Prosperous and
cultured in
fourteenth century
before the
Hussite Wars
ages cities
de with
north.
Under the Mongol rule in the
latter middle ages; prosperity
impossible and connection with
European civilization severed.
Trade in furs and slaves by the Northmen
with Constantinople and the Mohammedan Orient
Little economic development
or settled civilization at any
time during the middle ages
owing to the repeated inroads
and ravages of Asiatic nomads,
first the Huns, then Bulgars,
Avars, Magyars, Mongols, and
finally the Ottoman Turks.
Venice
ion
ities
on.
Greatest commercial and
financial power of Europe
in the latter middle ages.
Florence
ndustrial center
nd home of great
anking firms
Religious center
of western Christendom,
but not very populous
in the middle ages.
ome
Constantinople, artistic, liter-
ary, commercial, and financial
center of the Christian world
in the early middle ages.
Later Venice and Genoa are
rivals for the trade of the
Black Sea and beyond
Constantinople
Coast towns prominent
in early medieval trade
are later supplanted
by the northern
cities
Rich and populous
in antiquity;
declined under Turkish rule.
Gradual
disappearance
of town life
Fusion of Saracen,
Byzantine, and Norman
cultures; decline in later
middle ages under
Angevin and Aragonese rule
Venetian colonies in the later middle ages

LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES

461–431 B.C. Age of Pericles.
451–449 B.C. Twelve Tables of Roman Law.
336–323 B.C. Reign of Alexander the Great.
31 B.C.–A.D. 14. Reign of Augustus Cæsar and foundation of the Roman Empire.
A.D. 70. Destruction of Jerusalem.
98. *Germania* of Tacitus.
98–117. Reign of Trajan; Roman Empire at its greatest extent.
161–180. Reign of Marcus Aurelius; signs of decline.
227. Persian Kingdom replaces the Parthian.
251. Decius defeated and slain by the Goths.
284–305. Reign of Diocletian.
325. Council of Nicæa called by Constantine the Great.
378. Battle of Adrianople.
395. Death of Theodosius the Great.
410. Sack of Rome by Alaric.
413–426. *The City of God* of Augustine.
419. Kingdoms of West Goths and Burgundians in South-western and South-eastern Gaul.
438. The *Theodosian Code.*
439. Carthage captured by the Vandals.
440–461. Pope Leo the Great.
c. 450. Britain invaded by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.
451. Battle of the Catalaunian Fields or Châlons.
455. Valentinian III assassinated. Rome sacked by the Vandals.
466–484. Reign of Euric, King of the West Goths; conquest of Spain begun.
476. Transition from the Roman to the Byzantine Empire.
481–511. Reign of Clovis, King of the Franks.
493–526. Reign of Theodoric, the East Goth, in Italy.
518–565. Reigns of Justin and Justinian.
529. *The Rule of St. Benedict.*

533. The *Digest* or *Pandects* of Justinian.
534. Byzantine conquest of North Africa from the Vandals. Frankish conquest of the Burgundian Kingdom.
555. Byzantine conquest of Italy from the East Goths.
565. Mission of St. Columba to Iona, Scotland.
568. Lombards invade Italy. Avars invade Central Europe.
582. Fall of Sirmium.
590–604. Pope Gregory the Great.
597. Mission of St. Augustine to Kent.
610. Accession of Heraclius in the Byzantine Empire.
615. Death of St. Columban in Northern Italy.
622. *Hegira* of Mohammed. *Etymologies* of Isidore.
629–639. Frankish territories reunited under Dagobert.
632–651. Mohammedan conquest of Syria, Egypt, Persia.
661. Ommiad dynasty founded.
664. Synod of Whitby.
687. Battle of Testry.
698. Carthage permanently captured by the Mohammedans.
711–713. Mohammedan conquest of Spain.
718. Mission of Boniface to Germany.
726. Iconoclastic decree of Leo III, Byzantine Emperor.
731. *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede.
732. Battle of Tours.
750. Abbassid dynasty founded.
751. Ravenna captured by the Lombards. Carolingian dynasty founded by Pepin.
755. Ommiad Emirate of Cordova.
768–814. Reign of Charlemagne.
774. End of the Lombard Kingdom.
787. Danish invasions begin in England.
800. Imperial coronation of Charlemagne.
827. Saracen invasion of Sicily begins.
842. The Strassburg Oaths.
843. The Treaty of Verdun.
c. 859. Rurik becomes Grand Prince of Russia.
864. Conversion of Boris I of Bulgaria.
869. Eighth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople.
870. The Treaty of Mersen.
871–900. Reign of Alfred the Great in England.
885. Paris besieged by the Northmen.
887. Deposition of the Emperor Charles.
c. 896. Invasions of the Magyars begin.

904. Saloniki seized by the Saracens.
909. Fatimite dynasty founded in North Africa.
910. Abbey of Cluny founded.
911–912. Origin of Normandy.
929. Caliphate of Cordova founded by Abd-er-Rahman III.
934. Kingdom of Arles begins.
955. Battle of the Lechfeld.
962. Otto the Great crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
969. Egypt conquered by the Fatimites.
975. Death of Edgar the Peaceful, King of England.
980–1037. Avicenna.
987. Hugh Capet founds the Capetian dynasty.
997–1038. Reign of St. Stephen of Hungary.
999–1003. Pope Sylvester II (Gerbert).
c. 1000. Discovery of Vinland. Oldest manuscript of *Beowulf*.
1002. Death of Almansor.
1013. Danish kings in England.
1015–1087. Constantinus Africanus.
1032. End of the Kingdom of Arles.
1036. End of the Caliphate of Cordova.
1036–1067. Baldwin V, Count of Flanders.
1039–1056. Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor.
1040. Death of Foulques Nerra, Count of Anjou.
1057. End of Macedonian dynasty in the Byzantine Empire.
1059. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, as the Pope's vassal.
1063–1118. Cathedral at Pisa built.
1066. Norman conquest of England.
1071. Battle of Manzikert.
1073–1085. Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand).
1078. Jerusalem captured by the Turks.
1079–1142. Abelard.
1081–1118. Reign of Alexius Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor.
1085. Toledo captured by Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon.
1086. Battle of Zalaca.
1086–1127. William X, Duke of Aquitaine, first known troubadour.
1095. Pope Urban II proclaims the First Crusade. Foundation of Portugal.
1099. Jerusalem stormed by the Crusaders.
1108–1137. Reign of Louis VI, the Fat, King of France. Roman law taught by Irnerius at Bologna. *Questions about Nature* of Adelard of Bath.

1122. Concordat of Worms.

1126–1198. Averroës.

1137. Union of Aragon and Barcelona.

1143. Lübeck founded.

1144. Fall of Edessa.

c. 1150. *Decretum* of Gratian. *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

1154. Henry II, King of England, founds the Plantagenet or Angevin dynasty with vast Continental fiefs. End of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. *Geography* of Edrisi.

1163. Foundation-stone of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris laid by Pope Alexander III.

1170. Murder of Thomas Becket.

1171. Saladin overthrows the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt.

1176. Battle of Legnano.

1180–1223. Reign of Philip II, Augustus, King of France.

1183. Peace of Constance.

1187. Jerusalem captured by Saladin.

1198–1216. Pope Innocent III.

1204. Latin Empire at Constantinople established.

1208. Albigensian Crusade.

1210. Study of Aristotle's works on natural philosophy forbidden at the University of Paris.

1212. Battle of Navas de Tolosa. Children's Crusade.

1215. Fourth Lateran Council. Magna Carta.

1220. Amiens Cathedral begun.

1221. Death of St. Dominic.

1226. Death of St. Francis.

1226–1270. Reign of St. Louis in France.

1228. Teutonic Knights called in to conquer East Prussia.

c. 1235. *The Romance of the Rose* begun by William of Lorris.

1241. Mongol invasion of Europe. Choir of Rheims Cathedral completed.

1250. Death of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor.

1252–1284. Reign of Alfonso the Wise of Castile.

1256–1273. Interregnum in the Holy Roman Empire.

1258. Bagdad sacked by the Mongols. Provisions of Oxford.

1260. Cathedral of Chartres consecrated.

1261. Byzantine Empire restored.

1265. Simon de Montfort's Parliament.

c. 1266. *Opus Maius* of Roger Bacon.

1268. Hohenstaufen line extinct. Charles of Anjou conquers Naples.

IMPORTANT DATES

1271–1295. Marco Polo in the Far East.
1273. Rudolf of Habsburg elected Holy Roman Emperor.
1274. Death of Thomas Aquinas.
1282. Sicilian Vespers.
1284. Pisa defeated by Genoa. First ducat coined at Venice.
1285–1314. Reign of Philip IV, the Fair, King of France.
1291. League of the Three Forest Cantons.
1293. Noble families of Florence disqualified for office.
1295. The Model Parliament of Edward I.
1296. *Clericis laicos.*
1297. Membership in the Grand Council of Venice becomes hereditary.
1302. First meeting of the Estates-General. Battle of Courtrai. Exile of Dante.
1303. Humiliation of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni. *Conciliator* of Peter of Abano.
1308. Papacy at Avignon.
1314. Battle of Bannockburn.
1315. Battle of Morgarten.
1321. Death of Dante.
1324. *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua.
1328. End of the direct Capetians. Battle of Cassel.
1337. Opening of the Hundred Years War. Death of Giotto.
1340. Battle of Sluys.
1341. Petrarch crowned Poet Laureate at Rome by King Robert of Naples.
1345. Jacob van Artevelde murdered.
1346. Battle of Crécy.
1348. The Black Death.
1350–1355. War between Genoa and Venice.
1351. The *Laurentian Portolano.*
1353. The Ottoman Turks enter Europe.
1356. The *Golden Bull.* Battle of Poitiers.
1357. Revolutionary movement in Paris.
1358. The Jacquerie.
1360. Treaty of Brétigny.
1363. Origin of the house of Burgundy.
1367. War of the Hanseatic League against Denmark and Norway.
1368–1370. Mongols are expelled from China.
1369. Charles V, the Wise, King of France, renews the Hundred Years War with success.

1372. Battle of La Rochelle.
1376. The Good Parliament.
1378. The Great Schism begins. Uprising of the Ciompi in Florence.
1378–1381. War renewed between Genoa and Venice.
1381. The Peasants' Revolt in England.
1382. Disfranchisement of the Ciompi. Battle of Roosebek.
1384. Death of John Wyclif.
1386. Union of Poland and Lithuania under the Jagellons.
1389. Battle of Kossovo.
1396. Battle of Nicopolis.
1397. Union of Kalmar.
1399. Richard II deposed; Lancastrian dynasty in England.
1401–1429. Masaccio.
1402. Battle of Angora.
1405. Venice acquires Verona and Padua.
1407. Louis of Orléans murdered by John, Duke of Burgundy.
1409. Council of Pisa.
1414–1417. Council of Constance.
1415. Battle of Agincourt. Ceuta captured by Portugal.
1416. The *St. George* of Donatello.
1419. Hussite Wars begin.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1429. Relief of Orléans by Joan of Arc.
1431–1449. Council of Basel.
1435. Death of Duke of Bedford. Duke of Burgundy abandons the English alliance. Cosimo de' Medici comes into power in Florence.
1435–1442. Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily wins the Kingdom of Naples in a struggle with René of Anjou.
1437. Holy Roman Empire becomes practically hereditary in the House of Habsburg.
1438. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.
1438–1439. Council of Ferrara-Florence.
1444. Battle of Varna.
c. 1450. Invention of printing.
1451. Francesco Sforza becomes despot of Milan.
1452. Last coronation of a Holy Roman Emperor at Rome.
1453. Fall of Constantinople. Close of the Hundred Years War.
1455. Wars of the Roses begin.
1460. Death of Prince Henry the Navigator.
1465. League of Public Welfare against Louis XI.

IMPORTANT DATES

1469. Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.
1477. Death of Charles the Bold; marriage of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian.
1478. Novgorod captured by Ivan III of Russia. About the same time Russia is freed from the Golden Horde.
1485. Battle of Bosworth Field; Henry VII founds the Tudor dynasty.
1486. Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope.
1492. Discovery of America. Conquest of Granada. Death of Lorenzo de' Medici.
1494. Charles VIII invades Italy.
1498. Vasco da Gama reaches India. Execution of Savonarola.
1505. Michelangelo called to Rome.
1508. League of Cambrai against Venice. Raphael comes to Rome.
1513. *The Prince* of Machiavelli.
1515. Battle of Marignano.
1517. Luther posts his Ninety-five Theses.
1519. Charles V elected Holy Roman Emperor. Death of Leonardo da Vinci.

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